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THE IRISH
ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD



THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

A Monthly Journal, under Episcopal Sanction

VOLUME IV.

JULY TO DECEMBER, 1898

Fourth Series

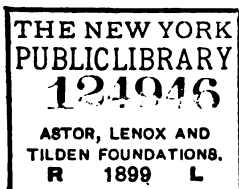
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Archiep. Dublin., Hiberniae Primas.

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AUSTIN FRIARS, LONDON

'The Austin Friar was just such an ecclesiastic as an artist would have loved to sketch. He wore a long black gown, with broad sleeves, with a fine cloth hood or cowl, when he went abroad or in the choir, and under this, when he was in the house, a white habit and scapular, and was girded about the waist with a black leathern strap, fastened with a buckle of ivory. He was rather, it appears, fond of elegancies, and did not recognise one or two days of mortification which the more austere Carmelites most rigidly and carefully observed. He was, however, a hard student wherever he lived, whether among the shades of academic bowers or in localities less favourably situated for mental development. In remarkable times he was a remarkable man.'

THE words with which I have prefaced this article were written by the Rev. T. Hugo, an Anglican clergyman, and an archæologist of distinction and repute in his day. Even a casual visitor to London must needs be struck by the frequency with which the titles of most of the Church's religious orders arrest his attention. There is Whitefriars-street and Blackfriars-bridge, Charterhouse-square, Crutched Friars, and Austin Friars. It is with the history of the last-mentioned institution that I am now more particularly concerned; and I cannot imagine any subject of more general interest to the student of English ecclesiastical history.

In the very heart of the greatest and wealthiest city in the world, surrounded on all sides by palatial edifices, wherein labour, day by day, the leaders and directors of the world's trade and commerce, is to be found the site of that venerable institution known as 'Austin Friars.' What we designate, *par excellence*, 'the Bank,' is near at hand, and the Stock Exchange, that scene of so much misery and exultation, is

removed but a few paces from what was formerly the entrance to the monastic grounds. The site of what was once the friars' garden is now covered with buildings, the yearly rental of which would suffice to build and endow a hundred churches. The extent of ground embraced by the London house of the Austin Friars may be easily gauged from a map made by a certain Ralph Agas, in 1560, and re-drawn by William Newton in 1855. The property extended from Throgmorton-street, on the south, to London Wall, on the north, and was bounded by Broad-street on the east. Here it was that the Augustinians settled shortly after their arrival in England, in 1250.

In so far as I have been able to collect the records of the forty houses of the Order which went to make up the English Augustinian province of pre-Reformation times, I have found, in almost every instance, that the founding of our convents was due to the charity of some generous benefactor or benefactors. Especially was this the case with our foundation in London. The pioneer hermit-friars were fortunate enough to enlist the interest and the generosity of Humphrey Bohun, founder of the earldom of Hereford and Essex, in their undertakings. To this nobleman the London house of the Order owed its inception. We read that he founded it 'to the honour of God and His Blessed Mother, ever Virgin, and for the health of the souls of himself, his ancestors, and descendants.' This was but the beginning of a close connection with our Order of one of the oldest and noblest families in England. In 1354, a century subsequent to the starting of the London house, another Humphrey Bohun, great-grandson to the one mentioned above, and his successor in his title of Hereford and Essex, built for the fathers a magnificent church, of well-nigh cathedral dimensions, a fragment of which is still fortunately in existence. This church was in the late perpendicular style, and was about 220 feet in length. The great windows are filled with tracery, evidently of the decorative period. At the present moment the choir and transepts of the original church are no longer in existence. The nave, however, is still standing, with its nine vast bays, divided by piers, and

is 153 feet long by 83 feet broad. The shallow mullions and chamfers, the seats within the sills of the windows, and especially in the piers, are all characteristic of the period to which the building belonged. The cloister, communicating with the conventual building, adjoined, so far as we can judge, the north wall of the nave. Just two years ago a seventeenth-century house in Austin Friars was pulled down, when certain conjectures as to the exact position of the conventual buildings received ample and unexpected confirmation.

A stranger coming to London, any time during the fifteenth century, could not fail to have been struck by what was one of the sights of the city—that was the steeple of the magnificent Church of the Austin Friars. Honest old Stow has left us a fairly accurate description of it in his famous *Survey of London*,¹ when, after noticing the Church of St. Peter the Poor, in Broad-street, he proceeds to say:—

Then next have ye the Augustin Friars Church and church-yard, the entring thereunto by a south gate to the west porch; a large church, having a most fine spired steeple, small [*i.e.*, tapering], high, and straight. I have not seen the like. Founded by Humphrey Bohun, Earle of Hereford and Essex, in the year 1253. Reginald Cobham gave his messuage in London to the enlarging thereof, in the year 1344. Humphrey Bohun, Earle of Hereford and Essex, re-edified this church in the year 1354, whose body was there buried in the choir. The small spired steeple of the church was overthrown by tempest of wind in the year 1362, but was raised up new, as now it standeth, to the beautifying of the citie.

If we accept the number of noble English families that longed to make the Church of the Austin Friars in London their place of sepulture as an indication of the repute in which the fathers were universally held—and I discover no fairer test of the popularity of a religious order—then the Augustinians must certainly have been greatly beloved. In the Harleian MS., 6,033 ff, 31, 31B, and 32, and in No. 544 of the same collection, there is to be found a long list of the

¹ Ed. 1603, p. 78.

names and titles of those buried in this church of our order:—

The Bodyes buryed in the ffryers Augustyn of London, founded by the Earl of Hereford.

In the Quayre: Edmund, first son of Joan, mother of King Richard II. It'm, in the wall lyeth Sir Gwydon de Meyrick, Earl of St. Paule's. Dame Ida, wife of Sir Thomas West.

In the middest lyeth Sir Humfrey Bohun, Earle of Hereford and Essex, Lord of Pembroke. It'm, the Lord Richard, great Earl of Arundell, Surrey and Warren. It'm, Sir Edward Arundell, and Dame Elizabeth his wife.

And so on for several others, including Dame Lucye, Countess of Kent; Edward, Duke of Buckyngham; and Aubred, son and heir of the Earl of Oxenford. Sir Francis Courteney and the Earl of Pembroke were interred immediately under the sanctuary lamps. In what is styled the 'walking-place' of the choir, as well as in the Chapels of St. John and St. Thomas, in the chapter-house, the body of the church, and in the east and west wings, we find the graves of representatives of some of the noblest English families, and those of the wealthy London merchants, including such well-known names as Knowles, Vere, Warren, Norrys, Wells, Maynell, Manners, Wingfield, Spencer, Lacye, Courteney, Beaumont, Talmache, Blundell, Gifford, Tyrrell, Lee, Scroope, Clifford, and Rede.

As might reasonably be conjectured, the fathers of Austin Friars were fortunate enough to receive substantial evidence of the good-will of their numerous admirers. The records of these good deeds are, in many instances, still extant. Thus, Dugdale tells us that William, Marquis of Berkeley, who was interred in the east wing of the church, bequeathed the sum of £100 in money for the purpose of having two Masses celebrated 'henceforth for ever at the altar of our Lady and St. James,' where the body of his second wife lay buried, for his eternal weal. Again, a certain gentleman, named William Scott, of Stapleford Tawney, in Essex, several of whose relatives were buried in the church, ordered

his executors in his last will, bearing date 1490, to provide—

As sone as they goodly may, to be seyde and songe for his sowle, and the sowles of his Fadyr and Modyr, Benefactors, and all christian Sowles, in the convent church of the Freers Austyns of London, by the freers of the seyde place xxx Masses, which bene callyd a Trental of St. Gregory. Also in the seyde place a *Dirige* and Mass of *Requiem* by note, if it happen him there to decease.

Then follows a long list of the different sums of money * to be paid for each priest and lay brother taking part in the above-mentioned functions.

The London house was always regarded as the leading establishment of the English province. The Provincial resided there as a general rule; and some of the most learned fathers the province ever produced lived and laboured within its walls. It was here, for instance, that the famous controversialist, Bakin, a preacher and theologian of the highest order, and a most determined foe of Wickliffe and his followers, lived and wrote after his removal from Oxford. John Lowe, another Oxford professor, made the London house his place of residence from the date of his appointment as provincial. This father won for himself wide repute as a preacher. He was a lover of books, and delighted in collecting ancient manuscripts. The library at Austin Friars, which contained a wonderful collection of MSS., was greatly indebted to his efforts on its behalf. Father Lowe was an especial favourite of King Henry VI., to whom he filled the rôle of spiritual director. Henry made him a member of his Privy Council, and finally had him appointed bishop of the ancient see of Rochester. Bishop Lowe went to his reward in 1436. Father Thomas Pemkett, too, lived for many years in the London house. Leland tells us that he was famous for his sharpness in disputation, and that he was so closely formed upon the model of Scotus, that 'one egg could not be more like to another, or milk to milk.' His power of memory was so remarkable, that it was said, in his day, that if the ponderous volumes of Scotus had been lost, Pemkett could

replace them almost without the loss of a word. He died in 1487. Another father of the English province who was closely connected for many years with the fortunes of the London house, was the famous prior, John Tonny, one of the greatest philologists ever produced in this country. No man of his time had a profounder insight into the niceties of language and the properties of words than he. He left behind him several erudite tomes on the quantities of syllables, as well as the manner of making verses; others dealing with such questions as wit and rhymes, and not a few on the elements of grammar. With such a scholar as a member of the community, we are not surprised to learn that during his lifetime the library of the house in London was enriched with many priceless treasures:—

Thus [writes the Rev. T. Hugo] for several centuries the house of the Austin Friars continued to flourish in rest and peace, one of those great humanizers which prevented mediæval society from becoming one unvarying scene of riot and misrule. It was from such walls as these that the mighty leaven emanated which gave the times all that they possessed of learning, refinement, and moral excellence. It was here, and here alone, that the various and discordant elements could and did unite, and where men could meet on one common ground—the ground of Christian brotherhood. Within these walls, century after century, was one or more of the recognised masters in the sciences then known. Either the prior or one of the brethren was a man of celebrity, a professor at Oxford, a renowned controversialist, an admired preacher. Austin Friars was thus the centre of artistic, intellectual, and pious effort, and the very name of this beautiful house was synonymous with influences that largely contributed to illuminate and dignify the age.

Unfortunately a day came, one of the saddest days in the whole history of England, when this noble institution was destined to disappear, with so many hundreds of others of a like character and of similar beneficence. For years the community of Austin Friars refused to entertain the new-fangled doctrine of the royal supremacy. Rather than acknowledge this unheard-of claim, the fathers decided to quit their convent for ever, and to tread the path of sorrow and affliction in a cold, unfeeling world. On the 12th November, 1539, the prior and his community surrendered

their church and convent to their rapacious and lustful king. They were thirteen in all. Their names are as follows:—

Thomas Hammond, Prior;
Robert Howman,
Wm. Skott,
Wm. Daube,
Wm. Ballard.
Thomas Symson,
William Malyn,
Robert Myddylton,
Thomas Dyceson,
John Grome,
David Coop,
Richard Butte,
John Stokes, D.D.

The deed of surrender is still preserved in the Augmentation Office, and bears an impression of the seal of the London house of the Order.

We have now merely to describe the division of the plunder, and the shameless manner in which the noble church and the conventual buildings were desecrated. Two years after the date the fathers were ejected rather than acknowledge the royal supremacy in matters spiritual, on July 16th, 1540, King Henry VIII., in the thirty-second year of his reign, granted to Sir Thomas Wriothesly the large house and messuage standing within the precincts of Austin Friars, to be held by him and his heirs for ever. In the following year, on May 13th, 1541, another portion of the friars' property was conveyed to Sir Wm. Paulett, and still another lot was made over to Sir Richard Riche. Lastly, King Edward VI., on July 22nd, 1550, granted to William, Lord St. John, and to his heirs in soccage, all the upper portion of the venerable church, including the choir, transept ('le crosse ile'), and chapels. This Lord St. John afterwards became Lord Treasurer of England, Earl of Wiltshire, and Marquis of Winchester. He died in 1571. With pain must it be recorded that this nobleman converted the transept and side chapels into a corn-store, and, sadder still, the choir into a coal-house. His son and heir equalled,

if he did not surpass, the achievements of his sire in the matter of wanton desecration. When hard pressed for money he tore down the numerous valuable monuments which had been erected over the last resting-place of those who had been interred in the church, rooted up the pavement of the nave, and sold the lot for the sum of £100. He also stripped the heavy lead from the roof of the church, and used a large portion of the sacred building itself as a stable for his horses. On the site of the conventual buildings, garden, and cloister the first marquis erected a large mansion, which he called Winchester House. The memory of this building is still preserved by Winchester-street, off Broad-street, as well as by several offices in the neighbourhood of Austin Friars.

The fate of the beautiful steeple that rose like a tapering mass of lace-work above the church, presumably at the junction of the nave and transepts, and for which, in the matter of pure gracefulness and richness of tracery, we can only find an equal in the *flèche* of the Sainte Chapelle in Paris, or in that of the glorious Cathedral at Amiens, must ever be profoundly regretted. Stow is very forcible when he comes to refer to it.¹ He writes as follows :—

And still it might have stood had not private benefit, the only devourer of antiquity, pulled it down. Both that goodly steeple, and all the east part of the church, have lately been taken down, and houses, for one man's commodity, raised in their place ; whereby London hath lost so goodly an ornament, and times hereafter may more talk of it.

So far as I can gather the steeple was still standing in the year 1603, having thus far survived the many barbarous changes and injuries inflicted on the church itself and the adjoining buildings. It must, however, have been in a very dangerous condition at the commencement of the seventeenth century, for in the year 1600 I find the chief inhabitants of the parish of St. Peter the Poor, in Broad-street, presenting a petition to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London, in which they besought the City

¹ Stow. London. Ed. 1754. Vol. i., pp. 441, 442.

Fathers to take such steps as might be necessary to save an object of such exquisite beauty from utter destruction. The Mayor and Aldermen took the matter up with some show of warmth, and addressed a letter to the then Marquis of Winchester, to whom the property legally belonged. In this epistle they say:—

There hath been offered of late unto this Court a most just and earnest petition, by divers of the chiefest of the Parish of St. Peter the Poor, to move us to be humble suitors unto your Lordship, in a cause which is sufficient to speak for itself, without the mediation of any other, viz.:—for the repairing of the ruinous steeple of the church sometime called the Augustin Friars, the fall thereof, which without speedy prevention is near at hand, must needs bring with it not only a great deformity of the whole city, it being for architecture one of the beautifullest and rarest spectacles thereof, but also a fearful imminent danger to all the inhabitants next adjoining.

They then mention that only a year previous his Lordship had given his word of honour to repair the steeple, which promise he had never kept. They also pointed out that a small expenditure of money would be sufficient to save it from ruin; and that by making such trivial outlay he would be doing a work 'helpful to many, and most grateful to all—as well English as strangers.' Otherwise they will feel constrained to have recourse to the last remedy—the law of the land—*de reparatione facienda*. This document was signed by Nicholas Mosley, Lord Mayor of London, and by several others, the date being August 4th, 1600.

This worthless aristocrat, however, was alike regardless of his promise and deaf to importunity, with the result that one of the finest specimens of architecture in London shared the same fate as the choir and transepts. Previous to this sad event the nave of the church had been made over to the Dutch by King Edward VI. to be their preaching place. The young King recorded this event in his diary, on June 29th, 1550. Letters patent were issued on 24th July, 1551, in which it was decreed that John a Lasco, and his congregation of Walloons, should have the nave of

the church of Austin Friars, to be called by them '*Jesu's Temple*,' 'to have their services in, for avoiding all sects of Anabaptists and such like.'

This nave is still standing after the lapse of so many centuries; and in it, even until now, the Dutch Calvinists resident in London have their weekly services. It is difficult for an antiquarian to visit the spot without being moved profoundly. A Protestant writer, after visiting the church, penned the following description of his feelings:—

The interior of the vast nave still presents, amidst all its desolation, a most affecting and magnificent spectacle. The clustered piers, and exquisite windows, and the noble air and grand proportions of the whole still possess inspiration for all who can appreciate the beautiful and the true in architectural science, while not only can art discourse to us of her marvels, but Religion herself can whisper to us of much—much to be learned, much to be loved, much to be prayed for, much to be deprecated—on the time-worn pavement, beneath the lofty arches, and amidst the venerable walls of *Austin Friars*.

Certainly we, the Austin Friars of to-day, have much to learn from the example of those our brethren who have gone before us; and much, very much, to pray for in our struggle to build up the old order of the Hermit Friars once again here in England.

RICHARD A. O'GORMAN, O.S.A.

THE JUDICIAL OFFICE OF THE PRIEST

THE confessor as judge in the tribunal of penance inquires into the case of the penitent, and decides on the merits of the case to absolve the penitent, or to delay or refuse absolution. The Sacrament of Penance was instituted for the remission of actual sin. Since sin is remitted through this sacrament by absolution alone, we may easily infer that the office of the minister of penance obliges him to absolve whenever the conditions requisite for a valid sacrament are judged to be present. Hence the duty of the sacramental judge may be summarized as follows :—(1) He must decide whether the necessary conditions are present. (2) If he can judge them to be present he is bound, at least *per se*, to absolve. (3) If he cannot prudently determine their presence he is bound either to postpone or else refuse absolution. It may be asked, what are the conditions necessary for the validity of the Sacrament of Penance? Generally speaking, they are three, viz. (1) sin; (2) a confessor; (3) a penitent. Sin as such offers no impediment to the sacrament. Christ instituted penance to remit all sin. The confessor must be validly ordained, and possess jurisdiction and approbation, and confer absolution according to the prescribed form. But the conditions necessary *ex parte confessarii* need not perplex the sacramental judge in his examination of the essentials of the Sacrament of Penance. The penitent must place certain acts which some theologians claim to belong to the essence of the sacrament, and which other theologians with perhaps equal probability hold not to be intrinsic to the sacrament, but only conditions more or less necessary for the validity of the sacrament. These acts are confession, satisfaction, and contrition. With regard to confession, the confessor can take for granted that the penitent, who comes forward as a voluntary witness against himself, has confessed all necessary matter, *i.e.*, all mortal sins not already confessed. In reference to satisfaction, theologians lay down

the principle that the confessor need not disquiet himself, if the penitent freely accepts the penance and contingent obligations imposed upon him.

Next we come to contrition which is a sorrow and reprobation of past sin with a resolution of sinning no more. Now, if there is speculative doubt as to the exact relation which the acts of the penitent hold towards the Sacrament of Penance, there is absolute certainty that the presence of contrition *cum proposito non peccandi* is needful for a valid sacrament. Contrition, in so far as it means sorrow for past sins, may be judged to be present from the confession, and expression of sorrow manifested by the penitent. We may here quote the opinion of Suarez:—

Observandum hanc dispositionem (scil. contritionem poenitentis) ex duobus consurgere (scil. displicentia) præteritorum et proposito in futurum. Et quidem quoad displicentiam attinet, facile potest sibi satisfacere confessor quia si poenitens in ipso modo confessionis et accusationis suae præbet signa doloris, vel certe si est homo non valde rudus et apparet moratus nullam in hoc diligentiam tenetur confessor adhibere.¹

Theologians hold that contrition, in so far as it means a *propositum non peccandi*, must be firm, efficacious and universal. To be firm, the *propositum* must proceed from a sincere will not to sin again on any account whatsoever. That the *propositum* be efficacious, the penitent must go a step further, and must have a sincere will, not only not to sin again, but also to use all the means necessary to avoid sin in future, *v.g.*, to shun the necessary occasions of sin, &c. Theologians here point out that it is sufficient if the *propositum* be *effectively* efficacious, *i.e.*, if the penitent be *here and now* prepared to give effect to the necessary means. Lastly, the *propositum* must extend to the avoiding of every mortal sin without exception. Now here arises the difficulty:—A man is living in the proximate occasion of sin which *ex rei natura* he is bound to avoid. Such a one had been to confession on several occasions, and had proposed on each occasion to avoid the proximate occasion, but

¹ *De Poenit.*, disp 32, sect 2, n. 2.

has always failed in his *propositum*. Here a doubt arises in the confessor's mind concerning the validity of the penitent's contrition in his former confessions. Since he has not used the means necessary to avoid mortal sin, was the previous *propositum* efficacious? and, inferentially, is his present *propositum* efficacious? Again, the penitent has been living for a length of time in the habit of sin without any apparent improvement in his spiritual condition—is his present *propositum* sufficiently firm? If from all the signs that manifest themselves to the confessor, serious doubts arise concerning the validity of a former *propositum*, there straightway springs up a presumption against the present *propositum*. Often a confessor finds himself in a state of perplexity in such circumstances.

Now, it should be remembered that the confessor is not bound to have moral certainty of the dispositions of his penitent. *Nemo ad impossibile tenetur*. If he can form a prudent judgment, *i.e.*, a solidly probable judgment, it is sufficient. The presumption is in favour of the penitent. The Roman Catechism says: 'Si audita confessione judicaverit (sacerdos) neque in enumerandis peccatis diligentiam neque in detestandis dolorem poenitenti omnino defuisse absolvi potest.'¹ Here it is implied that the presumption in favour of the penitent is so strong that his utter want of dispositions must be reasonably manifest before the confessor is forbidden to confer the sacrament. We all remember the maxim: 'Poenitenti credendum est vel pro se vel contra se.' St. Thomas writes: 'Non possumus majorem certitudinem accipere quam ut subdito credamus . . . unde in foro confessionis creditur homini vel pro se vel contra se.'² Theologians, therefore, not only hold that the presumption is in favour of the penitent, but they require a strong case to be made against him before they refuse absolution. The acts of the penitent must clearly contradict his words. We may say that the acts of the penitent appear to contradict his words when his acts cast grave doubts on the validity of his former *propositum*. If the penitent has persevered in

¹ *Dec Sacr. Poenit.*, n. 60.

² 4 Dist. 17, q. 3, art. 3.

the proximate occasion of sin, his former *propositum* would seem not to be efficacious ; if in the habit of sin, it would seem not to be firm.

The proximate occasion of sin is something extrinsic to the sinner, which at least frequently—the word frequently being used not in relation to time in general, but in relation to the number of times the occasion occurs—entices one to fall into grave sin. Thus, if a man falls seven times or even five times for every ten times the occasion presents itself, such an occasion is proximate for him. The proximate occasion is something relative—what is the proximate occasion for one is not the proximate occasion for another. The proximate occasion depends upon the extrinsic influence which allures, and the native fragility of the person allured. If the occasion is not proximate it is said to be remote, *i.e.*, removed to a distance from sin. Theologians distinguish between the *voluntary* proximate occasion which can be abandoned at will, and the *necessary* proximate occasion which cannot be abandoned without considerable difficulty. Again, they speak of the occasion being *in esse* when a man is *hic et nunc*, under its influence, and *non in esse* when one is *hic et nunc*, outside the sphere of its influence. Theologians draw a very marked distinction between the method of avoiding the voluntary occasion, and that of avoiding the necessary occasion. Both occasions must be avoided at whatsoever cost, but the former must be avoided by altogether abandoning it. All theologians agree that refusal to abandon the voluntary proximate occasion *in esse*, or to shun the voluntary proximate occasion *non in esse*, renders the penitent unfit for absolution.¹ The proximate occasion implies a moral necessity of sinning, and the desire or intention of voluntarily exposing oneself to such a danger is a mortal sin.

Two grave questions are here discussed by theologians :—

- (1) Whether the confessor is bound to defer absolution until the penitent *de facto* abandons the *voluntary* proxi-

¹ Ballerini, *de Poenit.*, sect. v., n. 174.

mate occasion *in esse*, even though he may be judged to be *hic et nunc contrite*? (2) How far is one, living in the necessary proximate occasion of sin, obliged to *actually* abandon it, before one can be judged to be disposed for absolution? The first question may be put thus:—May a penitent who *hic et nunc* exhibits sufficient signs of contrition be absolved if he promises to abandon the voluntary occasion *in esse*, or must absolution be deferred until he *de facto* abandons the occasion? In reply, it may be stated, that theologians are divided in their opinions. There appears to be two leading opinions in the matter:—(1) That of St. Liguori, who holds that at least *per se*, the penitent must have abandoned the occasion before his confessor can give him absolution.¹ We say *per se*, because in two cases he permits the confessor to rest satisfied with the promise:—(a) When the penitent exhibits extraordinary signs of sorrow, and (b) when the penitent cannot return for a considerable time to the same confessor. The chief reasons on which this opinion is based are two in number:—(1) St. Liguori² says that in such a case the penitent cannot seek absolution, for to seek absolution is a proof of indisposition; in other words, to seek absolution would mean to expose oneself to the probable danger of breaking one's *propositum*. Now, to voluntarily expose oneself to such a danger is a sin, and so a proof of the indisposition of the penitent. (2) In the next place, even though the confessor *qua judex* may absolve, *qua medicus* he cannot expose his penitent to so great a danger, when he remembers his past frailty, and proneness to remain in the occasion.

On the other hand, many theologians hold it is not necessary to actually abandon the occasion, but the promise suffices for absolution. Suarez lays down the general principle:—‘Non semper debet confessor cogere poenitentem priusquam illum absolvat ut id exequatur quod facere tenetur quia haec obligatio non semper urget pro statim;’ and he gives the reason: ‘quia satis est ut poenitens

¹ *De Poenit.*, n. 463.

² *De Poenit.*, n. 454.

credatur habere firmum propositum suam obligationem implendi, cui credendum est praesertim si tunc primum incidat in eam occasionem.¹ Connick speaking of those living in the voluntary proximate occasion of sin, says they are not to be absolved—'nisi promittant eam omnino deserere.' Then he adds that if the confessor have grave reasons for suspecting the *bona fides* of their promise, 'ut si his vel ter in re fefellissent fidem debet (confessor) eos non absolvere donec de facto eam deseruissent, nisi necessitas aliud facere cogat.'² This opinion holds that *per se* the *occasionarius* may be absolved, if he promise to abandon the occasion, but *per accidens* absolution must be deferred until he has abandoned the occasion, if he has so violated faith in the past that the confessor must entertain grave doubts of the *bona fides* of his present promise. The chief reason for this opinion is that all the conditions of a valid sacrament are present; and since the penitent desires absolution, he has a right to be absolved.

In reply to the arguments of St. Liguori, briefly, it is denied that the penitent proves himself to be indisposed when he seeks absolution before *de facto* abandoning the occasion. *Ex hypothesi*, he has a firm *propositum* of abandoning the occasion. Such being the case, the sacramental grace may make it easy for the penitent to forsake the occasion, and consequently may remove the probable danger of his breaking his *propositum*. And even though the probable danger *pervevere*, the penitent has a sufficient reason for exposing himself to it, viz., that he may obtain the remission of his sins and the divine friendship. St. Liguori himself holds it is a grave *incommodum* to remain for even one day in a state of mortal sin. Consequently, if in the circumstances it is lawful for the penitent to seek absolution, the confessor may licitly absolve.

The following principles may guide the confessor:—

- (1) No penitent can be absolved who refuses to abandon the voluntary proximate occasion, however loud-spoken he be in his expression of sorrow and purpose of amendment.

¹ *De Poenit.*, disp. 32, sect. 2, n. 4.

² Disp. 8, n. 133.

(2) *Per se* all penitents can be absolved, provided they promise to abandon the occasion. (3) *Per accidens* absolution must be deferred until the occasion is abandoned, whenever the confessor has grave reasons of doubting the sincerity of the penitent. (4) When the occasion is public, and the element of grave public scandal is introduced into the case, theologians are practically unanimous for withholding absolution unless the gravest reasons urge in favour of it, and in no case should the Blessed Eucharist be administered until the occasion is actually abandoned.

The necessary occasion may be physically or morally necessary. Physical necessity presents no difficulty. An occasion is said to be morally necessary, when the abandonment of it entails a serious temporal or spiritual loss. It is by no means an easy thing to measure the exact loss, whether spiritual or temporal, which stamps the occasion as a necessary one. The following rule is laid down by Father Segneri, and approved by all succeeding theologians, viz.—‘If after viewing all the circumstances of the case, it is judged easier to make the occasion remote than to abandon it, the occasion may be presumed to be necessary.’ In applying this rule theologians warn us that great prudence and caution must be observed. Theologians say that the formal guilt of the proximate occasion arises from one voluntarily exposing oneself to it; consequently, he who voluntarily exposes himself to such an occasion must abandon it. But when the occasion is necessary, the remaining in it, and the seeking it, cease to be voluntary. In the former case the man must be presumed to love the danger; in the latter case, the danger rather forces itself upon him. In the latter case, there always exist a legitimate end to be attained, and a sufficient reason for seeking it, despite the presence of the proximate occasion. Theologians insist upon the *occasionarius* making the occasion remote, before they allow him to expose himself to its influence. It should be remembered that the remote occasion may *positis ponendis* become a proximate occasion of sin, and *vice versa*, the proximate occasion *mutatis mutandis* may become remote. The

occasion still existing, some one circumstance may be removed, and the occasion ceases to be proximate. The serpent is still there, but its sting has been extracted. By the removal of the dangerous circumstance the occasion becomes remote. For instance, the owner of a public-house may find his proximity to drink a proximate occasion. But if he take the pledge, *i. e.*, remove the circumstance of freedom to drink when he pleases, the proximate occasion may disappear. Again, two people who dwell under the same roof find their nearness to each other a proximate occasion. If such remove the circumstance of meeting together alone, they may make the occasion remote. In reply to the question already set forth:—How far is one living in the necessary proximate occasion of sin bound to *actually* abandon the occasion, before one can be judged to be disposed for absolution? theologians maintain that the person who is placed in the necessary occasion can at least *per se* be absolved, provided he promises to use the means of making the occasion remote. *Per accidens*, it may be useful and sometimes even necessary, when the penitent returns without any signs of amendment, to delay absolution for some days in order the better to test his *propositum*. But, it may safely be held that the confessor is not bound to force the penitent to altogether abandon the necessary occasion under pain of absolute refusal of absolution.¹ If the penitent voluntarily consents to abandon the occasion, he can do so by all means, but coercion in such a case is unnecessary and very inexpedient. The *occasionarius* is bound by the law of nature to avoid the proximate occasion, but he can do so in two ways—(a) by making it remote; (b) by actually abandoning it. Since, *ex hypothesi* it is easier to make the occasion remote than to altogether abandon it, it would be a grave hardship to the penitent, to force him to choose the more difficult means of avoiding the proximate occasion. The confessor instead of removing the proximate occasion, would only place the penitent in great danger of sinning, by imposing upon him a new obligation which in

¹ Ballerini, *De Pœnit.*, sect. v., n. 202, and n. 185.

the circumstances is so difficult of fulfilment.¹ It is better to defer the absolution until the penitent employs the means of making the occasion remote and shows signs of amendment, not entire amendment, but such² as can warrant the confessor to regard the occasion as remote.

Here some theologians, amongst others St. Liguori,³ discuss a question first raised by Lacroix, viz., what is to be done with a penitent who, time and again has failed to make the occasion remote? in other words, how is an *occasionarius* to be treated when there is no hope of his making the occasion remote? Before replying, it might be observed that such an occasion would seem to be voluntary rather than necessary, since it is supposed to be impossible to make it remote. In reply, it may be said, that if there is no other hope, such a one is clearly bound to actually abandon the occasion. But who can say that the actual abandonment of the necessary proximate occasion is in even a single case the only means of escaping relapse. From the definition of a necessary occasion we learn it is easier to make the occasion remote than to abandon it. But, urge those theologians, such an *occasionarius* comes again and again in the same disposition without any sign of improvement. What is the confessor to do with him? He ought to examine whether the means prescribed are the ones proper to the man's spiritual malady.⁴ It may be they are not. We should remember that the medicine which heals is only that which is proper to the disease. If the means are not suited to the case, the confessor should impose others which are; if there is doubt, he ought to imitate those physicians who, finding their medicine does not produce the desired effect, prescribe afresh for their patients. If after examining all the circumstances of the particular case, the confessor has grave doubts of the *bona fides* of the penitent, he is bound to defer the absolution until the penitent has *de facto* made the occasion remote.

¹ Ballerini, *sect. v.*, n. 211.

² Ballerini, *De Poenit.*, *sect. v.*, n. 196.

³ Ballerini, *De Poenit.*, *sect. iv.*, n. 193.

⁴ *De Poenit.*, n. 457.

If a man comes to confession again and again, and confesses that he has frequently fallen into the same sin without any apparent sign of amendment, we say that man is living in a habit of sin. Lugo defines a habit of sin to be 'frequens reincidentia in eadem peccata post multas confessiones sine ulla emendatione.'¹ Wherefore three things are required for a habit: (1) frequent relapse after many confessions; (2) relapse into the same sin; (3) absence of any, even incipient amendment. A habit of sin is not an occasion of sin, for it is not extrinsic to the sinner. Neither is the habit of sin an habitual affection for sin. The latter implies a deliberate love and desire of sin. Neither is the habit of sin a sin in itself: it is merely a facility of sinning begotten of a repetition of sinful acts. This facility of sinning does not necessarily imply a moral inclination to sin, because the habit or facility of sinning may synchronize with a strong moral aversion from the act of sin. A man may have contracted a habit of cursing or drunkenness, and thoroughly hate such sins; nay, even be prepared to die rather than offend God thus. In the Confession of St. Augustine, we learn how evil habits enchained one who held them in loathing. Habit is more correctly designated a physical than a moral inclination to sin.

It may be asked—when a man who has fallen into a habit of sin comes to confession, why does the habit cast a doubt upon his present dispositions? In reply, it may be said that the habit does not bear direct testimony against the present dispositions of the penitent. It bears direct evidence against the dispositions of the penitent in former confessions. Since he has fallen again and again into the same sin, there is a presumption that he had not a firm or efficacious *propositum* of abandoning this sin; or, as Suarez says, there is a presumption that he had not sufficiently proposed to himself to use the means necessary to combat the sinful acts. But it should be remembered that, though the presence of a habit may directly testify to the probable existence of want of *propositum* in former confessions, such testimony cannot

¹ *De Poenit.*, Disp. 14, n. 166.

per se prove the invalidity of these confessions. That a man has fallen into sin is no proof that he had not previously had a firm and efficacious resolution of avoiding sin. St. Thomas lays down this truth :—

Quod aliquis postea peccat vel actu vel proposito non excludit quin prima poenitentia vera fuerit. Nunquam enim veritas prioris actus excluditur per actum contrarium sequentem. Sicut enim vere cucurrit qui postea sedet, ita vere poenituit qui postea peccat.¹

Now, if the habit in relation to past confessions creates only a presumption in favour of absence of *propositum*, the presumption is still weakened in relation to the present confession. In the case of present confession, when the penitent declares he is sorry, and resolved to avoid the sin in future, and prepared to use whatever means are suggested to him, the confessor has not before him the fact of the penitent's relapse after these protestations of amendment, but only the inference derived from his past relapses. Lehmkuhl says: 'Relapsus creat prejudicium non directe sed indirecte contra praesentem dispositionem poenitentis.' Here it might be remarked that such an inference unsupported by collateral evidence, will seldom justify the refusal of absolution. De Lugo lays down the admitted principle that the confessor who cannot prudently decide that the penitent has necessary sorrow and *propositum* is bound to defer absolution, however loud the penitent may be in the expression of his sorrow. But in the same place he tells us the motives which move the confessor to doubt: 'Quando sacerdos attenta consuetudine praeterita et propensione aliisque circumstantiis judicat poenitentem non sufficienter averti a peccatis,'² &c. Here the *aliae circumstantiae* which accompany the habit carry with them positive signs of indisposition. St. Liguori says that the mere *habituatus* is not on that account to be considered indisposed, but can be considered disposed: 'nisi obstet aliqua positiva presumptio in contrarium.' This presumption does not arise from the habit alone, but chiefly from certain extrinsic signs. Such

¹ 3 Q. 8, art. 10, ad. 14.

² Disp. 14, n. 166.

signs are manifold—(1) refusal to forsake the proximate occasion; (2) refusal to employ the means necessary to overcome the evil habit; (3) long continuance of the habit; (4) danger of scandal; (5) motives which urge the penitent to seek absolution, whether routine or outside pressure; especially if he regards his present state with indifference, &c.

De Lugo lays down the following rules for the direction of the confessor in his treatment of *recidivi*:—

(1) *Doctrina communis et vera est si sacerdos hic et nunc non obstante consuetudine praeterita judicet poenitentem habere verum dolorem et propositum non peccandi posse eum absolvere; quia dispositio sufficiens est dolor et propositum praesens, non emendatio futura, atque ita poterit absolvi, licet judicetur relapsurus.* (2) *Certum est quando sacerdos attenta consuetudine praeterita et propensione aliisque circumstantiis judicet poenitentem non averti sufficienter ab illo peccato, non posse eum absolvere quantumcunque poenitens dicat se dolere.* (3) *Denique aliquando utile est differre absolutionem per aliquot dies ut appareat correctio et observatio propositi.*¹

In the same context he clearly points out in what circumstances it is useful to postpone absolution. (1) It may be useful if the penitent consents to the delay, *volenti non fit injuria*. (2) Delay is permissible, if necessary to test the *propositum* of the penitent. (3) Delay ought not to be imposed except for a just and reasonable cause. (4) Postponement is not lawful should any consequent spiritual loss ensue to the penitent.

Ballerini earnestly contends against the utility of deferring absolution except in very rare cases, whenever the penitent *hic et nunc* declares that he is really sorry for his sins, and that he is resolved to avoid them in future and to follow the directions of his confessor.² Dicastillo thus expresses his views:—

*Raro enim en mera dilatione absolutionis potest sperari correctio. Talis dilatio non raro nocet nisi fiat interim dum melius poenitens instruitur . . . De cetero praecise dilatio raro prodest et saepe nocet . . . sic enim multi confessorium mutant, ut jam nova series remediarum incipiat et pro primis vicibus beneficium absolutionis cepiant.*³

¹ Disp. 14, n. 166.

² *De Poenit.*, sect. v., n. 227, et seq.

³ *De Poenit.*, disp. 6, n. 573.

Fr. Salvatori declares that a confessor, once 'he has begun to hear a confession is bound under pain of mortal sin, even according to the laws of justice, to finish it, when it is in his power to do so, and to finish it by putting into execution all the means which Christ has bound him to employ.' This learned and experienced guide of souls counsels the confessor to instruct his penitents with the view of moving them to a heartfelt contrition.

Let him [he writes] begin by acting the part of instructor, teaching his penitent the heinousness of his sins. . . . Let him next act the part of a good physician, by impressing upon his penitent the great risk he runs of being lost, and of the great folly of wishing to damn his soul when he might save it did he but choose to do so. . . . Let him represent to the penitent that sacramental absolution produces its effects according to the dispositions of the person who receives it, and so it only serves to bind more firmly in the bonds of sin the person who is not truly penitent, becoming in his case a terrible malediction.

If the penitent has not yet manifested sufficient signs of repentance, the writer advises the confessor to ask him :—

What do you say to all this? Are you prepared to draw down on your head a solemn curse? If you are not telling the truth, my absolution will be simply a malediction. Therefore if you do not feel that you have the proper dispositions at present, tell me so, and I will defer absolution to some other day, when you will be in a position to assure me that you really are well disposed.

Then Fr. Salvatori concludes thus :—

Should the penitent after this caution answer boldly, 'Father, absolve me, because I am telling you the truth, and I promise to perform all you have enjoined on me,' let the confessor absolve him without hesitation, even though he should give no other sensible sign of repentance.¹

The confessor should remember the maxim—*Sacramenta sunt propter homines*. The sacraments are not for angels, but for men, not for model men alone, but for every-day men. The Sacrament of Penance was instituted for sinners, not alone for those sinners who approach the tribunal with tears and breast beatings, but for all sinners—the stolid, the

¹ Fr. Salvatori, *Practical Instruction*, translated by Dr. Hutch, pp. 205-207.

perverse, the hardened, for those most of all. This Sacrament of reconciliation given to man by the great High Priest, Who by taking unto Himself our nature had an experimental knowledge of human infirmity, is the practical expression of His predominant desire to 'seek and to save that which is lost.' The blood of the 'Lamb who was slain to take away the sins of the world' is a divine trust confided to the priest that he may have 'compassion on those who are ignorant and err.'

M. J. QUIN, C.C.

VICTOR VITENSIS ON THE VANDAL PERSECUTION

PART II.

WE have seen that there was some abatement of the persecution during Genseric's last years. This was due to various causes, but probably most of all to the fact that nothing was left for his rapacity. Salvian¹ tells us² that each of these barbarian races had its own distinctive vice and virtue, and repeats over and over again that the Vandals were chaste but rapacious. Now, it is universally admitted that Genseric's dominant passion was rapacity, and that when booty was not in view he was like other men. He put down at once, at Carthage and other large cities, the shameless licentiousness he found there on his arrival.⁴

Huneric succeeded to his father in 477, and left things as he found them for about three years. He connived at the opening of the churches, and even went so far as to allow a bishop to be elected for Carthage, in 481, at the

¹ I. E. RECORD, June, 1898.

² His work, *De Gubernatione Dei*, Paris, 1669, is always meant; the book in Roman numerals, the page in ordinary figures.

³ viii. 169.

⁴ Salvian vii., p. 178-183.

request of his sister-in-law,¹ Placidia, and the Emperor Zeno.

Victor's work is a sort of diary, and the first book must have been completed after the death of Genseric, for he says² that in the home province, Proconsularis, only three bishops survived out of one hundred and sixty-four, whereas in his *Notitia* he sets down fifty-four bishops for Proconsularis in 484. It is clear that about fifty sees must have been filled up during this respite, and, of course, after the election of the primate. Victor and some of the clergy suspected Huneric's clemency; and their suspicions were strengthened by two cruel deeds of his at the time. To smooth the way for the succession of his own sons he put to death his own nephew and his own Arian primate, Jocundus. Their suspicions were still more confirmed by a proclamation issued with the permission to elect a bishop. In this proclamation he pretends that Arians were under persecution in the East, and says that 'unless they get the same liberty, which Catholics now enjoy in all Africa, to celebrate Mass, &c., in their churches, the bishop now to be elected, and all the other bishops of Africa, with their clergy, shall be sent among the Moors.' The clergy of Carthage were now fully convinced that a snare was being laid, for there were few Arians then in the East, and the laws enacted by Theodosius against them, in 380, had become long since obsolete. Zeno's troubles at this time were entirely from the Nestorians and the Eutychians. Gibbon's attempt to excuse this proclamation is, therefore, an anachronism and a fraud upon the credulity of his readers.

The prudent hesitation of the clergy was overborne by the clamours of the people, who were determined to have a bishop at last, after a vacancy of twenty-four years. The choice fell on Eugenius, of whom Ruinart, in his elaborate Commentary on Victor, says:³ 'Such was the fame of this

¹ Among the captives brought from Rome by Genseric, in 455, were the Empress Eudoxia and her two daughters, Placidia and Eudoxia. Eudoxia he gave as wife to Huneric. Placidia and her mother he sent to Constantinople.

² i. 9.

³ viii. 1.

holy confessor that few contemporary writers can be found who have not celebrated his praises.' Victor¹ thus describes him :—

Eugenius, a holy man, pleasing to God, having been ordained bishop, there was an extraordinary outburst of joy, and the Church of God was overpowered with gladness. The Catholic multitude, subject to the barbarians, exulted at this restoration ; and numberless youths and maidens, when congratulating each other, exclaimed aloud that they had never before seen a bishop on his throne. The man of God himself so abounded in good works, that he began to be venerated even by those without, and so beloved by all, that each one was ready, if necessary, to lay down his life for him. God vouchsafed to distribute such abundant alms through his hands, that people were amazed, seeing that everything had been seized by the barbarians, and that the Church did not possess even a single coin. Words would fail me were I to attempt a description of his humility, charity, and piety. It is well known that money never remained in his hands, unless it happened to be given to him at nightfall. He kept only what was required for the day, our God sending him daily more and more. His reputation having spread far and near, the Arian bishops, especially Cyrilla (their primate), grew terribly jealous, and pursued him daily with their calumnies. They urged the king to forbid him to sit on the episcopal throne or to preach, as usual, to the people, and also to order him to exclude from the church all, male or female, who came in Vandal dress. The bishop, as became him, answered that the Church of God was open to all, and that he could exclude none ; for he knew that there was a great multitude of our Catholics employed about the court, and obliged to wear Vandal dress.

This incident furnished the desired pretence for commencing the persecution. The king at once ordered his executioners to stand at the doors of the church, and with their instruments of torture to tear the hair and skin off the heads of all, male or female, who might be seen to enter in Vandal dress. Some lost their sight under this torture, others their lives, and the women were paraded through the street in this terrible state, preceded by heralds. 'But,' says Victor, 'we never knew any of them to have swerved from the right path under these tortures.'

Huneric, seeing this, tried another plan. He stopped

the salaries of his Catholic officials and servants, imposed upon them rustic labours, and sent delicate men, of gentle blood, to labour under the broiling sun on the plains of Utica; for Genseric had reserved whole provinces as crown lands. But these showed the same constancy, and even rejoiced in their sufferings. He then issued a general order that everyone engaged in the public service should profess Arianism; 'and then,' says Victor, 'an immense number, with invincible constancy, left his service to preserve their faith, and being stripped of everything, and driven from house and home, were sent into exile.'

With true Vandal rapacity he next ordered that the goods of every deceased bishop in Africa should be seized for the crown, and a fine of 500 *solidi* exacted for permission to elect a successor. This system of fines, though not enforced by Huneric, was soon adopted by the other barbarian races, mostly Arians. It passed from them to the Catholic emperors, and survives to this day over the Greek Church. 'He was determined,' as Victor says,¹ 'to find some means to disgrace the Catholic Church, as a pretext for his intended persecution. But his next plan was so atrocious and indecent that it cannot be fully detailed. He ordered the consecrated virgins to be seized, collected, and tortured, to extort from them confessions against their bishops and clergy; and when this failed delivered them up to be examined by Vandal midwives. Many of them expired under the tortures; 'but,' says Victor, 'he could find nothing against the Church.'

Failing thus to make apostates, his rage knew no bounds; he resolved to strike a blow that should terrify all into compliance at last. Owing to the pretended toleration, the clergy were off their guard, and there was not the slightest hint that Arians were being persecuted in the East; but all on a sudden Huneric let loose his satellites, and in a very short time they brought together, at Sicca and Lara² 'four thousand nine hundred and seventy-six bishops, priests, deacons, and other members of the Church.' Under

¹ ii. 7.

² ii. 8.

these last words he includes not only those in minor orders, but also the boys, 'infantes,' of the cathedral schools. All these were marched, or rather driven like cattle, night and day, under a Vandal escort, to the rendezvous where they were to be handed over to the Moors, and brought off to the desert. It would be impossible to epitomize Victor's account—he accompanied them all through, though not a prisoner—of the hardships of the journey, or the horrors of the prison in which they were huddled together 'like locusts,' while awaiting the arrival of the Moors. At this critical moment two royal officers left nothing undone to tempt the confessors by honeyed words and great promises; but they cried out: 'We are Catholics, we are Christians.' Victor relates how some of the boys, 'infantuli,' were followed by their mothers; 'but not one yielded either to blandishments or carnal affection.' Victor's narrative is full of incident; but we can make room for only this one:—

What multitudes, from the cities and hamlets, ran to see the martyrs as we passed, the very roads can testify, which were too narrow to contain them. They came with lighted tapers, over hill and dale, and, laying their infants at the feet of the martyrs, exclaimed aloud: 'You are going to your crowns, but to whom do you leave us, miserable creatures? Who will baptize these children? Who will give us penance? Who will reconcile us? Is it not to you it was said, 'Whatever you loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven'? Who is to bury us with solemn prayers? Who is to celebrate the usual rite of the Divine Sacrifice? Let us go with you, if permitted; let not the children be separated from the fathers.

In this terrible raid Huneric had cleared out many a cathedral establishment in his eastern provinces; he had made thousands of confessors, and many martyrs; for several had died of hardship and barbarous usage, and the wayside was studded with rude mounds, to mark their humble graves. But his ferocity was not yet sated, and Victor tells us that he meditated nothing less than the total destruction of the Church. For this purpose he laid a plot to get all the bishops of Africa into his power. On Ascension-day, 483, he issued a decree ordering all the Catholic bishops of his dominions to assemble at Carthage,

in the following February, to discuss the question of faith with the Arian bishops. Eugenius, the primate, acknowledged the receipt of the decree, and said he was quite ready; but, as the question of faith was not a local but a general matter, he should require the presence of the other bishops of his communion, 'and especially the Roman Church, the head of all the Churches.' Huneric spurned this suggestion, and insisted that the conference should meet at the appointed time. Meanwhile he was not idle; he procured the names of the most learned of the Catholic bishops, and under various pretexts got rid of them, by exile or otherwise. But the following miracle upset his calculations :—¹

There was at Carthage a blind man named Felix, well known to all the citizens. He had this vision on the eve of the Epiphany: 'Arise; go to my servant Eugenius. Tell him I sent you; and when he is blessing the font, to baptize those coming to the faith, he shall touch your eyes, and you shall see.' After a second and a third order he arose at last, called his little boy, was led to the Church of Faustus, prays awhile, and then asks a subdeacon, named Peregrinus, to bring him to the bishop. The bishop received him just as the people were singing aloud the nocturnal hymns suited to the feast. Felix told his story, and said he would not leave until he had received his sight, as the Lord had ordered; but the bishop said: 'Depart from me, brother, for I am but an unworthy sinner, reserved for these times.' Felix clung to his knees, repeating, 'Give me my sight, as you have been ordered.' Time pressed, and the bishop, seeing his unhesitating faith, led him, with his clergy, to the font, prostrated himself in prayer, then blessed the font, and said to Felix, while making the sign of the cross on his eyes: 'Brother, I am only a sinful man; but may the Lord, who has deigned to visit you, open your eyes.' And immediately the man received his sight.

This miracle produced an extraordinary impression, for it was a public condemnation of the whole Vandal position. They, like the Donatists, pretended that the Catholics were not Christians at all, but had to be all re-baptized. The news soon reached Huneric. He ordered Felix into his presence, and was only still more confounded by the

answers he received. However, the bishops relieved his perplexity by assuring him it was all magic.¹

The Calends of February were near; expectation ran high; an ominous silence brooded over the city; but Huneric was not idle. He continued to get rid of the ablest men, even by death if necessary. Lotus, Bishop of Neptis, was burned alive. Still the Catholic bishops arrived at the appointed time, to the number of four hundred and sixty-six, whose names Victor has preserved in his invaluable *Notitia*. On the day of conference Cyrilla, the Arian Primate, seated himself on a high throne to preside. The Catholics asked that, in common fairness, some neutral president should be chosen. After some disputation about this everything seemed ready for discussion, when Cyrilla, after much shuffling, announced that he could not go on, as he did not speak Latin. They knew this to be a barefaced falsehood, and now saw clearly that Huneric's pretence of wanting to know the Catholic faith was a pure mockery. From their experience at the conference of Carthage, in 411, they were prepared for this, and had drawn up an exposition of faith, with proofs from Scripture, to be presented to the king. It is a solid and learned document, and takes up the whole of Victor's third book. Victor adds that this sudden conclusion of the conference arose from Cyrilla's disappointment at seeing the Catholics so well prepared for the discussion, after all Huneric's efforts to the contrary.

The bishops were all seized at their lodgings, deprived of everything except the clothes they wore, and driven outside the city walls; and a proclamation was issued forbidding anyone, under a terrible penalty, to offer them food or shelter: the penalty was, to be burned alive with his house, goods, and family. The vacant space outside the walls was the

¹ Victor adds that they tried to kill Felix, but says nothing about a circumstance related by Gregory of Tours, and quoted in the same tome of the *Latin fathers*, p. 771. He says that Cyrilla gave a man fifty pieces of gold to feign blindness, sit at a place where he was to pass in state, call on him to lay his hands on his eyes, and then rise up cured. The farce was gone through; but the man lost his sight in great torture the moment he was touched, and in his rage told the whole plot. Ruinart (ch. xviii.) says that Gregory had many African documents beside Victor's work.

receptacle for all the ordure and refuse of the city, and there these venerable bishops lay under the canopy of heaven during that February night. For they knew that if they attempted to move farther, the satellites of the tyrant were ready to follow them, and bring them back manacled, to be paraded through the city as cowards who had fled from the conference. Next day Huneric rode out to his baths, attended by a mounted escort; the bishops seeing him, rushed towards him by a common impulse, to ask what he meant by all this; but he ordered his horsemen to ride in among them, and many were ridden down, especially the old and infirm. They were then ordered to a large public building; messengers arrived from the king to offer them liberty, and the restoration of their goods and churches, if they consented to swear allegiance to his son Hilderic, between whom and the throne there were still two of his nephews. They had no objection to Hilderic; quite the contrary, for he was the son of Eudoxia, and suspected of Catholic sympathies. But they feared some new snare; however, the majority took the oath, lest their refusal should be blamed by the people for their calamities; while the others refused, excusing themselves by the Arian sense of the words, *thou shalt not swear at all*.¹ During this process notaries registered the name, residence, and answer of each bishop, and it is from this register Victor transcribed his invaluable *Notitia*. The ink was scarcely dry when an order arrived banishing the minority, as disloyal, to Corsica, to fell timber for the royal navy; while the majority, 'for having violated an evangelical precept,' were banished to remote districts to cultivate little farms under the Crown.² It is remarkable that Huneric, with all his despotic power, never did any of these terrible deeds without assigning some flimsy pretext.

¹ Matt. v.

² Victor gives the number of bishops present as 466. Of these 46 were sent to Corsica; 302, including the primate, to these small farms; 28 escaped by flight; 88 died of hardship. Of their sufferings an idea can be formed from the Life of St. Eugenius, July 13. Of these 466 bishops, 54 belonged to Proconsularis, and 177 to Byzacene, and we have seen that the full number of sees in the former was 164. This will give an idea of the population of these two provinces which formed the ancient territory of Carthage, and the present Tunisia. Modern writers have estimated it at eighteen millions at the time of its greatest prosperity under the Romans.

While all this was going on at Carthage, Huneric's messengers were on all the great Roman roads, bearing a most elaborate edict which had been long prepared.¹ For Irishmen it can be described in a few words; it might be taken for the original of our own penal code. The churches were closed, all church property confiscated, priests outlawed, Catholics excluded from all public situations and professions, their wills and contracts made void, &c., &c. But this was not enough. The bearers of this edict were closely followed by armed bands, each band accompanied by an Arian priest; they had power to seize everyone they met, and compel him to receive Arian baptism; they entered every house and re-baptized, by main force, every man, woman, and child, not excepting even those who were sound asleep.² They left a billet or written attestation for everyone thus baptized, which would secure him from the violence of other bands. These bands had full power to club, scourge, burn, torture everyone that refused or resisted; hence the immense number of martyrs in this sacrilegious raid. Victor's fifth book is entirely taken up with individual instances, among them the celebrated one at Tipasa, a great maritime city in Mauritania, whose ruins can still be seen about sixty miles west of Algiers. When Arianism was thus forced upon them the citizens, *omnis simul civitas*, fled in a body to Spain, while those who were unable to escape had their tongues cut out from the roots, but still continued to speak in various countries to the end of their lives. Even Gibbon, unable to question the overwhelming evidence for this fact, can only console himself by saying³ that no sound Arian, Socinian, or infidel will be moved by it. He excuses Huneric's atrocious edict on the ground that it only re-enacted obsolete laws of Catholic emperors. It would be useless to ask him whether truth and error have equal rights, for to him all Christian dogmas are but equal errors; but he ought to have told us, at least, how he can excuse the infliction on millions of most peaceable subjects, of laws enacted against turbulent and rapacious sectaries—Arians

¹ Iv. 1.² V. 13.³ Ch. xxxvii.

and Donatists—who had made the lives of peaceable citizens intolerable.

‘God is faithful who will not suffer you to be tempted above your strength.’¹ At the end of this year the arch-persecutor was called to his account,² and his nephew Guntamund reigned for twelve years. He was in no mood to carry out the wishes of an uncle who had intended to murder him; for three years he merely abstained from executing the penal laws, and during this time many bishops and priests must have returned to their flocks, although the Arian clergy, always more ferocious than the kings, made full use of the existing laws. A synod being still impossible in Africa, one met in Rome, in 487, under Pope Felix III., at which four African bishops assisted, probably as a deputation; it was almost entirely occupied about a question arising out of the late persecution, exactly like that of the *libellatici* in St. Cyprian’s time. In the same volume of the Latin fathers, with Victor’s work, we find the letters of Pope Felix, and among them³ the one written after this synod to the African bishops, giving minute directions about the application of the penitential canons to those who had fallen in this persecution; for great doubts had arisen as to the various degrees of culpability in those who had received the *billets*. This year, 487, Eugenius got permission to return, but it was not extended to the other bishops until 494; it was quite clear that the King had to proceed very cautiously, but the general result was, that during his reign all the surviving exiles had returned secretly or openly, and the churches not occupied by the Arians had been reopened. Victor mentions ‘only two formal and explicit apostasies of any note in the late persecution.’⁴

¹ 1 Cor. x.

² Victor ends here, and for all the rest we are indebted to his great commentator Ruinart.

³ Ep. 7.

⁴ v. 9, 10.

⁵ ‘As gold in the furnace He hath proved them’ (Sap. iii.). In this case, Huneric was the agent for completing the process, and we can now try to estimate the dross. Genserich had swept away the theatres, the amphitheatres, the circuses, the open licentiousness, the Roman ease and effeminacy, the

Guntamund died in 496, and his brother Trasamund reigned twenty-seven years. He was by inclination a persecutor, but also an educated gentleman, unwilling to disgrace himself by the rude methods of his predecessors. He relied on a method of thinly-veiled bribery for the laity, and silent extinction for the clergy. He strictly forbade any new ordinations of bishops, and the clergy took care not to provoke him, until at last, about the year 507, finding a great number of sees vacant, and having to provide for the people, they ventured to fill up a certain number of these sees. The King was enraged, the vandal burst through the gentleman, sixty Byacene bishops, with their primate, were banished to Sardinia, and gradually to various places, about one hundred and sixty from the other provinces; all the churches were closed; and now the King, having got rid of the pastors, thought he could do as he pleased with the flock. He took to theology, and argued with his ministers, officials, courtiers, and others who were summoned to his presence; his clergy, though very ignorant, as Gibbon admits, followed his example; and thus respectable Catholics were obliged to listen to objections—it is easy to object—which they were not prepared to answer. But letters were sent to the exiles, and answers came in the shape of controversial treatises, which enabled the Catholics to hold their own. We still possess several treatises written by St. Fulgentius during this crisis; the King was so struck by them, that he brought him to Carthage, and used to hold disputations with him, until at last his bishops induced him to send him back to Sardinia. The arguments of the King were aided by other measures; the penal laws were in force, and every Arian, lay and clerical, knew that the King did not want them to rust; situations, exemptions, and favours

Roman pride and wealth (Salvian vii. 168-183); but it was Huneric that separated the gold from the dross. That the amount of dross was considerable, we learn from the letter of Pope Felix, and also from Victor (v. 17), who tells us that in a terrible famine which occurred at this time (484), the *rebaptizati* were left by the King to die like flies, without any attempt to save their lives. He describes (v. 13) the extraordinary efforts of the good to repel the violence of the *rebaptizati*, and keep themselves clear of all complicity. But as every merchant or traveller had to produce his *billet* when asked, the number of *bellatrics* was considerable, and they were found in every class.

were ready for the 'deserving.' We have no diary¹ like Victor's for this period ; but, from what we do know, the only inference is, that the royal theologian was hardly more successful than the royal butcher.

This crisis lasted to the death of Trasamund, in 523, when Hilderic at last came to the throne. He at once gave complete religious liberty ; the churches were reopened, the bishops returned, and Boniface was elected Bishop of Carthage. The enthusiasm of the people of Carthage, on the arrival of the bishops from Sardinia, revealed a depth of faith and devotion beyond description, although for nearly a whole century they had only the secret ministrations of concealed priests. A General Synod, the first under the Vandals, was held in 525, at which sixty bishops assisted. The vacant sees were filled up, and general discipline restored. Gelimer came to the throne in 531 ; but he had not time to do much harm to the Church, for, in 534, he and his Vandals were expelled by Belisarius.

The new primate, Reparatus, held a general synod at Carthage, in 535, at which two hundred and seventeen bishops assisted. There was no discussion about the *lapsi* or the *libellatici*, but there was one about the manner of receiving converts from the Arian clergy. The unanimous opinion was for receiving them as mere laymen ; but it was agreed to suspend all action in the matter until an answer came from the Apostolic See. A synodal letter was sent on to Rome, in charge of two bishops and the deacon, Reparatus, who had been to Rome under the late primate. The primate sent by the same deputies a letter of congratulation to the new Pope, Agapitus, whose rescripts are given by Baronius *ad. an.* 535. In that to the council he confirms their decision about the Arian clergy, but grants them maintenance from the restored property of the Church. In that to the primate we find these words : ' Restoring, moreover, all the metropolitical rights invaded by the perversity of your enemies, we exhort you to communicate our rescripts

¹Some details occur in the Lives of St. Eugenius, July 13, and St. Fulgentius January 1.

all.' To understand these words we must call to mind ~~that~~ the Bishop of Carthage was Primate of All Africa, ~~although~~ each of the six provincial primates had the power of metropolitan in his own province. The authority of the Bishop of Carthage had fallen into abeyance through the long vacancies of the see, until Boniface endeavoured to ~~reassert~~ it at the synod of 525, with the general assent of the bishops, except the Primate of Byzacene, who refused to submit. It is to this opposition the Pope alludes, and it is quite clear that the Bishop of Carthage had asked for a renewal of his privileges. It is also clear that he could have ~~got~~ this by a vote of the synod, had he or the bishops thought themselves competent to confer it.¹

Struck by the great number of learned bishops and writers during this Vandal period, and unable to sneer at their learning, Gibbon entered on a course of biblical and theological study² to convict them of fraud; he proved to his own satisfaction that they interpolated the celebrated text of the three heavenly witnesses,³ for the exposition presented to Huneric. What can we think of the man who could narrate, as he has done, the suffering of these bishops for the truth, and then with a light heart and still lighter reason, accuse them of a sacrilegious forgery? The reader can see this matter well examined by Perronè.⁴ A writer in the *Dublin Review*⁵ has something new on it. The fact is that the presence of this text in the oldest African Bibles is an unanswerable proof of its authenticity. In addition to the reasons given for St. Augustine's omission of this text in his disputation with the Arian, Maximinus, I would mention the fact⁶ that Maximinus was not an African, but a Goth who had not this text in his Bible. St. Augustine never urged against an adversary any text to which he could object.

This accusation was made against the whole body of these illustrious martyrs and confessors; as a sort of com-

¹ Hefele, vol. i.; Hohnbacher, vol. ix.

² Ch. xxxvii.

³ 1 John, v.

⁴ *De Trinitate*, ch. ii., Prop. 2.

⁵ April, 1882.

⁶ *Life of St. Augustine*, ch. xxii.

pensation, only one of them, Vigilius, is accused of having forged the Athanasian Creed. It would be just as reasonable to accuse St. Augustine, whose summary at the end of his discussion with Maximinus is as like the Athanasian Creed as anything to be found in the works of Vigilius; he wrote much in dialogue, using the name of St. Athanasius, as he tells us himself in some of his other works. Next to St. Fulgentius he was the best controversialist of this troubled period.¹

What became of the two great African sects, the Manicheans and the Donatists, during the Vandal period? They saved themselves by conforming externally. This came out clearly in the case of the Manicheans, when Huneric discovered them even among his clergy, and persecuted them to the death.² Gibbon, always so lenient to heretics, is obliged to admit that the Vandals derived their rebaptizing mania from this mixture of Donatists; he could not avoid this admission, for the Vandals had not this habit in Spain, nor had any of the Arian races then dominant in Europe. Victor never mentions the Donatists, but they reappear as soon as the Vandals are expelled.

‘For whom the Lord loveth, He chastiseth.’³ We can now contemplate the great African Church emerging from her long trial, purer, stronger, more illustrious than ever; with thousands of her own martyrs and confessors as advocates and protectors in heaven; and with the happy consciousness of having proved to all future generations what a united clergy and people blessed by God can do under the greatest persecution that human malice could invent.

Had Henry VIII. encountered such a clergy and such a people, English history would be very different from what it has been for the last three centuries.

P. BURTON, C.M.

¹Rohrbacher, vol. viii.

²Victor, ii.

³Heb. xii.

THE 'PEMBROKE TOMBS'—TEMPLE CHURCH LONDON

THE Temple Church, London, with the exception of the great Minster itself, may be said to be the most interesting ecclesiastical memorial of the Middle Ages the vast metropolis possesses. It was one of the few, the triad we may say, of the mediæval churches that escaped destruction in the great fire of 1666, when thirteen conventual buildings and no less than eighty-nine parish churches, including the cathedral of old St. Paul's:—

Slipt into ashes and were seen no more.

The Temple is indeed a connecting link, a bond of thickly-woven memories, between our material nineteenth-century day and the age of chivalry. In no other spot within these realms may the poet or historian find more vivid materials or a greater wealth of impressions wherewith to weave the brodered picture of romance, or to fill the framework of history with the memories of an age whose thoughts and pursuits have no counterpart in the thoughts or aspirations of our every-day life. Here within this strange building, half-fortress, half-church, as we may call it, our thoughts are borne irresistibly back to the times of the Crusades.

The Templars were famous for the beauty of their churches, and this, being the metropolitan church of their order in England, was the noblest in the kingdom. It is to-day, practically speaking, in the same condition in which it stood when they left it. To the travelled visitor its peculiar form at once reveals the fact that it was built, in the religious enthusiasm of its founders, to resemble the Temple of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. On its floor lie the effigies of warriors, barons, and statesmen, all members of that strange fraternity, the Order of the Knights of the Temple, in whose fealty to the sacred

cause they espoused—valour, religion, and romance were so strangely blended. These memorials are admitted to be the finest examples of Crusaders' tombs in existence. Modelled with the highest contemporary art, figures probably taken from life, in whose features we may almost read the characters of the men they represent, these silent forms seem to recline not in sleep or death, but as if ready to rise, stand before us in life, and unsheath their swords once more.

In one of those groups of effigies we are for the moment interested. They represent the members of the Marshall family, and are usually styled 'the Pembroke tombs.' Passing along, the verger, with the usual stereotyped accuracy of his profession, doles out the name of each crusader in a way, no doubt, meant to be complimentary to his audience, since in giving the name, and the name only, he assumes they know all the rest about the occupants of each couch of stone. Consequently many Irishmen who visit the Temple Church never carry away with them the fact or remembrance that they have seen monuments which are invested with an ecclesiastical and civil interest, as far as Irish history is concerned, which exceeds that of any like associations centered in the tombs of Westminster Abbey.

Sometimes when, on those literary and antiquarian excursions now so popular amongst us, we visit some ruined cathedral or abbey church, and are shown the vacant spot where history or tradition asserts the tomb of the founder to have once stood, we regret that vandalism or time has so wholly blotted away those memorials or tributes of royal and generous deeds. A desire to preserve vestiges of the past finds a more widespread expression every other day, and with such effect that the State, which, a few centuries ago, clasped hands with the spoiler in the obliteration of memorials of the nation's history, is now taking over the fragments that remain, and protecting them with almost cherished care.

For those whose ideas are in harmony with ours in this respect there is a deep and fascinating interest in this group of effigies to which we refer in the Temple Church.

As we pass through the beautifully wrought western door, and enter the famous Round, with its circle of clustered pillars, whose arches support the triforium and dome above, the Pembroke Tombs rest on the pavement to the right. The group represents William Marshall, the great Earl of Pembroke, the Protector of England in the days of Henry III., and his sons. With the tomb of the Great Earl and his son, known in history as William Marshall the Younger, we are concerned only in this sketch. These monuments bear highest evidence of the skill of the sculptor's art, which reached such unrivalled perfection in the early period of the reign of Henry III.

The famous Earl of Pembroke, who occupied so prominent a position on the canvas of Irish as well as of English history in his time, was laid to rest in the Temple Church on Ascension-day, 1219. The figure on his tomb is executed in Purbeck or Sussex marble. Every detail is worthy of examination. The face is exposed; the head is enveloped in a hood of finely-wrought chain-mail, which defends the whole body, from the crown of the head to the soles of the feet. Over the coat of mail flows a long tunic, open in front, showing the hauberk underneath, and looped to a belt at the left side. The fillet that clasps the hood, and the girdle round the waist, are decorated with bars and quatrefoils. In his right hand the warrior grasps a drawn sword, the point of which is thrust through the head and under jaw of an animal—a lion—on which his feet rest. On the left arm a long-pointed shield is buckled, which bears in high relief the crest or insignia of the house of Marshall. The expression of the face is intensely striking, the handsome countenance deriving a look of intelligence and sad thoughtfulness from the lines of care that mark the forehead and cheeks. An oblong cushion soothingly supports the head of the mail-clad knight. His legs are crossed, in evidence of his vow as a crusader. In the pose of this martial figure, and in every delineament with which sympathetic art has invested it, we read the traits of nobility, power, intelligence, and of pride—the Christian pride—of a Christian soldier.

But why, we may be asked, do we find, in this form of voiceless marble, in this tomb of quaint mediæval fancy, a subject of such enthusiasm or appreciative thought? What exceptional interest should an Irish visitor to the Temple Church find in William Marshall's tomb? Well, it is safe to say, in the light of history, there is no name coupled with the Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland which, in a political or religious sense, has graven itself more deeply on the annals of that event.

A moment ago we regretted that the tombs of the founders were so often found missing in the verdure-clad sanctuaries of our ancient fanes. The original of this recumbent warrior in the Temple Church was no other than the founder of the once beautiful Abbey of 'the Vow,'¹ as it is called, on the shores of Wexford. He laid its foundation in the year 1200, and munificently endowed the community of Cistercian monks, who peopled it from the Monastery of Tintern, on the opposite shores of Wales, and conferred upon it the name of their parent house. Again, to him the Order of the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem owed the foundation, in 1211, of their once splendid priory, St. John's, Kilkenny City. The Cistercian Abbey of Graiguenamanagh (1212), the beautiful church of which is still used, was again the result of his munificence; whilst six years later he became the founder of the Dominican Priory of Dublin, which occupied the ground on which the Four Courts now stand.

The Templars in Ireland too had their share of this Earl Marshall's patronage and generosity. The Grand Commandery of the Order at Wexford City, the Preceptories of Kerlogue, and of Templetown and Kilclogan, in Wexford County, were among the institutions which were indebted to his religious enthusiasm for their existence.

These facts, of themselves, are sufficient to invest the personality of the first William Marshall with considerable interest. But, above and beyond his energy in promoting the interests of the Norman Church in this country, his connection, and that of his family, with Ireland, if we

¹ Tintern Abbey, Bannow, Co. Wexford.

examine it closely, would seem to alter, in some measure, the views that prevail on the question of the English occupation of Ireland. Study of the subject from this point would seemingly lead us wide of the accepted opinion that Ireland's independence was primarily wrested from its people at the point of the sword, and suggests that it was rather by the alliance of the two successive heiresses of the crown of Leinster with the trusted representatives of an alien power, the initial conquest was effected. In this phase of the question interest deepens more and more in the identity of the soldier-statesman who sleeps in the Temple Church. We have said these monuments in the Temple are of greater interest to the Irish student than any tomb in Westminster Abbey. This is practically true. Not one of the Henrys or the Edwards, or of the statesmen or soldiers who sleep around them in death, ever wielded, in the destinies of Ireland, so effective or so strange an influence as did the Pembrokes, from the rise to the setting of their fame.

In support of this assertion our subject involves the necessity of touching briefly on the family history of the Marshalls, in so far as their connection with Ireland is concerned. This remarkable man, the great Earl of Pembroke, as he is styled, espoused, at the behest of Henry II, Isabella, the grand-daughter of Dermot M'Murrough. She was lineal descendant of the kings of Leinster, sole heiress by right of her mother, Eva, the wife of Strongbow, to the south-eastern kingdom or province of Ireland. Through her father, Richard de Clare, she inherited large possessions in Wales, together with the fiefs and titular dignities of the earldom of Pembroke. On his death, when she was but five years old, Isabella became the ward of the King of England, at whose court she was brought up with all the attention and honour due to her doubly noble rank. At this time William Marshall, son and heir of the Earl of Strigul, was the most honoured courtier of the Plantagenet king. Between Henry and his rebellious sons Marshall played a difficult and many-sided part : and while enjoying the confidence of the King, he was, we are told, mixed up with many of the intrigues instigated by the Queen, which embroiled the reign of Henry II.

The foothold of English power, at the close of Henry's reign, was very insecure in this country. His sovereignty had been acknowledged only to a very limited extent by the Irish chieftains. The troubled state of England's dominions in France so much engrossed the attention of the King that he had neither time nor means at readiness to further his projects with regard to Ireland. One move in the game of conquest was, however, at the disposal of the wily Plantagenet. It proved a very successful one, although it needed at the moment neither the service of the sword, nor the expenditure of treasure. This move, on the result of which so much was at stake, was the marriage of Isabella de Clare. Through the influence of her Royal Guardian the Irish princess was affianced to the Earl Marshall, Henry's trusted friend. With her hand the Earl was to attain to all the titles and dignities enjoyed by her father, and to be further invested with full powers with regard to the future procedure of Irish affairs.

Henry II. did not live to see this eventful marriage take place. His successor, Richard I., however, immediately after his coronation, saw his father's dying wishes carried out and his schemes fulfilled. Richard Cœur de Lion, on his departure for Palestine in June, 1190, constituted the Earl, Governor of the Kingdom and Lord Justice of Ireland.

William Marshall and his bride arrived in Ireland in 1191. During the thirty years of his life that followed he was virtually King of Leinster. Not, be it remembered, as an usurper, or by such rights of patent only as he derived from the English Crown, but by a more real and legal claim as consort of the hereditary representative of Leinster's kings. The active policy of Pembroke's administration in Ireland, and the evidences he has left to tell his fame, go to show in all his bearings and actions the spirit and independence of a ruler possessed of real personal power, and who was but in little way subject to the English Crown.

One of his first works was to build in a manner of feudal splendour the Castle of Ferns, on the site of the rude palace of his wife's ancestors. At Kilkenny also he raised that

other fortress-palace, which in its impressiveness still arrests our admiration. His religious foundations and those of his successor dotted the whole land over which they ruled; and whether we regard the founders of these buildings in the classic light of *dona ferentes* or not, we must admit them to have been at least men of enthusiastic and splendid ideas. Prolonged reference to the career of William Marshall the Elder, which extended over the reigns of four sovereigns, would extend beyond our present task: it belongs to the domain of the historian.

We cannot, however, conclude our notice of one so intimately connected with mediæval Ireland without reminding some of our literary readers that the tomb in the Temple Church, around which we have tried to awaken so many memories, represents the Pembroke of Shakespeare. He is the same who pleads for

The enfranchisement of Arthur, whose restraint
Doth move the murmuring lips of discontent.

And again as the play proceeds, bewailing the fate of the murdered prince, 'tis Pembroke who exclaims:—

O, death made proud with pure and princely beauty,
The earth hath not a hole to hide this deed.

All the historians of the period bestow on this Earl of Pembroke the highest tributes of renown as a warrior and a statesman. Shakespeare, consequently, has wreathed him with literary immortality as one of his finest characters in *King John*.

William Marshall died at Caversham, in 1219. His body was conveyed to Reading Abbey, where the first ceremonies of his obsequies took place. Thence they were conveyed to Westminster Abbey, where a funeral service was performed with regal pomp. They were then borne to the Temple, and there interred on Ascension Day.

Mathew Paris relates a strange incident with regard to his end. He tells us the Elder Marshall, Protector of the Kingdom, having infringed on some of the rights of the Bishop of Ferns, in Ireland, incurred at the hands of the latter the extremest penalty of the Church.

After the death of the Earl, this circumstance was made known to the King, who became so troubled that he summoned the Irish prelate¹ to London, and besought him to pronounce absolution at the tomb of the deceased. Then, we are told, in compliance with the royal desire, the Bishop, in company with the King, proceeded to the Temple Church, and in solemn words, which the historian records, revoked the sentence he had imposed, with the conditions, however, that the King or the Earl's heirs would see restitution made for the injuries and injustices sustained by the Church of Ferns. The conditions were, we are informed, not fulfilled.

The incident lives in history. But the possibility of the event in the light the chronicler puts it can hardly be accepted. The study of the constitution of the Knights Templars throw a gleam of light on the affair. The Earl Marshall was a Templar, at least an associate of the Temple, and as such shared all the privileges and immunities of the Order. In their houses and in their domains throughout Europe, the Templars were independent of all ecclesiastical authority, except that of the Pope. No bishop, anywhere, was allowed to interfere with them. Even when whole countries were put under the ban of interdict, we read how the persons and the manors of the Templars were exempt.

Furthermore, these privileges naturally became a cause of jealousy amongst princes, prelates, and nobles, and were among the circumstances that eventually hastened the fall of this military and religious Order.

However, this strange story of Mathew Paris finds place in the history and traditions of the time, which point to the occurrence as being the cause of the malediction to which the melancholy extinction of the Marshall family is attributed.

We now pass to the memorial of William Marshall the Younger, who succeeded to the title and dominions of his father both in Ireland and Wales. His career was comparatively a short one. He enjoyed the lordship of Leinster and

¹ Albinus O'Molloy, the last Celtic Bishop of Ferns, 1185-1222.

earldom of Pembroke but for twelve years. The Younger Marshall, by his prowess in arms and wisdom in administration, was no less remarkable than his father. His fidelity to the service of Henry III. secured for him many marks of royal favour. In command of the campaign undertaken by the latter against Llewellyn of Wales, he defeated that prince with a loss, we are told, of eight thousand men. In reward for this victory, Marshall was appointed governor of the castles of Cardigan and Carmarthen, and he further received the scutage of twenty counties in England.

In the fourteenth year of the reign of Henry III. he was appointed general of the King's forces in Normandy, and was thus the recipient of an amount of royal favours such as no minister of the English Crown ever before or since attained. The prestige which those dignities added to his name was still more heightened when the King conferred on him in marriage the hand of his sister, Eleanor, the daughter of King John, by the beautiful Isabella of Angoulême.

In Ireland, William Marshall the Younger confirmed all the charters of the religious foundations of his father. The palatial fortresses of Ferns and Kilkenny were, we are told, enlarged and re-edified by him. He extended many of the charters and civic privileges of the seaports and towns of his hereditary Palatinate of Leinster.

The most lasting monument Ireland possesses of William Marshall the Younger, is the Black Abbey, Kilkenny, founded by him for the Order of Friar Preachers in 1225. It is still in possession of the Dominicans, who in later years have beautifully restored the church. No religious building in Ireland possesses recollections of greater interest. Its scene is a favourite trysting-place for antiquarians. Many who know the Abbey will be interested in learning that the tomb of its noble founder of six and a-half centuries ago still exists in all the perfection of its mediæval beauty in the quaint church by the Thames.

The recumbent effigy of William Marshall the Younger rests beside that of his father in the Temple Church. It is carved in firestone, not marble. The warrior is represented clothed from head to foot in ring-armour, in the act of

sheathing a sword, of which the scabbard hangs at his left side. The legs are crossed, while the feet, armed with spurs, rest on a lion couchant. Over the armour is the loose tunic of the Templars, confined to the waist by a girdle. From the left arm hangs suspended a shield having the armorial bearings of the house of Marshall, and the families with whom the wearer was allied. The shield is shorter than those of the other figures, and is supported at the upper end by a squirrel; an oblong cushion, under an embattled tower, supports the head. The attitude of the figure is bold and spirited, and the expression of the face youthful, yet noble and haughty. The features bear a striking resemblance to those of the effigy of the Earl's younger brother, which rests beside his. This tomb was probably executed in the lifetime of its owner, in accordance with a not uncommon custom of the time.

William Marshall the Younger died suddenly on the 13th of April, 1231, during the festivities which were being held on the occasion of the marriage of his sister, Isabella, with Richard, Duke of Cornwall, brother of Henry III. The latter event supplies another instance of the maze of matrimonial alliances which at this early period of the conquest had already served to knit very closely the Crown of Leinster and the Throne of England.

The Duke of Cornwall at the time was heir apparent to his brother's crown. It was thus within the range of human possibilities that a princess of Irish blood and a lineal descendant of the Celtic race of Cathair Mor might have become Queen of England.

Although the Younger Marshall's tomb exists in the Temple Church, he was not interred there. He was laid to rest in the choir of the Black Abbey, Kilkenny. All our Irish chroniclers agree on this point, and local tradition for centuries unchangeably pointed to the site of his grave. English writers, however, tell us he was laid in the Round of the Temple, beside his father, where Henry III. attended his obsequies and shed tears upon his funeral pall. The version of the Irish annalists seems, however, to be correct,

She never, however, took the veil, and subsequently retired to the Castle of Odiham, in Hampshire, which was conferred on her by the King. After seven years of widowhood, she married Simon De Montford, the whilome favourite of Henry III.

As the Countess of Leicester, Eleanor, became a prominent figure in the long struggle, known as the Barons' Wars. The last stirring event of her life was her defence of Dover Castle in 1265. Here she learned the result of the battle of Evesham, where De Montford and his son fell. Afterwards the Countess fled to France, where after nine years of retirement in the Dominican Convent of Montargis, she died, 1274.

Perhaps the memories we have tried to weave together in these brief pages will induce some Irish holiday-maker to visit the mediæval London church. Close to Charing-Cross, between the busy thoroughfare of Fleet-street and the stately Thames Embankment, this quaint memorial of the Crusaders is easily found. Within a tiny park where aged trees cast their shadows across green patches of sward, sometimes bright with flowers, the Temple stands—bathed in solitude and calm. So still and so unexpected, it seems like some soothing thought of long ago, in the depths of an anxious troubled heart—the beating heart of the world's greatest civic centre—Modern London.

There is another memorial besides those we have touched upon, which links the Temple church and its memories with Ireland. Within its shadow by the gravelled path, north of the vestry, is the grave of Oliver Goldsmith. Irish-Americans in their flights of hurried travel seldom fail to pay their tribute at the grave of the Bard of the 'Deserted Village.' One autumn day last year we saw the simple wayside slab plentifully strewn with garlands fresh and green, laid recently there by Irish exiles' hands.

JOHN B. CULLEN.

DOCTRINE OF INDULGENCES

'Juxta mentem Divi Thomae Aquinatis'

THERE is, perhaps, no subject so practical concerning which so little is known, and about which so many erroneous opinions are formed, as that of 'Indulgences.' An extensive knowledge of the subtler questions cannot be expected from the generality of persons; but no one will deny the necessity of accuracy concerning the fundamental truths, especially in our days. In our explanation we shall take the 'Angel of the Schools' as our guide. One of the many characteristics of St. Thomas Aquinas is that he lays down the principle on which the subject he may be treating rests with wonderful clearness, and then, with the intuition of genius, draws the consequences which flow from them. These principles throughout are never lost sight of, especially the more fundamental ones; they are frequently repeated, and continual reference is made to them. Moreover, the development of the resulting truths is expressed in such perspicuous language, with such ingenuity and simplicity, that one is reminded of the gradual unfolding of some great phenomenon in nature. This being so, it must follow that a patient consideration of the principles on which the Angelic Doctor rests his teaching on indulgences will give us a key which, if we but know its use, will put us in possession of that amount of knowledge which may be justly expected from us. In following St. Thomas, too, we shall have the advantage of accuracy of expression. Accuracy is especially necessary here, that we may be able, with no uncertain sound, to give a reason for the faith that is in us; and accuracy in thought is materially helped by the accuracy of expression of the author with whom we hold mental communion. The scholastic doctors excelled in the art of pithy, profound, and clear theological expression. Sometimes it is necessary to have been trained after their school to understand fully their expressions, but this

mostly in the more profound and less practical questions. In this paper, then, we will follow in somewhat their method. Let us begin with the definition of an 'Indulgence' put together from St. Thomas by a keen commentator, Billuart: 'Indulgentia definitur: Remissio poenae temporalis debita peccato actuali remisso quoad culpam et poenam aeternam, facta extra sacramentum ab eo qui jurisdictionem spirituales habet dispensandi thesaurum Ecclesiae.' In this definition, it may be said, is contained all we need know theoretically of the theology of indulgences.

It is a law established by Divine Justice that the sinner who has gone into disorder by sin should return into the way of order by pain. Love has not held his heart attached to his Heavenly Father; chastisement must make it bend under the authority of his Judge. But if divine grace, which in this life mercifully pursues the sinner, penetrates his heart; if he recognises that God is justly irritated, and humbly avows his fault; if acts of reparation are performed with love; and if from all this God derives as much honour as sin has taken away, there is 'satisfaction,' and the debt is paid.¹

But how can man ever acquit himself of a debt of eternal pain? Can he perform any penance which may be an equivalent satisfaction? Can all the evils which afflict humanity accumulated on one devoted head be compared to the infinite chastisement reserved for one mortal sin? No! Every possibility of making reparation for mortal sin is beyond us if we are obliged to proportionately compensate for the frightful chastisement which it merits.² Once fallen into this misfortune our situation was desperate did God treat us

¹ Unde non potest homo Deo satisfacere, si ly *satis* aequalitatem quantitatis importet; continget autem si importet aequalitatem proportionis, ut dictum est, et hoc sicut sufficit ad rationem justitiae, ita sufficit ad rationem satisfactionis.'—(Supp. Qu. xiii., art. 1, corp.)

² Ad primum ergo, dicendum, quod, sicut offensae habuit quamdam infinitatem ex infinitate divinae Majestatis, ita etiam satisfactio accipit quamdam infinitatem ex infinitate divinae misericordiae prout est gratia informata, per quam acceptum redditur quod homo reddere potest . . . Alii vero dicunt quod etiam quantum ad aversionem pro peccato satisfieri potest virtute meriti Christi, quod quodammodo infinitum est. Et hoc in idem redit quod prius dictum est quod per fidem Mediatoris gratia data credentibus est. Si tamen alio modo gratiam daret sufficeret satisfactio per modum dictum.'—(Ib. ad primam.)

rigorously ; if His mercy did not supply us with that which His justice reclaimed. This he has provided for in anticipation by the infinite satisfaction, of the Man-God, of which we shall speak further on. This satisfaction, if the soul is penetrated with repentance which grace seeks to inspire, has been made ours. True, it has been offered *primarily* for the universal sin of human nature, which, coming from our vitiated origin, has infected all, but our personal sins, being its natural and lamentable fruits, the satisfaction of the Man-God has been extended to them by anticipation.¹ This satisfaction has been imputed to us—applied to us ! we can make it our own, because we have been incorporated by Baptism in our Saviour, and we can offer it to our Judge as if it were ours. He accepts it, and we are liberated for eternity. *Quantum ad paenam aeternam.*

The penalty which remains compared to that which has been abolished is nothing ; yet, in itself it is something, and if mercy preponderates so far as to be nearly everything, still justice has its share, and the principle of *satisfaction* is saved. This holds good likewise when God remits venial sin detested that is extirpated from the soul. There is here also a reparation due. The diminished glory of God must be re-established, specific acts of submission and humility must efface the acts of pride and insubordination, and we must again ascend by good works the path from which we glided to sin.

This is so necessary, that if penitential and satisfactory works have not had a place in our lives, we will be detained in a place specially prepared for expiation, and for the acquittal of temporal penalty. There, in purgatory, the soul is not only purified from the faults brought with it from this world, and which have not destroyed, but only diminished sanctifying grace, but it suffers a penalty likewise for the faults which had been pardoned but not sufficiently expiated. This penalty is variable in duration and intensity, and always exactly proportioned to the debt, the payment of which was hindered or interrupted by death. Yet, it some-

¹ Pars. tertia, Qua. i., art. 4, corp. and 1, 2, Qua. lxxx., art. 1.

times happens that God acts so powerfully on the soul of the sinner, and inclines it so strongly and sweetly to follow His impression that, inundated with the light of grace, by which it sees the nothingness of the goods which it has criminally sought after to find its contentment in them ; seeing also the sovereign amiability of the infinite good which it has forsaken ; penetrated with sorrow for the evil committed ; and filled with pure love, lifts itself up to God with such strength and ardour, that it becomes more united to Him than it was before its falling off. Not only its contrition is perfect, being animated by pure love, but that love, elevated to intensity hitherto, perhaps, unknown to it, purifies that soul to such a degree that God, listening only to His love, forgets in a manner His justice and the penalty it exacts ; or, rather, justice is indemnified, and has nothing to exact. Pain is not the reparation which is most agreeable to the heart of our God. The abundance of love may produce in the soul that strong impulse towards God which elevates it instantaneously to a degree of supernatural life, that is, of intimate union with Him higher than the degree from which sin may have cast it down ; thus compensating for the honour which would come to God from a laborious satisfaction. The debt may in this way be blotted out with more glory to God and advantage to the soul.

We read an example of this in the Life of St. Vincent Ferrer. A great sinner, after confessing his sins to the saint, felt so much loving sorrow for his offences, that he expired before the saint had pronounced the words of absolution. Yet, St. Vincent saw the soul of that penitent received, without passing through purgatory, into the choirs of the Blessed. This is not the rule, and will ever be a merciful exception. The law is that every sin will be punished, *even after pardon and reconciliation*. The pain when made temporal will be mitigated if the Church, the mother of souls, so determines after having purified the sinner in the sacrament which Jesus Christ has confided to her ; or if the sinner is moved by a holy anger against himself. That pain will be more severe if it is left to the Judge to determine on our departure from this life—

‘ remissio poenae temporalis debitae peccato actuali remisso, quoad culpam et poenam aeternam.’

Here we must observe that certain penalties were imposed in the primitive Church on those who were guilty of the graver sins, lasting five, seven, ten years, and sometimes the whole lifetime ; one or many, or even forty days fasting on bread and water.

When an indulgence of one or many, or forty days, or of many years is granted, the meaning is not that the obligation relating to the ancient canons of discipline is relaxed, so that the indulgence is valid as far as regards the Church, but not before God : ‘ sicque verum esset illud Lutheri, indulgentias, esse fidelium fraudes.’ Nor is the meaning this, that as many years of purgatory are condoned as are mentioned in the ancient canons as if, *e. g.*, an indulgence of seven years would liberate from seven years of purgatory. The sharpness of the pains of purgatory for one day may equal those of many years in this life, and it is uncertain what duration of suffering in purgatory the receiver of the indulgence may be obnoxious to.¹ But the meaning is that so much of the penalty due to sin before God, and to be expiated in purgatory is remitted as would be remitted by a penance of one or more days, or years, or Lents, accustomed to be imposed according to the ancient canons, or which would be imposed according to the prudent judgment of a confessor. How much *would be remitted* God only knows.

Now, we have to examine by what title and by what means is this remission of temporal punishment made. St. Paul explains to us in one word the source from which flows the precious favour of ‘Indulgence.’ After having reminded us that in the Old Dispensation the priest renewed every day the sacrifice which was the figure of that by which we were to be delivered, the Apostle adds, ‘ for by

¹ . . . Sed sensus est quod remittatur tanta poena peccatis debita coram Deo et in purgatorio luenda, quanta remitteretur per poenitentiam unius vel plurium dierum vel annorum, vel quadragenarum, secundum antiquos canones imponi solitam, ant que secundum prudens confessorii iudicium esset pro peccatis commissis imponenda,’ — (Billuart, art. i, dico 3.)

one oblation He hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified.' Therefore, we have been completely redeemed by Him, and His satisfaction, if made ours, will be more than sufficient to cancel all our debts, however great they may be.

Our humanity had in our first father a head, gifted with sanctity and justice, which were to be transmitted with his nature to all his descendants. Unfortunately, all have sinned in him, and from him have derived the principle of spiritual death, of which the death of the body is but the sad consequence. Human nature was in a manner decapitated spiritually, and if Adam still remained a head, he was only the head with regard to nature, and a nature deteriorated and enfeebled. If, then, a Saviour is promised to us who is to re-establish all things in heaven and on earth,¹ it is, above all, that a new head should be substituted to the human race.² In Him we have been regenerated, and walk in the newness of life.³

When we consider the person of Jesus Christ, making abstraction from His quality of head, He who was holy, innocent, undefiled, separated from sinners⁴ could have nothing to suffer, because he had merited no chastisement, and had nothing to expiate. But because he was primarily our Redeemer, and, consequently, our head, the Lord 'hath laid upon Him the iniquity of us all;'⁵ and He became for us not only one of the accursed, but was made a curse for us.'⁶ He summed up, then, in His life and in His death all humanity, as in the beginning it was summed up in Adam. Pilate spoke with deeper significance than he knew when he presented Christ to the Jews, already wounded for our iniquities, and said to them: 'Behold the man.' In this circumstance Jesus Christ was the Man of Sorrows,

¹ Eph. i. 10.

² 'Quoniam non eodem modo, omnium tamen hominum Christus caput est.' Pars. 3a Qua. viii, art. 3, corp.

Concerning the different ways Christ is 'caput Ecclesiae,' see this very interesting article, 'Ad premum,' St. Thomas says . . . 'illi qui sunt infideles, et ei actu non sint in Ecclesia, sunt tamen in Ecclesia in potentia.'

³ Rom. vi. 4.

⁴ Heb. vii. 26.

⁵ Is. liii. 6.

⁶ Gal. iii. 13.

~~He made~~ He made Himself judicially, not being able to be in ~~sin~~ the man of sin, in order to make us just.

Before going any further, it will be well for us first to ~~establish~~ the essential difference between merit and satisfaction, which we must be careful not to confound. There is a ~~double~~ value in every good work—one meritorious, by reason of the grace and charity from which it proceeds, and has a necessary relation to the reward to be obtained; the ~~other~~ a satisfactory value by reason of the difficulty, labour, and penitence in the work, and has a necessary relation to the rights of another to be repaired; and thus directly regards the good of the injured party, and only indirectly ~~him~~ making satisfaction, 'inasmuch as it liberates him' from his debt. The treasury of the Church is made up of the good works of Christ and the saints, 'inasmuch as they are satisfactory,' which, in accordance with God's way of dealing out punishment, the saints do not require to satisfy for their own sins.¹ With regard to their good works, inasmuch as they are merits, the saints have an adequate reward in the Beatific Vision. Now, Jesus Christ, living and dying for us, firstly satisfied for us, working our reconciliation,² and also merited for His sacred humanity.³

In the Man-God every act belonged to His Person. When Christ acted He did nothing which was not divine, nothing the value of which was not infinite. Of itself, as we affirmed, merit is personal, therefore exclusive and incommunicable to another. But Jesus Christ is not simply man, but, being a Divine Person, it belongs to Him to give grace and the Holy Spirit, *auctoritative* inasmuch as He is God, *instrumentaliter* inasmuch as He is man; *i.e.*, inasmuch as His humanity was the instrument of His divinity; and thus His actions by the power of the divinity

¹ 'Christus est mediator Dei et hominum.'

'Quia secundum quod est homo distat et a Deo in natura et ab hominibus in dignitate et gratiae et gloriae.'—(3^a Quae. xxvi., art. 2 corp.)

² 2 Cor. v. 19

³ 'Christus est caput Ecclesiae primo secundum propinquitatem ad Deum gratia ejus est altior et prior . . . Secundo vero habet perfectionem quantum ad plenitudinem omnium gratiarum. Tertio virtutem habet influendi gratiam omnia membra Ecclesiae.'—(Par. iii. quae. viii., art. 1.)

were salutary to us, as causing grace in us, both by merit and a certain efficacy (*per efficaciam quamdam*).¹ He is the head of the new humanity renewed in Him, and which was to proceed from Him; and He willed that the merit of His life and sufferings should be the common good of His mystical body, should be participated in by all its members. The merits and satisfaction of Jesus Christ, then, are ours, because we are His mystical body. Yet we have each an independent existence. All the merit we gain is ours exclusively, and cannot, except as we have explained, be communicated to another.²

We have now advanced a considerable part of the way in our explanation of the definition of an indulgence, which we have placed at the beginning of this paper: 'Remisso poenae temporalis debitae peccato actuali remisso quoad culpam et poenam aeternam.' We can now conclude: 'Facta extra Sacramentum ab eo qui jurisdictionem spirituales habet dispensandi thesaurum Ecclesiae.'

We have seen that an indulgence is a partial or entire remission of the public penances regulated by the ancient penitentiary canons, and that God in His justice judges to what purifying penance the indulgence or remitted canonical penance corresponds. We have also seen that Jesus Christ not only merited by every act of His mortal life, but also made atonement for us, inasmuch as we are incorporated His members, but could have no atonement to make for Himself, having nothing to expiate. He has made Himself the pledge, the victim of humanity, having become judicially before His Father, because He willed it, the universal sinner. He has thereby constituted Himself—always in quality of head—the universal Penitent.

The sufferings of the Word Incarnate are as ineffable as

¹ Pars 3^a, quae. viii., art. 1 ad primum.

² Dicendum quod poena satisfactoria est ad duo ordinata, scilicet, ad solutionem debiti et ad medicinam pro peccato vitando. Inquantum ergo est ad medicinam sequentis peccati, sic satisfactio unius non prodest alteri, quia ex jejuniis, unius caro alterius non domatur; nec ex actibus unius alius bene agere consuevit, nisi, secundum accidens inquantum, scilicet, aliquis per bona opera potest alteri mereri augmentum gratiae quae efficacissimum remedium est ad vitandum peccatum. Sed hoc est per modum meriti magis quam per modum satisfactionis. —(Supp., ques. xiii., art. 2, corp.)

His Eternal Generation. All that we know is, that His sufferings occupied an immense place in the life of the Divine Penitent, which was terminated by the most cruel and ignominious death. Moreover, that which was not a material sorrow in His life was sought after and submitted to in the same spirit of reparation, and was in reality, for the Eternal Son of God, a humiliation. Behold the expiation. It was not only superabundant, having regard to the strict rights of justice, but infinitely in excess, being the sufferings of a Divine Person. Shall this superabundant expiation inactively weigh the scales of the Divine Justice? No,¹ it will form the treasury of the Church. We ask ourselves the same question regarding the most holy Mother of our Saviour and His saints. What had the most pure of creatures to expiate? She who, associated by an eternal decree to the Trinity in the divine work of our redemption, and preserved from the universal anathema, was named by the Holy Spirit in prophesy *tota pulchra*. And yet, what life was so conversant with sorrow as was her's, if we except that of her Divine Son?

It is true that God thereby was pleased to augment incessantly the glory of her whom He wished to exalt above every creature, and who was to be the Queen of angels. But we must not lose sight of this principle, that suffering is of itself a penalty, and if supported worthily, has an expiatory value. Not having to offer expiation for herself, to what purpose then was the long penance of the Mother of God appropriated?

If we descend to the ranks of the human multitude we enter, it is true, the domain of sin; all are debtors to the

¹ 'Ratio autem quare indulgentiae valere possint, est unitas corporis mystici in qua multi in operibus poenitentiae supererogaverunt ad mensuram debitorum suorum; et multi etiam tribulationes injustas sustinuerunt patienter, per quas multitudo poenarum poterat expiari si eis deberetur; quorum meritorum tanta est copia quod omnem poenam debitam nunc viventibus excedunt et præcipue propter meritum Christi, quod etsi in sacramentis operatur, non tamen efficacia ejus in sacramentis includitur, sed sua infinitate excedit efficaciam sacramentorum. Supplem. Quæst. xxv., Corp. Remissio quæ per indulgentias fit, non tollit quantitatem poenæ ad culpam, quia pro culpa unius alio sponte poenam sustinuit, ut dictum est (in corp. Art.)' *Ib. ad prim.*

Eternal Justice, and have contracted the obligation of penance. The expiation of many has not equalled their debt, but that of many has exceeded. These latter ever continued during their life to offer to God fresh and more rigorous expiation. Would the Almighty wish that this superabundant expiation should fall void? At the risk of repetition we will elucidate this truth, all important in the matter of indulgences. 'You are,' the Apostle says, 'the body of Christ and members of member.' The Son of God, who came to save the human race, has willed that all the sons of Adam be made participators in the benefits of the Incarnation, by which human nature has been not only restored, but rendered divine in His Person. He was the man *par excellence*—the Man, supernatural and divine; all men were to be united to Him to find in Him the restoration of their own nature, and participation through Him in the Divine Nature. He, therefore, created for Himself in forming His Church—sprung from His side, a companion who has become the true mother of the living; and, by baptism, this noble spouse of Christ brings us forth, and incorporates us to her Spouse, who is our head—unique and necessary principle of our new life which is His. Therefore, as the head does not continue to exist without the body, as the body cannot without the head, and as the body and head have but one life, all that Jesus Christ has is ours, as He Himself affirmed. If, considering His own Person, His expiations were superfluous; if, too, considering His quality of head of a fallen nature, and as the universal Penitent they exceeded infinitely the debt, this superabundance necessarily has its use. The whole became a community good, belonging to Christ and His members; that is to say, to the whole mystic body; and it is from this unfailing fountain of expiation that all the members who will to the end be incorporated to Him will draw. In virtue of the same principle, the superabundance of the sufferings of the most holy Mother of God, and that of the saints and martyrs belongs to our Divine Head, by whose grace, under whose influence, and as whose members the saints carried the expiation of their faults beyond what He

exacted.¹ And if we really are the members of these holy members according to the doctrine of St. Paul, we enter into a common right. Thus is established the Communion of Saints, by which life and spiritual riches circulate through the body, bringing strength to those members that are feeble, and abundance to those that are in need. Thus to the other spiritual goods, of which we have spoken, are joined these ; all are to be held in reserve, and dispensed according to the adorable will of Jesus Christ, to whom they belong. We are now brought to inquire upon what principles, and by what rules the distribution of this spiritual treasure is made.

We can obtain directly from God by prayer the gifts of His grace, but we are not free to draw at our own disposal on the 'Treasury of the Church,' which must be distributed according to the will of Him Who is the Author of its riches. It belongs to right order that the administration of these riches should be reserved to the Supreme Head of the Christian family ; because he is eminently a father ; to him is allotted the dispensation of those graces which are the most touching manifestations of mercy ; and, therefore, the treasury composed of the expiations of Christ and His saints have been placed entirely in his hands. This reason alone suffices to explain the exclusive right of the Sovereign Pontiff. We will give one of another order, taken from the plenitude of his jurisdiction. It will be well first to recall to mind some facts regarding sin, which is a correlative of 'indulgence.' By sin the sinner is doubly bound. Whether deprived of the life of the soul by mortal sin, or unfitted for Paradise by venial sin until after an

¹ 'Respondeo dicendum quod actus noster ad duo valere potest : ad aliquem statum acquirendum vel ad aliquid consequens statum—opus unius potest valere alteri, non solum per viam orationis, sed etiam per viam meriti. Quod quidem dupliciter contingit ; vel propter communicantiam in radice operis, quae est charitas in operibus meritoriiis ; et ideo omnes qui sibi invicem connectuntur, aliquod emolumentum ex mutuis operibus reportant ; tamen secundum mensuram status unusquisque, quia etiam in patria unusquisque gaudebit de bonis aliterius ; et inde est quod articulus fidei ponitur, Sanctorum Communio. Alio modo ex intentione facientis, qui aliqua opera specialiter ad hoc facit ut talibus prosint. Unde ista opera quodammodo efficiuntur eorum pro quibus fiunt, quasi eis a faciente collata ; unde possunt eis valere ad impletionem satisfactionis, vel ad aliquid huiusmodi quod statum non mutat, i.e., statum ex damnatione ad salutem.' (Suppl. Quaest. lxxi, Corp.)

entire purification, in both cases there is the bond of guilt or sin. Whosoever sincerely repents God mercifully forgives, and consents to cancel the injury He has received, restoring the sinner to His friendship. Yet a reparation is necessary. Divine Mercy has triumphed in the pardon, Divine Justice will find satisfaction in the expiation of the sinner. Hence the debt or bond of *temporal* penalty. Now, Jesus Christ, our Divine Liberator, has established in His Church the faculty of breaking this double bond, *i.e.*, of guilt and penalty. 'I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. Whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth will be loosed in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven.'¹ The *guilt and penalty close the entrance to Heaven.*²

Here Jesus Christ has given the Sovereign Pontiff two keys by which he can prevent entrance into heaven by allowing this double obstacle of guilt and penalty to subsist, and can admit by taking it away. The act by which Peter unbinds we call, from its etymology, *absolution*. Even the *form* of the Sacrament instituted for the remission of sins committed after baptism is a sentence of *absolution*. 'Ego te absolvo,' says the minister of the sacrament who is associated to the power of Peter. On what falls this absolving sentence:—'a peccatis tuis.' It is from sin that he absolves, sin which is the essential bond which subjects to Satan. Here a sentence is pronounced because there is a complete process, a real judgment; the sinner becoming his own accuser, and the Supreme Judge pronouncing sentence by the mouth of his substitute. This judgment is the exercise of *jurisdiction*, that is, of an established right to apply the law to subordinates. And all jurisdiction, *i.e.*,

¹ Matt. xvi. 19.

² 'Respondio dicendum quod Papa habet plenitudinem pontificalis potestatis, quasi rex in regno. Sed Episcopi assumuntur in partem sollicitudinis, quasi iudices singulis civitatibus prepositi, propter quod eos solos in suis literis Papa "fratres" vocat; reliquos autem omnes vocat "filios." Et ideo potestas faciendi indulgentias plenresidet in Papa, quia potest facere, prout vult, causa tamen existente legitima. Sed in episcopis est taxata secundum ordinationem Papae. Et ideo possunt facere secundum quod eis est taxatum; et non amplius.' (Ib. Q. xxvi. c.—ideo possunt indulgentias facere etiam non sacerdotes. I. C. A. 2.)

all authority of governing and exercising justice, is in Peter, on whom rests the whole Church, and who has been made the Universal Pastor; thence it is derived to the other pastors who in this respect do not exist but through him. But when sacramental absolution is pronounced every bond is not broken. There is the debt of temporal punishment; other bond proceeding from the first and surviving it. If this bond does not disappear, as it were, of itself in the acquittal of the debt it requires another absolution (though of a different sort); and for this again Peter, in virtue of the words of Jesus Christ, 'whatever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven,' must proclaim that he grants this favour. The merciful sentence in the Sacrament of Penance frees the sinner from his guilt. From being a criminal he is now only a debtor. In dealing with a debtor one can either maintain one's rights—and this without ceasing to be just—or one can generously remit the debt. Now, thus to relinquish one's right is really to take away a bond—to bring about a liberation. Here the debt of punishment is a consequence of the sin; therefore its remittal must proceed from the same authority which has pardoned the sin in the name of God; and this act, though different from the other, is generically an absolution.¹ It is Peter likewise who unbinds from the sin; it is Peter who will unbind from the penalty, always in the character of Vicar of Christ the Redeemer.

In both cases there is absolution, sacramental in the one, extra-sacramental in the other. Hence the words of the definition 'extra sacramentum.' When we say that it is Peter who absolves from sin we do not forget that the bishops who govern a flock, and the priests to whom, under their authority, a portion of that flock is confided, likewise absolve. But it is in virtue of a participated jurisdiction, the principle and plenitude of which resides in Peter, who communicates it largely for the good of souls. Likewise

¹ 'Dicendum quod ille qui indulgentias suscipit, non absolvitur, simpliciter loquendo, a debito poenae; sed datur ei unde debitum solvat. S.Q. xxv. A.I. ad sec.—dicendum quod effectus sacramentalis absolutionis est diminutio reatus; et hic effectus non inducitur per indulgentias; sed faciens indulgentias poenam pro eo, quam debuit, solvit de bonis Ecclesia communibus,' Ib, ad ter,

Peter can communicate to bishops and priests the prerogative which has been conferred on him to free from the bond of penalty outside the sacrament, *extra sacramentum*; and, in fact, the bishops to whom the charge of a flock is added to their episcopacy are associated to that power in a determined measure. But Peter remains the unique depositary of the treasury of indulgences; and for wise reasons the Sovereign Pontiff not only continues to be the supreme administrator—a title and function which he cannot lay aside—but also the principal dispenser. We are now at the end of the definition: ‘. . . facta . . . ab eo qui jurisdictionem spirituales habet dispensandi thesaurum Ecclesiae.’

Indulgences can reach beyond the grave those souls who are being purified from venial sins not pardoned when they departed this life, and, likewise, those that have a debt of penalty for sin already forgiven which they are now discharging.¹ Death does not rend asunder the mystical body of Jesus Christ. The Church triumphant, militant, and suffering, are not three Churches, but *one*, traversing successive phases unto the consummation of the saints. The *Communion of Saints* establishes intimate relations between these members of Christ. The Church which combats, stretches a helping hand to the Church suffering, and seizes with the other the Church triumphant. St. Peter, having been instituted Pastor by Jesus Christ to guide souls across the desert of this life only to the borders of the next, does not extend his jurisdiction beyond this world which we inhabit, because the power of *binding and loosing* divinely conferred upon him is but a necessary consequence of his spiritual and sovereign pastorship.² If then the Sovereign Pontiff can open the

¹ ‘Dicendum quod opus quod pro aliquo fit, efficitur ejus pro quo fit: et similiter opus quod est ejus qui tecum est unum, quodammodo est et meum. Unde non est contra divinam justitiam, si unus fructum percipit de operibus factis ab eo qui est unum secum in charitate, vel ab operibus pro se factis. Hoc etiam secundum humanum justitiam contingit ut satisfactio unius pro alio accipiat.’ (S. Q. LXXI. ad sec.)

² ‘. . . Tamen quantum ad aliquid adhuc sunt in via, in quantum, scilicet, earum progressus adhuc retardatur ab ultima retributione . . . Sed quantum ad hoc earum via non est circumsepta, quin quantum ad hoc quod detinentur ab ultima retributione, possint ab aliis juvari, quia secundum hoc adhuc sunt in via.’ (Ib. A. 2. ad ter.)

treasury of indulgences for those souls who are no longer in this life, he does it in a different manner. It is a principle that our supernatural works and the graces which we have obtained for ourselves through the Eucharistic Sacrifice cannot be transmitted to the souls in purgatory by a direct and personal appropriation, constituting a right for them before Divine Justice. We cannot pay their debts but with the goods which we possess *as members of the Church militant*, of which we are at once both children and subjects.¹ Now, since the souls no longer on earth are not members of the Church on earth, what is to reach them must be by a more indirect way. If, therefore, the Church militant gratifies her children by giving them the faculty of relinquishing their good works in favour of the souls in Purgatory, it is that we place them in the hands of God, whose justice is there exercised, supplicating Him graciously to apply them to the souls in whom we are interested. This act of fraternal communion, inspired by charity, cannot be but agreeable to Him since it is an exercise of the love of our neighbour, which proceeds from our love for Him. He reserves to Himself (in *merit* of our charitable intervention) to make the distribution of the *satisfactions* we place in His hands. Although His independence cannot be constrained by any limits we know that He does nothing arbitrarily; His good pleasure does not resemble our caprices and all His determinations are dictated by Infinite Wisdom. It is plain that we have not here an absolution of the penalty conceded by the Church; but with her permission we offer to God for our suffering brethren a

¹ 'Dicendum quod opus suffragii quod pro altero fit, potest considerari dupliciter: uno modo ut est expiativum poenae per modum cujusdam recompensationis, quae in satisfactione attenditur: et hoc modo opus suffragii, quod computatur quasi ejus pro quo fit, ita absolvit eum a debito poenae quod non absolvit facientem a debito poenae propriae, qui in tali recompensatione consideratur aequalitas justitiae:—alio modo potest considerari in quantum procedit a radice charitatis; et secundum hoc non solum prodest ei pro quo fit, sed facienti magis.' (S. Q. LXXI. A. 4. corp.) (Here we have the doctrine of the 'heroic act.')

² 'Dicendum quod purgatio animae per poenas purgatorii non est aliud quam expiatio reatus impediens a perceptione gloriae. Et quia per poenam quam unus sustinet pro alio, potest reatus alterius expiari, non est inconueniens, si per unius satisfactionem alius purgetur.' (Ib. A. 6. ad ter.)

succour which we beg may reach them. We ask Him to deign to apply under title of satisfaction a virtuous act which would be for us if we kept it an expiation (as well as a merit). This is what is termed 'suffrage' 'per modum suffragii.'

Innumerable questions, and those practical ones, incessantly arise which do not enter within the scope of our present purpose. Such questions are admirably answered in their place in the I. E. RECORD. Yet there are some the entire omission of which would make this paper too incomplete, and yet which, for want of space, we must dismiss in a few words.

Of the dispositions required to gain an Indulgence the *intention* is altogether necessary. Again, one must be in a state of grace when the indulgence is gained; consequently, when the last of the enjoined good works is performed, because the penalty is not remitted unless the guilt from which it arose has disappeared. This holds true likewise of venial sin. Wherefore he who endeavours to gain even a plenary indulgence and yet has an affection to any venial sin, does not gain it relatively to that sin, and therefore does not gain the entire Indulgence.¹

It is not necessary that all the other good works enjoined should be performed in a state of grace unless so expressed in the diploma of the Indulgence. This, however, is not to be understood of indulgences applicable to the souls in Purgatory, unless the good work enjoined would of its nature require the state of grace, *i.e.*, Holy Communion; for he who obtains the indulgence does not enjoy the fruit of it, *i.e.*, the remission of the penalty, nor does he make the Indulgence his own, but obtains the power to apply it to another.²

Many more points of interest might, of course, be touched upon in noticing the writings of St. Thomas upon this subject. What is peculiarly valuable in our saint's treatment

¹ Billuart, Art. V.

² Billuart, Art. VI. Suffragia for the faithful departed should not be deferred. Cf. s. q. lxxi., a. 4.

of this as of all questions, is, that he avoids extremes; and there is no subject, perhaps, which of its nature presents so many aspects which lead the incautious to laxity or severity. The clearness of mind of the Angelic Doctor, his logical directness of expression, his thorough mastery of all theology, appears here as well as in more metaphysical studies. A perusal of the questions in the *Summa* which treat of indulgences will impart knowledge, and cannot fail to satisfy and please. In conclusion, let us quote the words of a late devotional writer. Father Faber says somewhere to the effect that 'an appreciation of indulgences ever goes hand in hand with the true Catholic spirit; diminishes and increases with it.'

JEROME O'CONNELL, O.D.C.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

OBLIGATION TO HEAR MASS ON SUNDAY: CAN IT BE FULFILLED IN ORATORIES?

REV. DEAR SIR,—Kindly answer the following question in your next issue? In a recent work on Moral Theology it is said, ‘*Oratoria publica relate ad praeceptum audiendae Missae sunt etiam oratoria in domibus sive institutis publicis.*’ Does one satisfy his obligation by hearing Mass in the oratory of a convent? I suppose that there is no admission for persons in general.

SACERDOS.

Where can one satisfy the obligation of hearing Mass on Sunday? Looking at the question from the point of view of the general law, one can, as a rule, according to the present discipline of the Church, satisfy his obligation wherever he hears Mass. The obligation to hear Mass on Sundays in one’s parish church or in some public church has been abrogated; nor is it in the power of a bishop to enforce or re-enact the ancient discipline. Mass may, therefore, be heard not merely in any public church, but also in the oratory of the bishop’s residence, in the oratories usually attached to convents, hospitals, seminaries, and such institutions.

There remain, however, one or two exceptions to the general rule just laid down. According to the common law the obligation of hearing Mass on Sunday can be fully satisfied in a strictly private oratory by those only that are included in the indult, in virtue of which the oratory has been erected. A private, or strictly private, oratory may in this connection be best defined as one for the erection of which a special papal indult is necessary. A second case of exception mentioned is where Mass is celebrated on a portable altar in a private house in virtue of a purely personal privilege. A bishop, for example, outside his own diocese may, by reason

of a personal privilege, celebrate (or get a priest to celebrate) on a portable altar wherever he happens to be. But only *familiares Episcopo actu necessarij* can satisfy the Sunday's obligation by assisting at such a Mass.

We have said above that the Sunday's obligation cannot be *fully* satisfied in a private oratory by one who is not covered by the Indult for that oratory. For it seems to be a tenable position to distinguish in the obligation to hear Mass a twofold precept: (1) a precept to *hear Mass*, and (2) a precept to hear it *in loco debito*. The first obligation, if the distinction is to be admitted, would be fulfilled by hearing Mass *anywhere*, even in a strictly private oratory. Only with the aid of such a distinction can we well explain the opinion of those theologians who maintain that a man who cannot hear Mass *in loco debito* would still be bound to hear Mass, if he reasonably can, in a private oratory, though he be not included in the Indult.

As we have remarked above, an episcopal prohibition against hearing Mass on Sunday in the oratory of a convent or other such institution does not affect the *valid* fulfilment of the obligation in that oratory, but only the lawful fulfilment. One who disregards the reasonable command of the bishop and hears Mass in such a place satisfies the ecclesiastical law of hearing Mass on Sunday, but fails in obedience due to his bishop.

It has been pretty generally held that in Ireland, in virtue of custom, one satisfies his obligation in any place whatever in which he hears Mass on Sunday.

EPISCOPAL FACULTIES FOR MATRIMONIAL CASES IN 'PERICULO MORTIS'

REV. DEAR SIR,—The bishops of Ireland have within the last few years received, I am informed, certain powers to grant matrimonial dispensations in cases of persons who are living in sin. I shall feel grateful if in an early number of the I. E. RECORD you could give the substance of this concession. C. C.

The faculty to which we understand our correspondent to refer was issued by the Holy Office, February 20th, 1888. It was granted to all ordinaries, not merely to the bishops

of this country. It will be noted too that the faculty is granted permanently.

The following is the text of the Encyclical letter of the Holy Office as far as it bears on our correspondent's question :—

De mandato S. D. N. Leonis XIII. S. Congregationi S. Rom. et Univ. Inquisitionis, nuperrimis temporibus duplex questionum genus expendendum propositum fuit. Primum respicit facultates quibus urgente mortis periculo, quando tempus non suppetit recurrendi ad S. Sedem augere conveniat locorum Ordinarios dispensandi super impedimentis publicis matrimonium dirimentibus cum iis qui juxta leges civiles sunt conjuncti, aut alias in concubinato vivunt, ut morituri in tanta temporis angustia in faciem Ecclesiae rite copulari et propriae conscientiae consulere valeant. . . .

Ad primum quod attinet, se serio diligenter que perpensa adprobatoque et confirmato Eminentissimorum Patrum Generalium Inquisitorum suffragio, sanctitas sua benigne annuit pro gratia, qua locorum Ordinarii dispensare valeant sive per se, sive per ecclesiasticam personam sibi benevisam aegrotos in gravissimo mortis periculo constitutis, quando non suppetit tempus recurrendi ad S. Sedem super impedimentis quantumvis publicis matrimonium jure ecclesiastico dirimentibus excepto sacro Presbyteratus Ordine et affinitate lineae rectae ex copula licita proveniente¹ . . .

We may briefly note the following points in connection with these faculties :—1. All ordinaries—the bishop, the vicar-general, the vicar-capitular, the vicar-apostolic—possess these faculties permanently. 2. The faculties can be permanently delegated by the Ordinary to all parish priests¹ and to all those who, though not parish priests in the strict sense, discharge the duties of parish priests—*exclusis tamen vice-parochis et cappellanis*; delegation, however, will be valid only for urgent cases where there is not time to refer to the 'Ordinary himself.'² Any priest or cleric, *ecclesiastica persona Episcopo benevisa*, may, it would appear, be delegated transiently for a particular case. 3. The faculties are available for those only who have contracted a civil marriage or are living in concubinage; and for such persons only when one of the parties is in danger of death. It is

¹ *Vid. Collect. Cong. de Prop. Fide*, n. 1472.

² *Vid. Collect.*, n. 1471.

immaterial whether the dying person be directly or only indirectly affected by the impediment. 4. The faculty covers, with the two exceptions specified, diriment (not impedient) impediments, *juris ecclesiastice*, whether they be public or occult. 5. The faculty gives power to dispense, it is reasonable to assume, even though there be several diriment impediments concurring. 6. The dispensation having been granted, the parties should give or renew matrimonial consent in the ordinary way—therefore before the parish priest and witnesses, where the decree *Tumetsi* is in force; in case of necessity, however, *ob periculum infumiae*, v.g., the dispensation may remove even the impediment of clandestinity. 7. The marriage should be duly registered.

D. MANNIX.

LITURGY

AN APOCRYPHAL INDULGENCE

REV. DEAR SIR,—Will you kindly state, in an early number of the I. E. RECORD, what you think of the indulgence promised on the accompanying leaflet, which I find widely circulated in my parish?

P. P.

A DEVOTION IN HONOUR OF THE WOUNDED SHOULDER OF JESUS CHRIST, BEARING THE CROSS, TO WHICH AN INDULGENCE IS ATTACHED

St. Bernard, having besought our Lord Jesus Christ to reveal to him the most severe of the hidden sufferings of His bitter Passion, our Blessed Redeemer replied: 'The pressure of the heavy cross on my lacerated shoulder produced a wound three inches in depth, which, although so little reflected on by men, because unknown to them, was, in fact, the most agonising of My tortures. Venerate that sacred wound, and be assured that all petitions, presented through its merits, thou shalt obtain. Moreover, I will pardon and forget the sins of all who, for My love, shall honour it, bestowing on them My grace and mercy.'

Pope Eugenius III., at the earnest request of St. Bernard, granted three thousand years indulgence to all who with contrite heart recite the Lord's Prayer and Hail Mary three times in honour of the wound in the shoulder of our Blessed Redeemer.

Our Father, Hail Mary, three times.

The following devout prayer may be added, though its recital is not requisite to gain the indulgence :—

LET US PRAY.

Most meek Lamb of God! I, a miserable sinner, humbly venerate the painful wound inflicted on Thy sacred shoulder by the heavy burden of the cross. I adore Thee, O my suffering Saviour! I praise and glorify Thee with all my heart; I bless the infinite love which induced Thee to submit to that torturing wound, beseeching Thee, through its efficacy and through all the torments of Thy passion, to have mercy on me, a sinner; to forgive my transgressions, and strengthen me to follow the traces of Thy Cross, until happily united to Thee in a glorious eternity. Amen.

Translated from the Italian.

This indulgence is undoubtedly apocryphal. Both St. Bernard and Eugene III. passed away about the middle of the twelfth century, and there is no authentic record of any indulgence of more than a few years having been granted as early as that time. Indeed, St. Thomas of Aquin, writing fully a century after the death of Eugene III., seems almost to marvel at indulgences of three and five years, although these indulgences could be gained only once in the year, and only during some special solemnity. And Pope Nicholas IV., in a Bull issued in 1290, speaks of an indulgence of seven years and seven quarantines as a very exceptional favour, which could be gained only at Christmas, and even then only by those who would visit the Church of St. Peter in Rome.

In addition to this *a priori* reasoning, we have the express authority of the Congregation of Indulgences for saying that this particular indulgence is apocryphal. On March 7, 1678, an *elenchus*, or catalogue of apocryphal indulgences, was issued by this Congregation, and, among others declared apocryphal in this document, is the indulgence granted—

ab Eugenio III. revelationi de plaga in humero Jesu Christi facta S. Bernardo.

It may, we think, be laid down as a general rule that indulgences of hundreds and, *a fortiori*, of thousands of years, are apocryphal, unless their authenticity can be

clearly proved. In other words, the presumption is against the authenticity of such indulgences. Again, indulgences granted to devotions or prayers having for their authority only unauthenticated visions granted to anonymities, or alleged visions granted to known saints, such as St. Bernard, may be reasonably suspected. Obviously, the indulgences granted to the Rosary, the various scapulars, &c., do not come under this class.

D. O'LOAN.

CORRESPONDENCE

ARCHBISHOP USSHER AND THE EARL OF STRAFFORD

REV. DEAR SIR,—The following incidents, taken from the *Life of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford*, by Elizabeth Cowper, give a vivid idea of the Erastian origin and nature of the Protestant Church of Ireland, and may be of some interest to historical students:—In the Convocation of 1635, Strafford ordered Dean Lesley, the prolocutor, to put the question for allowing and receiving the Articles of the Church of England, about which he was, by name and in writing, to take the votes of the Committee; but merely content or not content, they were not to discuss the matter; for he would not endure that the Articles of the Church of England should be disputed. And, finally, that there should be no question about the canon that was to be voted, he desired that the Primate would be pleased to frame it; and when he had read it, he would send a draft of it to the prolocutor to be propounded, enclosed in a letter of his own.

Archbishop Ussher then drew up a form of the canon; but Wentworth, not approving it, replaced it by one of his own, as nearly as possible after the English canon, and sent it in turn for the perusal of the Archbishop. But he no more approved of Wentworth's efforts than Wentworth of his, and told him he feared a canon like that would never pass, though his own form might.

Wentworth, however, persisted in his own draft, saying, 'he was convinced that when brought before Parliament not six would vote against it. He would be content to be judged by that sequel only; for order's sake, he begged the Archbishop to vote it first in the Upper House of Convocation, and then pass it to the Lower. At the same time, he enclosed it to Dean Lesley with the promised letter, whose style and purport may be easily imagined. The consequence was, that the canon as drawn by Wentworth, was voted and carried by both Houses of Convocation.'¹

On another occasion, during his own absence in England, he ordered Ussher to cause all the Protestant clergy, who were

¹ Letter of Lord-Deputy to Archbishop of Canterbury, i, 303.

found living idly, in Dublin or other cities, on their farm once to repair to their parish churches ; and if they disobeyed the Archbishop was to sequester their livings for one year ; if that did not produce obedience, then they were to be deposed altogether. And lest Ussher himself should fail in his unpleasing duty, he was informed that immediately on his return to Ireland the Lord-Deputy would rigidly examine into the manner he exercised his appointed office.

Wentworth spoke always of Ussher as a good and learned man, but as one whom it was necessary to frighten a little.

Yours faithfully,

N. MURPHY, P

DOCUMENTS

**PASTORAL ADDRESS OF THE IRISH BISHOPS ON THE
MANAGERSHIP OF CATHOLIC SCHOOLS**

THE following Pastoral address was unanimously agreed to by the assembled Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland at their meeting in Maynooth College, June 23rd :—

In view of the persistent attacks made by certain writers in the newspaper Press on the existing Managerial system in our Catholic primary schools, and of the reckless statements made by speakers at various meetings, especially at meetings of the Teachers' Organization, we deem it our duty to issue this solemn admonition, and to warn our flocks against the dangerous errors advocated by those misguided men, amongst whom, we regret to say, are some few who call themselves Catholics.

The Managerial system in our primary schools means, in reality, that legitimate and necessary control which the local pastors rightfully exercise over the National schools attended by the youth of their flocks, a control which is designed not merely to promote the general efficiency of the schools, but, above all, to safeguard the faith and morals of the pupils at the most perilous period of their lives. It essentially includes a constant supervision over the conduct of the teachers, the choice of the books, and the religious and moral training of the pupils, as well as over the educational efficiency of the schools. It is quite obvious that such control could never be maintained without the power of choosing worthy and efficient teachers, and also the right of removing those whose character and conduct render them unfit to be entrusted with the important duty of instructing and training our Catholic youth. Experience has also clearly proved that the more constant is this supervision, the more efficient the school is likely to be from every point of view—social, religious, and educational. It follows too that the men who seek to weaken or destroy this just and necessary control of the priest over the Catholic schools of his parish must be regarded as hostile to religion, and undisguised enemies of the Catholic Church ; nor

would their principles, if carried out in practice, be less likely to prove fatal to the true interests of the pupils, and of the teachers themselves, of whose cause these writers and speakers so loudly proclaim themselves the champions.

This is not our teaching merely : it has been set forth again and again in similar language by the Head of the Church, whose teaching all true Catholics must receive with reverence and docility. In a Brief addressed to the Archbishop of Freiburg by Pius IX. in 1864, his Holiness emphatically declared that 'the purpose and effort to exclude the authority of the Church from the primary schools, proceed from a spirit altogether hostile to the Church, and from a desire to extinguish in the minds of the people the heavenly light of our holy faith.' Elsewhere in the same Brief the Pope says that 'all those who perversely maintain that the Church should give up, or even intermit, her guiding influence over the primary schools can mean only this, that the Church should act against the commands of her divine Founder, and fail in the discharge of her highest duty of labouring to promote the salvation of the souls committed by God to her care.'

There can be no doubt that the purpose of some of those to whom we refer is, step by step, to weaken, and, as far as they can, finally destroy, the salutary influence of the Church in our primary schools. The Pope tells us clearly what we are to think of such men and their designs ; and he urges the Bishops 'fearlessly to defend the rights of the Church, and to keep far removed from the training and education of youth everything that could in the least tend to weaken their faith, pervert their religious sense, or sully in any way the purity of their morals.' That duty we are resolved at all cost to discharge, and we confidently expect the loyal obedience and cordial co-operation of our ever-faithful people in maintaining the rights of the Church, and safeguarding, against every open or secret attack, the integrity of the faith and morals of the children of our Catholic people.

We have oftentimes borne public testimony to the zeal and fidelity with which the Catholic national teachers of Ireland, as a body, discharge their laborious duties, as well as to their cordial and successful co-operation with the clergy in imparting religious instruction to the pupils of their schools. We are most desirous to give them all reasonable security in their office, and have proved our good-will in this respect by recognising the right of

the teachers to have recourse to the bishop of the diocese for protection against arbitrary dismissal. It would seem at times to be forgotten that we, the Catholic bishops of Ireland, were the first to establish such a means of protection for the teachers of Irish National schools.

With the view of securing the full efficiency of the protection provided by us in a former resolution on this subject, we take this opportunity of re-publishing that resolution, inserting some words to render it more explicit on certain points, and thus remove all doubts as to our meaning.

We have, therefore, now unanimously resolved—

‘That no principal or assistant teacher be either summarily dismissed or served with notice of dismissal by a clerical manager until the manager has informed the bishop of the diocese of his intention to take such action, and has obtained the assent of the bishop to his doing so, the teacher having, in all cases, the right to be heard in his own defence.’

But we can never consent to submit the difficult and delicate question of the religious or moral fitness of our Catholic teachers for the discharge of their duties to any external tribunal, whose views on such questions might in many cases be quite different from ours. We would rather see our schools closed, and our children taught under the hedgerows, like their forefathers, than have them exposed to the pernicious influence of teachers whom we believed to be wholly unfit for their office.

It is well too for the teachers to bear in mind that the schools have been established for the efficient education of the children rather than for the comfort or security of their teachers. We are anxious to promote both the comfort and the security of the teachers; but the efficiency of the schools holds a still higher place in our estimation, and it must, if necessary, be maintained even at some sacrifice, without, however, inflicting injustice upon any teacher.

We are confident that our Catholic teachers will trust to the sense of justice and to the fairness of their bishops, who, as they know, have both their temporal and spiritual interests sincerely at heart; and we should be much mistaken were they to allow themselves to be misled by a few designing men who are unable to conceal the anti-Catholic and irreligious spirit

RESOLUTIONS OF THE ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS OF IRELAND ON THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BILL, AND THE IRISH UNIVERSITY QUESTION

The following Resolutions in reference to the Local Government Bill, and to the Irish University Question, were unanimously adopted by the Irish Bishops at their recent meeting in Maynooth :—

I.

RESOLVED—That the Bishops of Ireland unanimously renew the protest made by their Standing Committee against the denial of the ordinary rights of citizenship to the Catholic clergy of Ireland, as proposed by the Local Government Bill now before Parliament.

We have been no strangers to such disabilities in the past, but surely it is a strange thing that a so-called Unionist Government, untaught by the history of the penal days, can find no better means of reconciling the Irish people with the British Government in Ireland than by re-enacting civil disabilities against the Catholic clergy—for it is really against them that the disability now proposed to be enacted has been designed. The times have changed, but the old spirit still reveals itself, the spirit of jealousy and distrust of the Catholic priesthood.

We protest against the clause ; we ask our representatives in Parliament to oppose it to the last. If they fail, this protest will remain to justify the clergy in exercising that influence outside the local Councils, which the law will not permit them to exercise as members of these bodies.

II.

RESOLVED—That the Irish members of Parliament be requested to take every opportunity for the remainder of this Session, particularly in the discussion of the Queen's College estimates and the London University Bill, to press the Irish Catholic University question on the attention of the House of Commons, and to obtain from Government an undertaking to deal with it at an early date.

(Signed)

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| ✱ MICHAEL CARD. LOGUE, Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of All Ireland, <i>Chairman.</i> | |
| ✱ JOHN HEALY, Bishop of Clonfert,) | } <i>Secretaries to the Meeting.</i> |
| ✱ RICHARD A. SHEEHAN, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore,) | |

FRAGMENT OF THE LIFE OF ST. FLANNAN IN THE
O'RENEHAN MSS. IN MAYNOOTH COLLEGE LIBRARY¹

FRAGMENTUM DE VITA SANCTI FLANNANI

Angeli siquidem Domini per mar. comitabantur eos et divinis colloquiis consolabantur. O felix navigium quod Deus mirabiliter lapidea navi gubernavit! O felix et admirabilis homo cujus sanctitate et felicitate Deus fecit petram per longissima maria natare! In diebus ante illis quibus Sanctus Flannanus in Italia pervenit ingens pugna inter Romanos et Gallos commissa est et acie amborum fervente sinistra manus filii regis Romanorum in ipsa pugna amputata est; et de hoc ipse rex et Romani valde condolebant. Fama autem dispersit, in illis regionibus, quod quidam sanctus peregrinus cum suis discipulis vectus lapide ut navi trans maria ab occasu solis venerat. Et haec fama pervenit ad regem manentem in illa civitate et statim rex misit nuncios ut Sanctus peregrinus ad se duceretur; et nuncii duxerunt Sanctum Flannanum ad regem, rogavitque eum rex et omnis populus ut curaret filium regis. Respondit eis Sanctus Flannanus dicens 'Non est meae infirmitatis signum facere; et illi magis ac magis rogaverunt virum Dei ut in nomine Domini sui inanum acciperet et ponerat eam in locum suum. Tunc vir sanctus dixit ad regem—'Deus Omnipotens qui fecit coelum et terram, maria et omnia quae in eis sunt, filium tuum curabit,' et haec dicens accepit manum abscissam et accessit ad filium regis et composuit manum aridam ad locum suum et tenens eam oravit ad dominum statimque inter manus ejus os ad os adhaesit, caro ad carnem, cutis ad cutim et cicatrix apparuit. Et cum esset curata in pristinam vegetatem, sanitatem et speciem assignavit eam incolumen omnibus presentibus. Tunc omnes Deum glorificaverunt, honorificantes famulum ejus; et videntes eum virum sanctum et sapientem, inito consilio, tota illa civitas cum sua parochia a rege ex consensu totius populi romani in sempiterna possessione Sancto Flannano data est; et optantes rogaverunt eum ut ipse foret in ea episcopus. Vir autem Domini hoc respuit, dicens—Donate Domino quod mihi dedistis et placabilem acquirite ad vos; quia ego non possum hic manere, quoniam Deus praedestinavit ut ego revertar ad patriam meam, et scio divina revelatione in quo loco erit resurrectio mea. Tunc rogaverunt

¹ See note at end of Fragment.

eum omnes ut saltem ad tempus apud eos maneret et ibi unum de discipulis suis dimitteret. In illa siquidem civitate vir sanctus Flannanus spacio triginta dierum moratur, sanans omnes languores multitudinis undique confluentis ad se et dimisit ibi virum Abbatem nomine Cochid, qui extitit coram Deo et hominibus doctor sanctus et fidelis. Captum autem iter agens Sanctus Flannanus Romani pervenit. Postquam vero advenit Romam totum annum in ea complevit. Perseveravit ergo ibi in sua sancta consuetudine, i.e. in sejniis et vigiliis et orationibus et coeteris bonis operibus, et cum omni diligentia totum ecclesiasticæ regulæ ordinem didicit, et divina revelatione ostenditur Domino Papæ ut consecret Sanctum Flannanum episcopum, et postea per impositionem manuum venerabilis Papæ urbis Romæ gradum episcopalem Sanctus Flannanus accepit: Dictum est enim ad eum desuper:—'Qui vult episcopatum bonum opus desiderat. Sed dignitati vestræ narranda est, fratres charissimi, mira res nostris temporibus quæ facta est a Domino in die consecrationis Sancti Flannani in urbe Romana. Septem enim de fructibus palmae imbres super urbem de coelo fluxerunt, cum ordinaret "Dominus Papa Sanctum Flannanum et angeli Dei" indicaverunt hoc factum esse ut ostenderent qualem et quantam gratiam Sanctus Flannanus Episcopus apud Deum habebat. Tunc omnes Domino laudes dederunt, glorificantes per hoc signum nomen Domini Jesu in suo Flannano sanctissimo.

Postea cum accepta licentia et benedictione a Sanctissimo Papa, Beatus Flannanus Episcopus, cum suis discipulis, cepit iter venire ad Hiberniam. Tunc Sancti Flannani fama ibi plaudente quatuor decim monachi a vicinis monasteriis venerunt ad eum volentes ire cum eo et sub tali viro esse in peregrinatione. Respondit eis Sanctus Flannanus dicens—'Quam causam habetis,' 'Cur ita vultis,' 'Non licit monachis praepositum suum deserere. Ideo consilium accipite et eti ad vestra monasteria.' Illi vero dixerunt 'moriemur omnes si non ibimus tecum.' Vir Sanctus dixit eis. Scio quia ibitis ad Hiberniam sed non mecum: nec ab hoc die videbitis faciem meam in aeternum. Discendens inde vir Dei venit ad ripam fluminis Tybris viditque in alveo fluminis lapidem quæ sub eo de Hibernia natavit natantem et quasi ludentem contra ictus alvei. Tunc vir Dei jussit lapidem descendere cum flumine, sequens eum de urbe, quia noluit ascendere super eum in urbe ante homines. Illi vero monachi sequebantur virum Dei a longe, volentes adhuc eum

rogare. Unus autem ex discipulis ejus aspiciens retro, ait:— Ecce nos sequentur monachi. Tunc Sanctus Flannanus dixit:— ‘Potens est Dominus ut in vestigiis pedum suorum haereant donec cum consultu ratione synodi veniant. Mirum igitur dictu illico ad verbum Sancti Flannani in modum simulacrorum sine aliqua vegetate omnes stabant immobiles. Tunc multae turbae de civitate, videntes tale signum sive miraculum, perrexerunt post Sanctum Flannanum ut rogarent eum et illis sciscitaretur ab eo quid de illis ageretur.

Respondit eis Sanctus Flannanus dicens. ‘Quia voluerunt mecum venire et ego rogavi eos manere in suis monasteriis vel cum licentia post me venire ad Hiberniam et hoc noluerunt, et ideo hoc eis contingit. Modo enim revertemini vos et invenietis eos solutos et si habuerint adhuc licentiam ratione Synodi veniant post me ad Hiberniam et Deus diriget viam eorum. Et turbae revertentes invenerunt eos solutos, sicut dixit Sanctus. De his autem monachis interim taceam et quod contigit iterum narrabim.

Beatissimus autem Flannanus ascendit super lapidem suum cum discipulis suis, sed dirigente Christo lapidem eundem portum quem reliquerat, juxta monasterium Sancti Braccani, apprehendit, et honorifice a Beato Braccano, secundum honorem pontificalem Sanctus Flannanus susceptus est, et mansit apud eum per aliquot dies.

Quodam quoque die Sanctus Flannanus dixit ad Beatum Braccanum:—‘Quod tibi promisi, Sancte Pater, ecce ego, Christo me adjuvante, complevi. Non promisi tibi tecum manere, sed tantum ad te reverti. Ideo Sancte Senior, dimitte me cum pace; me quoque Christus perducatur iterum in peregrinatione. Tunc viatus est Sanctus Senior in ira pessima et dixit ei. ‘Vis ire contra praedestinationem Domini. Insipienter hoc dicis, cum scis Sanctum Molum expulsum ab Angelo Dei de loco suo ut tu in illo patronus multorum existeres.’ Respondit ei Sanctus Flannanus, dicens:—‘Quid mihi irascaris, Sancte pater? Cur ad patriam meam reverterer nisi tantum propter ipsam promissionem angelicam? Ecce cum sim, suasionem apostolica, episcopus, parochiam episcopi non habeo et totam Diocesim totum, que populum meae provinciae alii Sancti praeoccupaverunt.’ Ille ait:—‘Illi cum suis parochiis sub te erunt et omnis populus tuae provinciae tibi serviet in aeternum.’ Sanctus Flannanus ait— ‘Quatuor quidem fratres habeo qui mihi cum semine suo volunt

servire, sed quid sunt isti pauci ? ' Ait ei Sanctus Braccanus :— ' Nonne audivisti quod Deus dixit Abraham. *Multiplicans multiplicabo semen tuum sicut arena maris et sicut stellae coeli.* Ipse Deus faciet ut sint fratres tui in sexaginta viros, et sexaginta in trecentos et trecenti in tria millia, et non erunt in paucioribus quamdiu tuae voluntati non resistant ; alioquin ipsi pervenient ad centum. Ideo esto mihi obediens et quodcumque dicam tibi age. Pone itaque ad meum verbum Lapidem nostrum super aquas qui te per longa maria ducet. In enim dixisti :—Nolo ibi manere et quocumque te Deus jactaverit de mari aequo animo vade et voluntate Domini ibi mane.' Et hoc verbum multum Sancto Flannano placuit. Postea autem Sanctus Flannanus cum suis discipulis super lapidem cum oratione et suasionem Sancti Braccani ascendit. Confirmata autem fraternitate et societate inter eos, Sanctus Breccanus diligenter Sanctum Flannanum et generationem ejus benedixit. Reficientes se invicem salutaribus monitis et pio amore flentes, Sanctus Flannanus in osculo pacis recessit. Deinde nutu Domini Sanctus Flannanus cum discipulis per circuitum Hiberniae ducuntur et in aquilonali parte ejus in quodam loco portum apprehenderunt, in initio vero quadragesimae in illum locum intraverunt. Tunc unus de discipulis ejus ait :— ' Sancte Pater, quadragesima venit ; tempus manendi est et orandi.' Respondit ei Sanctus Flannanus dicens scotica lingua quod dicitur latine :—quia ita est maneam. Unde usque in hodiernum diem nomen illius loci '*Manand.*' In ipso autem loco vir sanctus usque post Pascha in divinis orationibus mansit et angeli Dei ibi virum sanctum confortantes eum visitabant. Quodam quoque die in illo loco novem declamatores ad Sanctum Flannanum venerunt et coeperunt statim inepta et turpia ante eum agere et sibi detrahare et Deo. Novem veruscas a viro Dei anxie postulaverunt, et ideo hoc fecerunt scientes quod vir sanctus nullum aratrum haberet et in eremo habitaret et putabant quod omnino invenire non possent. Tunc ait Sanctus Flannanus :— ' Scriptum est *omni petenti a te da*, sed vobis dentur oves quae mentis vestrae votum non supplebunt : et vos et ipsi ab hinc filii perditionis eritis, quia Deum et famulum ejus detrahentes temptastis.' Quid plura ? Ecce ad jussum Sancti Flannani a profundo maris novem soccae venerunt ; formam ovium sibi induunt. Illis ante miseris manus in eas tendentibus, ipsi homines cum ovibus in lapides versi sunt, et usque nunc in signum virtutis quam fecit Deus per famulum suum Sanctum

Flannanum in ea permanet figura. Cum vero tale miraculum in regione propinqua audiretur, venerunt et voluerunt habere Sanctum Flannanum in patronum et sibi monasterium in illo loco construere : sed ab angelo Dei vir Sanctus commotus est ut post Pascha in suo navigio exiret et ibi maneret quo tunc duceretur.

Celebrante ergo illic viro Dei Pascha postea in navigio exivit et sine impedimento contra flumen Synna prospero navigio ductus est, et stetit lapis sub eo in loco praedestinato sibi a Deo, statimque vir Sanctus jubet lapidem quem valde diligebat, hendi censu, ad Sanctum Braccanum reverti, et postea reversa per diversa aequora ad Beatum Braccanum pervenit et juxta monasterium ejus usque in hodiernum diem immobilis manet ; et per gratiam duorum Sanctorum SS. Flannani et Braccani beneficia aliqua adhuc praestantur super ipsam petram, et ipsa petra aliquidem ex nomina Flannani Scotice nominatur *leacc Flannam*, quod Latine dicitur Petra Flannani. Sanctus autem Flannanus suam civitatem cum suis sanctis monasteriis in fluminis margine quod dicitur Synnasyo jam amplam fundavit et mansit vir Sanctus Flannanus in ea usque ad obitum suum, claruitque ipse de die in diem virtutibus et miraculis quamdiu vixit in ea : et ipsa civitas sicut superius dictum est *Ceallmolua* vocatur.

Illi monachi de quibus superius diximus, accepta licentia, completoque anno post Sanctum Flannanum ad Hiberniam in peregrinatione et beatissimus Flannanus pie et clementer accepit eos ; sed semper complevit sermonem quem dixit eis Romae i.e. 'non videbitis faciem meam in aeternum.' Et construxit eis beatus pontifex cellam in quadam insula juxta suam civitatem in medio fluminis Synna, quae vocatur scottice *Feapnhinnir*, i.e. *Aluanea* insula, et fecit pontem inter insulam et terram. Egredebatur quotidie Sanctus episcopus de civitate ad eos visitandos, et cum appropinquasset ad insulam faciem suam caputis capae velabat, et versa facie ad terram, in introitu insulae sedebat, et sic retro loquebatur cum eis et ita faciebat quotidie. Ipsi vero monachi in illa insula usque ad obitum suum in omni religione et sanctitate vitam suam ducentes sub cura Sancti Patris Flannani permanserunt. Quodam quoque tempore quidam homo infestus *Maelcech*, filius *Flaynd*, cui cognomen erat *Gotran* tres boves de armeto Sancti Flannani furtive abstulit statimque eos fecit mactari et dixit servis suis ut sine mora carnem coquerent et illi posuerunt ignem immensae magnitudinis sub cacabo, sed

tamen semper caro cruda et aqua frigida apparebant et non potuerunt ullo modo in aliam speciem alterari. Tunc conversus ad se homo ille qui fecit latrocinia et intra se cogitans scivit quantum scelus commisit in Sanctum Dei; et illico penitens venit ad Sanctum Flannanum, dicens, 'Peccavi, Domine Sancte Dei in te et scimus quia homo Dei es,' et narravit ei quae supra diximus et ait. 'Tibi jam meliores boves restituam sed rogo ne mihi male dixeris, et ego et mea progenies post me, serviemus tibi in aeternum.' Tunc ait Sanctus Pater Flannanus. 'Quod Deus quaerit ab homine qui perpetrat crimen tu fecisti; i.e. peccata confiteri et veniam postulare: ideo quia confessus es peccatum tuum et veniam petisti Praecellens Laicus et Excelsus Clericus de semine tuo semper non deerit; tibi enim benedictio necessaria; et ille postquam seipsum et semen suum viro Dei obtulit gaudens reversus est in domum suam.

Alio autem tempore, erat quidam religiosus monachus nomine Maelpunaio et unus minister nomine Braon cum eo in eremo et ipsi habebant possessiunculam, i.e. vaccam unam cujus lacte se reficiebant et ipsa quotidie erat in pascuis per herbas nullo se custodiendo nisi divina potestate; et cum ea ferae habitabant et nihil ei nocebant et horis competentibus ad domum suam veniebat. Accidit autem quodam die ut quidam homo veniens ibi et videns eam solam abstulit eam ad domum suam et statim eam occidit. Cum vero esset occisa totum corpus ejus in acervum vermibus scaturientem versum est. Ille fur videns tale factum valde timuit divinam vindictam et statim ad Sanctum Flannanum qui tunc prope erat cum devota satisfactione fugit, et confessus est Sancto Pontifici quod factum fuerat, promittens se facturum sicut vir Dei sibi dixisset, et se et suam progeniem, Deo adjuvante, sub tutela hujus sancti semper servituum promisit; et rogavit Flannanum ut liberaret eum ab ira Sanctorum quorum unam vaccam abstulit et a vindicta Dei. Tunc vir sanctus ait ei 'Liberaberis; nam ipsi putant vaccam suam adhuc vivere, et sero vocabunt eam fideliter, et una vacca ejusdem coloris de tua possessione curret ad eos et manebit apud eos in vice alterius. Et sero Bpseu Sancti Flannani Beatus discipulus et comes Sancti Maelpunaio monachi suam vaccam vocavit et sicut prophetavit Sanctus Flannanus una vacca flava ex armetis praedicti furis exivit ad eum et familiariter ibi mansit. Tunc Sanctus Monachus Maelpunaio qui erat familiaris conservus et amicus Mecpinceoa sancti, gratias Deo egit et repletus spiritu pro-

phetiae dixit comiti suo ac discipulo. 'O vir magnus Flannanus, qui nos nescire vaccam nostram raptam esse praedixit et fecit, divina potestate, aliam nobis pro ea de possessione furis venire, et furem confitentem sibi et promittentem servire, a divina vindicta liberavit; et sic alii qui ei confitebuntur et inservient hic et in futuro liberati erunt!' Pater vero Sancti Flannani Toppoéalbach vocabatur qui in sua senectute ad civitatem Lymon perrexit et sub cura Sancte Mocholmog episcopi, qui cathedram Sancti Carthagi Episcopi, a quo eadem civitas imprimis fundata est, regebat, in peregrinatione mansit.

Quodam quoque die causa orandi in coemeterium in quo eran, reliquiae innumerabilium sanctorum ipse exivit; cumque juxta reliquias sanctorum, penitendo gegrans, pergeret, vidit in quodam lapide quatuor guttas sanguinis, tres rubras, unam vero nigram; ipse autem stupefactus hoc signo ad Sanctum Mocholmog sub quo ipse propter Deum abrevuncians saeculo militabat illico venit et narravit quod vidit. Respondit ei Sanctus Mocholmog plenus spiritu prophetiae, dicens:—'Tres guttae rubrae quas vidisti mortem trium filiorum significant, una vero nigra mortem comitis qui erat cum eis designat, qui besterna die ab inimicis suis sunt occisi. Tunc Toppoéalbach compunctus est corde.

Reliqua desiderantur.

[This fragment of the *Life of St. Flannan* is extracted from a Latin work entitled *Vita Sanctorum Hiberniae*, which is to be found in the O'Renehan collection of Maynooth College Library, a volume of considerable interest and antiquity. Dr. O'Renehan in another volume of his collection tells us that the above-mentioned work was given to him in the Holy Week of the year 1856, by Mr. Hugh McDermott, a student of Achonry in Maynooth College, and eldest son and heir of the Lords of Mylurg and Princes of Coolavin in the Co. Sligo. A record in Irish at the head of the volume tells how it found its way into the McDermott family, for it says:—"I, Charles, son of Dennis, son of Charles og O'Connor, bought this book at Dublin in the year of our Lord 1770." The book, of which Dr. O'Renehan gives a most minute and accurate description, was copied in the year 1627 by a certain medical doctor named Arthur, from a very old parchment codex which was then in existence in the library of Dr. James Uscher.—Ed. I. E. R.]



**DISPENSATIONS IN THE LAW OF FASTING DURING
ADVENT**

**FACULTAS CONCESSA EPIS DISPENSANDI SUPER LEGE IEIUNII ET
ABSTINENTIAE IN DIEBUS MAIORIS SOLEMNITATIS, NON VALET
PRO FERIIS SEXTIS ET SABBATIS INTRA ADVENTUM, IEIUNIO
CONSECRATIS**

BEATISSIME PATER,

Per Decretum S. R. et U. Inquisitionis diei 5 Decembris 1894,¹ Sanctitas Vestra locorum Ordinariis concessit facultatem anticipandi atque ob gravissimas causas dispensandi super lege ieiunii et abstinentiae, quando festum sub utroque praecepto servandum Patroni principalis aut Titularis Ecclesiae inciderit in ferias sextas aut sabbata per annum, excepto tempore Quadragesimae, diebus Quatuor Temporum et Vigiliis per annum ieiunio consecratis.

Iam vero in Hispania, per Decretum S. R. C. diei 2 Maii 1867 nonnullae Vigiliae ieiunio consecratae per annum abrogatae fuerunt et ieiunium translatum in singulas ferias sextas et sabbata Sacri Adventus. Quare infrascriptus Archiepiscopus Compostellanus humillime petit ut Sanctitas Vestra declarare dignetur utrum Ordinarii, vi Decreti 5 Decembris 1894, anticipare possint, vel etiam ob gravissimas causas dispensare a lege ieiunii et abstinentiae in Feriis sextis et Sabbatis Adventus.

Feria IV, die 15 Decembris 1897.

In Congregatione generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis habita ab EEmis et RRmis DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Inquisitoribus Generalibus, proposito suprascripto dubio, prae-habitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem EEmi ac RRmi Patres rescribendum mandarunt :

Negative.

Subsequenti vero Feria VI, die 17 eiusdem mensis et anni, in solita audientia R. P. D. Adessori impertita, facta de his omnibus SSmo D. N. Leoni Div. Prov. Pp. XIII. relatione, SSmus resolutionem EEmorum Patrum adprobavit.

I. C. MANCINI, S. R. et U. Inquis. Not.

¹ Cfr. *Anal. Eccl.*, vol. iii., p. 56.

METHODS OF ENSURING THE SAFETY OF THE TABERNACLE**E SACRA CONGREGATIONE RITUUM****VARII MODI TUTANDI SECURITATEM TABERNACULORUM SPECTANT
AD LOCORUM ORDINARIOS**

Visis et expensis variis modis asservandi et claudendi in Tabernaculo Sacram Pixidem cum SSmo Eucharistiae Sacramento, a Sacerdote Salvatore Barbara ad maiorem securitatem et custodiam excogitatis et Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi pro speciali approbatione exhibitis, eadem Sacra Congregatio in particulari Coetu habito hac ipsa die, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, audito etiam voto Commissionis Liturgicae, rescribendum censuit: 'Finem inventoris esse laudandum. Negotium vero in casu et ad effectum de quo agitur, spectare ad locorum Ordinarios.' Atque ita rescripsit. Die 18 Martii 1898.

L. ✕ S.

DIOMEDES PANICI, *S. R. C. Secret.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

DANTE'S TEN HEAVENS. By Edmund G. Gardner, M.A.
Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co. 1898.

THE popularity of Dante's name seems still on the increase in **E**ngland. In addition to the lectureships and scholarships by **w**hich the study of the *Divine Comedy* is encouraged in schools **a**nd universities, votaries of the Dante cult have formed themselves into societies in the principal cities, and have made it their **a**im to keep up a living interest in everything that concerns the **f**ame of the poet and his works. To the long list of names associated with this fascinating study may now be added that of **M**r. Gardner, the author of this volume. As most of the English translators and commentators of Dante are Protestants, foremost amongst them being Vernon, Church, Plumtre, Moore, Wright, Lacaita, Butler, Hazelfoot, we are glad to welcome a Catholic into the ranks, and to find his work well worthy of commendation.

The work before us consists of seven essays, which, as the author informs us, 'are intended to serve as an introduction to the study of Dante's *Paradiso*.' They admirably fulfil this purpose for a special class of readers. They are not as elementary as the introduction of Ginguéné, and they are not as complete as the works of the Hon. Wm. Warren Vernon on the *Inferno* and *Purgatorio*. We have, however, a substantial introduction. The description of the ten spheres, and of their beatified inhabitants, is marked by accurate knowledge of the spiritual motive that works through every scene, and of the endless historical episodes to which the poet refers. The various spheres are clearly distinguished, and the reasons for the distribution of souls in each planet, or heaven, is fully explained. It is rarely that a knowledge of Catholic philosophy is so satisfactorily brought to the assistance of literary criticism; and on this ground alone Mr. Gardner's work is almost unique, as far as English literature goes. The *Paradiso* is the part of Dante's trilogy that is least known, least understood, and least appreciated, on account of the prevailing ignorance of Catholic teaching and mediæval scholasticism; yet in a great many respects it is the finest fruit

of the poet's intellect and imagination, and, even from an historical and literary point of view, surpasses in interest and grandeur almost anything that Dante ever wrote. We earnestly commend Mr. Gardner's work to all lovers of Dante, and we are sure that it will facilitate to a vast degree the study of the most abstruse, the most difficult, but to many the most attractive part of the *Divine Comedy*.

J. F. H.

BLOSSOMS OF THE CROSS. Dedicated to my dear Companions in Sickness and Suffering, for their Pious Entertainment. By Emmy Giehl ('Tante Emmy'). From the German. By the Sisters of St. Joseph, Indianapolis. Second Edition. Benziger Brothers.

THIS is in many respects a very remarkable book. It has been written by a German lady who at the time of writing, and for years before, had been a suffering prisoner, bound fast to her bed of sickness. It has been translated by a Sister of St. Joseph, who (as we are told in the preface to the English edition) is also a confirmed invalid; and it has been written and translated for the express purpose of supplying consolation and pious entertainment to 'dear companions in sickness and suffering.' Thus the writing and translating of the book have been rare and precious works of charity, undertaken by those from whom such offices would scarcely be expected; and the mere undertaking of such work, in the circumstances, would be deserving of the highest praise. But we think that special praise is due for the success which has crowned the undertaking, for we have no hesitation in pronouncing the book to be an ideal book for the purpose intended. In it sickness is treated more or less as a particular state in life, pretty much like religion, or marriage, or any other state; and every circumstance and detail relating to that state comes under consideration. The staple subject of meditation is the suffering Saviour, the model of the suffering Christian; and the writer has furnished and collected such an abundant variety of beautiful and consoling thoughts, that, under every sorrow or phase of sorrow which sickness brings, motives of patience, and strength, and joy are ready at hand. We join, then, with the bishop who has written the preface to this English translation in recommending the book 'as a valuable help to those who must of necessity lead a life of suffering and seclusion, for we are convinced that

they will find a great deal to cheer them, to strengthen them, to help them to use well their trials, and to merit for the next life. Those who have friends who are invalids cannot do a better service than to add this book to the library of the sick-room.

P. J. T.

SHORT INSTRUCTIONS FOR EVERY SUNDAY OF THE YEAR,
AND FOR THE PRINCIPAL FEASTS. From the French.
By the Rev. Thomas E. Ward, Church of St. Charles
Borromeo, Brooklyn, N.Y. Benziger Brothers.

THE following is the translator's apology for giving this volume to the public :—

'After reading the *Instructions* in the original, I did not hesitate to give them an English garb, as I found them well calculated both to instruct and to edify. The choice of subjects, the manner in which they are treated, the practical details, the correct, and sometimes even elegant style, the sound doctrine ; in a word, to my mind they possessed everything necessary to impart a knowledge of true devotion, and the means to advance in the way of perfection. Therefore, in the hope that they may prove as useful to others as they have been to me, I respectfully submit these *Instructions* to the kind consideration of priests and people.'

¶ We have read some of the *Instructions*, and as far as our acquaintance goes we are glad to be able to agree with Father Ward in his estimate of them. To the faithful they will afford much valuable instruction, and to priests who are in search of such aids for preparing their own instructions we may safely recommend them.

P. J. T.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. By
F. Goulburn Walpole. London : Burns & Oates.
New York : Benziger Brothers.

WE are sorry not to be able to say much in praise of the little volume before us. Indeed, we confess to having approached its closer perusal in a spirit of prejudice as soon as we had seen, from the preface and table of contents, the extensive nature of the work which the author set himself to accomplish, and the very meagre compass which he strove to do it in. The work purports to be a history of the Church from its foundation to the

present time. Every important ecclesiastical event is treated of — an introductory chapter—not, we think, the best in the book—is devoted to vindicating the Church's claim to infallibility; something is said about each one of the early councils; the heresies that gave so much trouble in the early centuries are discussed — in his account of the persecutions the author makes a good-natured attempt to extenuate the conduct of the Roman emperors; the religious orders, Protestant Reformation, Council of Trent, all get notice; and in connection with the last mentioned thirty-seven pages are devoted to setting forth *in extenso* the most important canons of the council—and all this in the space of one hundred and ninety-nine pages. No one, we think, could have squeezed so much into such a little volume with any fair hope for the survival of clearness, grace of style, or ease of narrative. The result in the present instance, at any rate, is a book which is not pleasant to read, nor, we fear, calculated to serve the good purposes which its author had in view. We are far from saying the author cannot write good English. But he ought to attempt works of a less ambitious nature and of a less extensive scope.

J. S.

LIFE OF ST. CATHERINE OF SIENNA. By Edward L. Aymé, M.D. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

THIS is an extremely readable book. The author had a large and a varied field before him, in essaying to write an account of St. Catherine, the mystic, the miracle-worker, the apostle of Church Reunion, the saint whose life might be called a continued ecstacy. In saying that he has availed of the opportunities afforded him with taste, good sense, and discrimination, we certainly do not overstate the merits of the life before us.

St. Catherine's life, from her birth, in 1347, till her glorious death, was literally filled with marvels. When little more than six years of age, she had already resolved to retire from the world and its vanities. When the time came to carry out her purpose she met with the most determined opposition from parents and friends; even her confessor was slow to recognise her high vocation. Opposition and misunderstanding was ever her lot; but with a quiet resignation, and an unshaken confidence in God's providence, she ultimately triumphed over the

various barriers which stood between her and the perfection she was destined for. Possibly, the dominant characteristic of her life was her consuming charity for her neighbour, and her readiness not only to place all her personal resources at his disposal, but to beg God's assistance, even to the extent of procuring miracles, to raise him up in his time of need. Her sense of divine protection, and her conception of our duties in difficult circumstances are summed up in those words of advice :—' Why so solicitous for yourselves? Let Providence act; amidst your greatest dangers its eyes are fixed on you, and it will ever save you.' This principle, consistently carried out in her life, was to Catherine an unfailing source of consolation and peace, in the face of trials and temptations, that would have dismayed a less fervent and trustful soul. An extraordinary intimacy with God was the outcome of so much sanctity of life. Of her were these words literally true, that she lived not in herself, but in Christ, who had complete possession of her.

The author traces the saint's subsequent life : her miraculous *facts*, her espousal to our Lord, her extraordinary miracles—even raising the dead to life, her power over evil spirits, her revelations and gift of prophecy, her frequent communions ; and the closing scenes of her life, in language which, by its directness, simplicity, and ease is admirably fitted to the description of the miraculous and the supernatural.

Many people, even amongst Catholics, have a distaste for the mystical ; they distrust private revelations, and make up their minds that the miraculous and the fictitious are almost synonymous, unless in the Church as it existed at the time of Christ, and for a very little time after. To such as these, as well as to those who are less sceptical, we recommend the present *Life*. It cannot fail to be wholesome reading for thinking minds of both classes. The volume is neatly brought out, and the price is one dollar.

F. S.

ILLUSTRATED LIFE OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN. By Rev. B. Rohner, O.S.B. Adapted by the Rev. Richard Brennan, LL.D. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

THIS *Life of the Blessed Virgin* deserves a hearty welcome from the Catholic public. It is a convenient volume of 360 pages, brought out in beautiful style and offered at a price that is within

the means of all. And its intrinsic worth is, in our opinion, quite in keeping with its external form. We have no means of proving how far the credit is due to the original author and how far to the adapter, but to the work, as it comes before us, we give our sincere commendation. The narrative is confined to facts and events that are certain from Scripture or tradition, or, at least, sufficiently probable and easily credible; all pious extravagance in the admission of unauthenticated legends is avoided, and such stories and beliefs as are introduced are mentioned merely for what they are worth. On the other hand, every point of real importance in regard to the dignity and prerogatives of the Mother of God, is clearly and solidly dealt with. The author's reflections on the great, mysterious events and little incidents that make up the earthly history of the most exalted of God's creatures are always appropriate, and mostly take the form of practical lessons inculcated for the benefit of the Christian reader. In point of literary style the book is unexceptional, though we notice some trivial points, which we consider to be characteristically American, if they do not betray the influence of the presumably German original. But it would be unfair to descend to trifles; and our best word is an earnest wish that the book may have a wide circulation. The author, who is evidently a devoted client of Mary, has done good service in her honour, and his Mother will not forget him.

P. J. T.

FIVE THRONES OF DIVINE LOVE UPON THE EARTH. Translated from the French of R. P. Alexis Louis de Saint Joseph, Discalced Carmelite and Examiner in Theology. London: Burns & Oates, Ltd. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

IN those days when faith and piety have grown cold in the hearts even of Catholics, there is evident need of some such work as that before us, to quicken tepid souls and warm them to a sense of their duty. This need is admirably supplied by the *Five Thrones of Divine Love*. In it we find treated at considerable length the great love of Almighty God as shown in the Incarnation, the love of the Incarnate Word during His life, and especially in that last sad scene on Calvary's hill, which concluded His earthly mission. The Blessed Eucharist, too, is

another Throne, where this love is perpetuated here below. Finally, the faithful soul is a throne whence the flames of Divine love should ever glow, casting its rays all around. These main points are beautifully and profusely interspersed with solid, useful, practical instruction, which cannot fail to be productive of much spiritual profit.

The work is a translation from the French, and seems to follow the original closely, so much so that the English is sometimes stiff, and, occasionally, even the French idiom is retained in the translation.

We notice the absence of one very important element in the book—there is no imprimatur nor ecclesiastical approbation of any kind. In fact, the translator has not given us any clue to his own personality. The work contains no preface, nor even a table of contents.

Apart from these few omissions, the book must be an attractive and valuable guide in the path of interior perfection.

J. F.

SERMONS FOR THE CHILDREN OF MARY. By Rev. Ferdinand Callerio, Canon of the Cathedral of Novara. Translated from the Italian. Revised by Rev. P. F. Clarke, S.J. New York: Benziger Brothers.

We can recommend this well-published volume not only to priests conducting sodalities, such as are mentioned in the title, but to all anxious to procure a useful book for spiritual reading. The former will find appropriate matter for short and impressive lectures on almost every point that his audience should know for their spiritual advancement, and for their efficient direction in regard of social customs, which, though dangerous, may not always, without the aspect of a somewhat repulsive rigorism, be unnecessarily condemned. The latter, even though they be not members of any formal society, will become true children of Mary, in the wider sense, by reading of, and reducing to practice, the exercises of devotion so simply and clearly explained by the Canon. The work of translation has been so well executed that one would scarce think that English was not the original language of the *lectus*.

P. S

THE MADCAP SET AT ST. ANNE'S. By Marion J. Brunowe, Author of *The Sealed Packet, Seven of Us, &c.* New York and Cincinnati: Benziger Brothers.

THIS is a highly entertaining story, which will not fail to excite keen interest in every school-girl who is fortunate enough to come across it. It is of the sort that these young, thoughtless spirits would revel in to their hearts' content. The scene of the tale is a convent boarding-school, and the 'madcap set' consisted of five of the school-girls who formed themselves into a club for objects of which those in charge of the institution did not by any means approve. However, all things ended happily.

The character of the youthful rebels to law and order is well and cleverly drawn, and the moral tone is most healthy and elevating. It will furnish a few hours' very interesting reading.

P. M.

BRUNO AND LUCY; OR, THE WAYS OF THE LORD ARE WONDERFUL. From the German of W. Herchenback. Revised by the Rev. W. H. Eyre, S.J. London: Burns & Oates. New York and Cincinnati: Benziger Brothers.

A DELIGHTFUL tale, full of thrilling adventure. Such was our conviction when we had unravelled the tangled skein of this charming story. The hero and heroine are personalities that one could not help being enraptured with. Bruno is the devoted playfellow and confidant of little Lucy. He is accused of a false crime by a designing and hard-hearted woman, and forced to hide himself away from the haunts of men. Lucy, the victim of another wicked design, is carried away, and left to die near the cave where Bruno had taken refuge. She is found by Bruno, and they successfully make their escape from the awful position in which they were placed. The innocence of Bruno is established, the mystery is cleared up, and the curtain falls on the scene where the two loving and devoted hearts are united in bonds stronger than adamant. Parents and others who look for wholesome reading for young minds will here find a treasure.

P. M.



LOURDES AND THE FRENCH NATIONAL PILGRIMAGE¹

WHAT is the greatest religious event in the nineteenth century? It is probably the 'Concordat' concluded between Pius VII. and Bonaparte. By sanctioning and assisting all over France the exercise of public Catholic worship, which had already been begun again in many places,² this treaty restored its 'eldest daughter' to the Church. It gave the Papacy power to rise gloriously again, and once more to show itself to the amazed world 'full of life and youthful vigour,' after it had been 'brought so low as to become an object of derision to infidels, and of pity rather than of hatred to Protestants.'³

What is the second greatest religious event? Some would say it is Napoleon's overthrow, so visibly the work of Providence,⁴ at a time when he contemplated the enthralment of the Church, and was about to achieve it; others, the definition of Papal Infallibility, or the proclamation of

¹ *Histoire des Apparitions de Notre Dame de Lourdes*, by Lasserre. Paris. English translation of same. Burns & Oates, London. *Lourdes, étude médicale*, by Dr. Boissarie. Paris. *Annales de Lourdes*, a monthly publication. Lourdes.

² See *l'Eglise Romaine et le Premier Empire*, by d'Haussonville.

³ Macaulay's *Essays*, p. 569. Longmans.

⁴ 'There is something in these marvellous coincidences [between the circumstances of the Emperor's excommunication and some of those of the awful disaster that befell him in Russia soon after] beyond the operation of chance, and which even a Protestant historian feels himself bound to mark for the observation of future years.'—*Alison's History*, vol. iii.

the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, &c. ; but n would ever think of the wonders of Lourdes. Lour does not rank so high, indeed, in the opinion of the wo The ignorance that prevails about it is profound, and n regrettable, too. It is, therefore, worth while to atten here, even in a small way, to dispel it. This attempt prove successful, if through it some readers become m alive to the importance of what takes place at our Lac favourite shrine, and still more if some make up their mi to go and judge for themselves on the spot.

Go to Lourdes ! But many have been there, and fa to witness anything really extraordinary. Profane touri for instance, hurrying over France, take it in. They scenery, beautiful, indeed, but not at all superior to ot sights in the Pyrenees. Many pious pilgrims, ag betake themselves from afar to the much-frequented shri They see costly churches and buildings, the spot where Blessed Virgin is supposed to have appeared, and Christi praying with unparalleled fervour. They hear besides t thousands of devotees keep on pouring in all the year rou that sick people sometimes get cured ; and that is all. what, then, does Lourdes differ from so many Catho shrines ? The miraculous cures, vaguely reported not peculiar to it, for countless are the churches & chapels whose walls are covered with ex-votos that evidences of God's, our Lady's, or some saint's power & mercy. The truth is, there is another Lourdes. Lour is only itself, that is, unique in its kind, when it is enliven by some of the great pilgrimages, and especially by greatest of all, the French national one. Then, and th only, is the time to visit it, to form an adequate opin of it. It thus happens that a description of the Freer national pilgrimage is that of the real Lourdes.

Such a description is all the more seasonable now, as silver jubilee of the pilgrimage was kept with due solemn in August last. To think that such a great event has tak place twenty-five times during the last twenty-five ye without the world at large becoming aware of its existenc But, no, it has begun to make itself known. The wc

French newspapers, such as the *Gil Blas*, have lately taken to reporting it in strangely favourable terms. What is this French national pilgrimage? A conglomeration of pilgrims hailing from all parts of France? Not quite so now: but it was exactly so at the beginning.

The Fathers of the Assumption, who had undertaken the task of reviving in full modern times, at the end of the nineteenth century, the obsolete, absurd, superstitious mediæval custom of a distant pilgrimage on a large scale (a task pronounced hopeless by their more enlightened contemporaries), tried, among others, to set on foot one to Lourdes, in 1873. The railway companies, greatly diffident about the success, agreed reluctantly to organize one train from Paris, and the Fathers sent forth an appeal to zealous Catholics throughout France to come and fill it.

That was surely to be a national pilgrimage. So were the other two or three that followed immediately. But their success was so great as not only to give the lie to sceptics and scoffers, but also to exceed even the most sanguine expectations of their promoters. The consequence was, that many dioceses started special ones, and thus their members abstained from joining those from Paris. The latter, nevertheless, did not alter their name, and they bear it even to this day. Nor is it without any show of reason. They consist, it is true, of ten trains that are run from Paris. But the seats in those trains are secured by people from all parts of the country as well as by Parisians. Besides, thirty dioceses or more, between Normandy and Corsica, between Lorraine and Bordeaux, select for their special pilgrimages the very same date as Paris—a day within the Octave of the Assumption.

If, again, it is taken into account that a host of French people taking the waters or travelling in the Pyrenees in August make it a point to come to Lourdes at that time also, it will be admitted that the whole of France is then duly represented; and that such a pilgrimage can truly be termed national. Universal would not even be too much. There are also Spaniards, Portuguese, Germans, Belgians, Americans, negroes, &c.; and I saw last year a woman

apparently from some savage land, whose swarthy face covered with tattooings. The English and Irish have been comparatively conspicuous by their absence, although they are to be met with at every step everywhere else in France. But efforts were made last year to bring some with the result that close upon sixty, one of whom was Right Rev. Dr. Lyster, Bishop of Achonry, came. As the same attempt will be renewed every year, it is to be hoped that all those who are in the habit of occasionally indulging in a continental trip will, once at least, bend their way to little 'wonderland' in the Pyrenees to their gratification as also to that of our Blessed Lady, who said to Bernadette 'I want many people to come here.'

The national pilgrimage excels all the others by the multitude of its members—from 30,000 to 35,000, and of sick it brings—1,000 from Paris, and say 200 from various parts of the country; 1,200 in all. But its main characteristic is, perhaps, that the number of cures it offers is exceptionally great, because there are more sick people or rather because there are more faithful to pray at Lourdes itself, and more convents, monasteries, parishes, families &c., in France to join in with them from afar. All this enhances the splendour of the ceremonies, and brings about results which will entitle Lourdes to a foremost place among the great events of the century, when they are fully realised. When will that be? It may be in a long time hence. Christianity itself was overlooked at the beginning and was slow in making itself known. But, at any rate, some advance has already been made. Ten or fifteen years ago newspapers either ignored or derided the national pilgrimage. They would, for instance, contain items like the following one:—

A party of Lourdes pilgrims were waiting yesterday in the station at A. where they changed trains. A poor paralysed man was lying on a mattress almost on the edge of the platform. . . of a sudden, a *mauvais plaisant* shouted out apparently in great dismay, 'The train! the train! stand back!' The crowd rushed backwards panic-stricken, and, oh! wonder, the poor paralysed man got up and fled as nimbly as the others! Indeed it is only at Lourdes that miracles are wrought in pilgrims!

This was intended to hint that the reported miraculous cures at Lourdes were so many gross impostures. But papers of the same dye have of late years taken to referring to Lourdes, to the sick, and those that tend them, in terms of admiration. In that busy age in which men are so intent upon seeking after money, honours, and enjoyment, Lourdes has actually created a sensation, and attracted the public attention, a kind of a miracle, something like making a deaf man hear. A press which deals with politics, infidelity, and unsound literature has been prevailed upon to report about it. This, again, is a kind of miracle, something like making a dumb man, or rather one who *will* be dumb, speak.

The departure of pilgrimages for Lourdes, once looked on by a rabble which did not shrink from showering insults, and even stones upon them now takes place in the presence of newspaper reporters and other orderly, respectable spectators, who watch it with wondering interest. It is such a strange event for those who fancy that modern enlightenment had done away with superstition, and with religion, which they regard as but one form of it ! So many men and women about to travel hundreds of miles, not for pleasure or business' sake, but for the purpose of devoting three days to prayer in the Pyrenees ! And these men and women not priests, monks, or nuns, whose profession, as it were, it is to pray all day long, but belonging to the laity, to every condition and standing. And how devoted to the sick, to the most loathsome sick ! How touching it is ! And those sick ! They have been given up by the most skilful doctors in the Paris hospitals, and yet they are confident that they may be cured in a moment. They have been laid up for months or years, and been pronounced unable to stir from their beds ; and yet they are about to undergo the fatigue of a long, wearisome journey in the hottest season of the year. O folly ! They will allow themselves to be plunged in an ice-cold bath ! Yet none will be killed or injured ; nay, some will return in sound health, after doing all that could be calculated to make them worse ! How bewildering ! What a strange crowd ! What strange states of minds and feelings ! How unlike all we see in every-day life !

If the lookers-on accompanied the pilgrimage all the way, they would find further matter for astonishment; they would more and more think the pilgrims unlike the rest of mankind. Everyone is given a cloth cross to be pinned to the breast, and a leaflet containing the order of devotional Devotions actually go on in the carriages. At stated times the pilgrims say the Rosary, and sing hymns, Vespers, and an additional *O Salutaris* whenever they describe a church. They bear in mind the object of their journey, and have the heart to do everything in their power to propitiate the Queen of Heaven on behalf of so many wretched sick people that are travelling with them. What an incitement to fervour it is to be able to think: the more fervently we pray, the more of those poor sick we may go and visit and talk to in their carriages, when the train stops, will be waiting about, just like ourselves, when we come back. How unhappy they are now, how happy they will then be! What a speedy, splendid, visible reward our prayers will get, they are worthy of acceptance! '*Euntes ibant et flebant mittentes semina sua. Venientes autem venient cum exultatione, portantes manipulos suos.*'

Conversations run on idly also; but they bear mainly the wonders that were witnessed at Lourdes in the previous pilgrimages. Religious subjects are not often talked of in railway carriages or on board liners; but they were at St. Louis, King of France, and his knights on the boat that took them to the Holy Land at the time of the Crusades. We find them recorded in the quaint old French of the chronicler, Joinville. How far back, then, pilgrimages carry us! But, of course, the height of strangeness, and consequently of astonishment, for thorough modern spectators, is at Lourdes.

The new pilgrim has read in his guide or in geographical books that the population numbers five thousand. How unlike such a small town! How busy the street is! There are 'buses hurrying to and fro, cabs, people going on foot and carts loaded with sick people lying on mattresses. They think that the cause of so much traffic, of the presence there of so many travellers, is not money, but religious

Surely religion is still a power in the land! That was just the impression of Mr. Frederic Harrison, the well-known leader of Positivism in England. There are mountains covered with snow in front of the station; but they fail to attract the pilgrim's attention. He gets clear of the natives, eager to secure lodgers, and hurries down the town. How picturesque it looks, nestled in between the lofty hills! And the castle, standing very high up at the top of a huge perpendicular rock, and overhanging the swift Gave, with its waters so blue or green, that they could be mistaken for those of the sea. It puts one in mind of Byron's lines:—

The castled crag of Drachenfels
Frowns o'er the wide and winding Rhine,
Whose breast of water broadly swells.

The river nobly foams and flows.¹

But all this is lost upon the pilgrim. It is no part of the Lourdes worth coming to from the furthest extremities of the world. This real Lourdes he begins to see when he gets to the esplanade in front of the churches. There are several gatherings there; fresh people are rushing towards them, while others are departing. Someone—a woman, perhaps—standing in the centre, with a beaming, peaceful countenance, is relating, for the hundredth time, that she came to Lourdes afflicted with this or that apparently incurable disease, and was suddenly cured a few hours ago. Those that are pressing so hard want to hear her tale from her own lips, to kiss her, or shake hands, and ask to be remembered in her prayers. There is a like crowd at the door of the medical-room, where doctors of all opinions are welcome to investigate the reported cures. There is another, also a few yards further off; but how dense! It fills up all the level space between the Gave and the hill. What lovely ground! It is planted with huge plane-trees, which afford delicious shade. The swift Gave is hard by, whose sea-like waters spread such pleasant freshness in the air; the background is the bushy hill containing at the

¹ *Childe Harold* Canto iii.

foot the world-famed grotto in which the Blessed Virgin appeared to Bernadette.

But all natural beauty sinks into nothingness compared with what is going on. Invalids are wheeled to and fro. There are the piscines at the foot of the hill, close by the grotto. There is an immense crowd in front. They are saying the Rosary aloud, or exclaiming, 'Holy Mother of God, heal our poor sick!' They are lifting up their arms, and looking upwards, as though they saw Mary stand just above them. How vividly they must feel her presence! What fervour their attitude, looks, and tone evince! how incomparably above all you can see anywhere else, or realise, or describe! Lo! they are kneeling in the dust and kissing the ground. There they are up again, and beginning the Rosary once more. Meantime the sick are incessantly brought in and out. Most of them are apparently not improved, but they hope it will be for next time. Yet, every now and then one who had been carried in on a stretcher comes out by himself. Clapping of hands break out, and hundreds of voices strike in the *Magnificat*. But the priest who conducts the service will not allow anything more. There is not a minute to spare. So many others are in want of prayers! Thus it goes on from 6 a.m. till night-fall.

Nor is the day of prayer over even then. A torch-light procession follows, and when it breaks up, isolated parties repair to the grotto, to spend the night in singing and praying, with the same indefatigable fervour, while the bulk crowd into the vast Church of the Rosary. The Blessed Sacrament is exposed and carried all round the church, and adored. Directly it strikes twelve, High Mass begins at the High Altar. It is followed by sermons, hymns, prayers, &c., till morning. So it happens that many pilgrims do not sleep for the three nights they spend at Lourdes. Where is there another instance of such literally incessant fervent praying? Surely, we must go back for it as far as the time when St. Peter was in prison and 'prayer was made without ceasing unto God for him.'¹

¹ Acts xii. 5.

There is another church built over that of the Rosary—the Crypt, and another again built over the Crypt—the Basilica. Low Masses begin at the side altars at twelve at night in the first, and a few hours later in the other two. They go on till noon without the least interruption, so that between six hundred and eight hundred are said daily. Another sight of Lourdes is the torch-light procession. Pilgrims holding a lighted candle in their hands assemble in large numbers, perhaps twenty thousand, in front of the grotto. They form a crowd of little lights which stretch far out of sight. How picturesque and lovely it looks under the dark foliage of the plane trees! Thus dotted with tiny lights, the space all round is like a starry sky. But it looks as though you viewed it from above, as though you were in heaven. It is not the only case in which you could fancy at Lourdes that you behold the same sights as the saints in heaven.

When an Assumptionist Father, in the pulpit close by the grotto, has given an account of the cures that took place in the course of the day, he strikes in the *Ave, Ave Maria*, and at its stirring strains the procession sets into motion. The pilgrims singing heartily proceed in two lines up the path that winds along the flank of the leafy hill. There is the same sea of lights as before on the flat ground (they were so many, that a large number can be abstracted without their absence being felt), and there are now others besides swarming in the foliage on the flank of the hill. The procession extends over several miles, and offers a splendid view when you reach the top of the hill.

When all those that formed it are gathered in front of the Church of the Rosary, the *Credo* is sung. What a sight it is! Thousands of human beings from various countries and climes, of different languages, singing the same creed in the same tongue, and lo! kneeling all down like one man at the verse *et incarnatus est*; the shades of night prevailing all round, but illuminated by countless little lights; above them, not the roof of 'a house made with hands,' but the 'brave overhanging firmament, this majestic roof fretted

another, by another again. The effect it makes upon those that are near enough is utterly unimaginable. I know it from experience, for I once had the good fortune to feel it. I had taken my stand on the small wall that runs along the Gave. From there I commanded a good view of the crowd stretching out of sight, of the priest in the pulpit, and of the sick. Some of the latter were even lying in front of me, lining the way the Blessed Sacrament was to come. When I had looked leisurely round, my attention rested on a woman just a few yards from me: She seemed to be in a fit. She was nursed by several of those women who are night and day the servants of the poorest and most loathsome sick during the time of the national pilgrimage, but who are during the rest of the year, countess, duchess, or marchioness of so and so. One of them was making her inhale salts.

I bowed down for a few minutes while the Blessed Sacrament was passing in front of me. When I looked up again, the bed was empty. The woman was actually walking beside the Blessed Sacrament! What a sight it was! How vividly I can picture it to myself even now! She was walking in her white stockings; her hands were eagerly clasped, and held up towards that Jesus who had cured her against all hope. Tears were pouring down her cheeks, and you could see she was almost choked with them. What must be her joy at such a sudden deliverance! She had, perhaps, been attended to by the best physicians in the world while in the Paris hospitals: she had been told her case was hopeless; and yet she was cured in a moment. Our Divine Lord had deigned to do so Himself; He had wrought a miracle in her favour, in favour of such a miserable sinner. How good He was! How grateful she was! It was no wonder that she was walking with faltering steps; she could not but be overpowered with emotions of various kinds. Nor could all those that saw her. For my own part, I lost for a few moments all consciousness of what I was doing. When I recovered it, I found I was stretching out my arm towards her, and saying to my neighbours, as well as my sobs would allow me: 'Look, look! that is the woman that was lying over there.'

Sometimes also the priest in the pulpit says : ' Let the sick alone pray for their own cure.' This is the signal for the most heart-rending scene that can be imagined. Hundreds of arms are held out towards the Blessed Sacrament, and a violent uproar arises. You can discern it in the shrill tones of children and women, and the loud cries of men, sending forth various prayers at the same time. ' Lord have mercy on me,' says one. ' Jesus, make me whole,' says another. ' Lord, I do believe, but help my unbelief. Lord, I do not deserve it ; I am a sinner ; but cure me, all the same.' ' Lord, forget me, but cure the others.' Applause is sooner or later mingled with them, together with the singing of the *Magnificat*, because one, two, three cures have been wrought.¹ Enthusiasm, fervour, emotion reach their climax. Everyone is sobbing and praying aloud, and the sick make desperate efforts to rise and walk behind the Blessed Sacrament.

You have there more than a representation of the scenes of the Gospel, like, for instance, the Passion-Play at Oberammergau, however true to life it may be ; you have a real continuation or repetition of them. Christ is there, as He was in Judea. He is hidden under the species of bread, as He was then under those of human nature. He is greeted with loud, enthusiastic acclamations by an immense crowd, as when He entered Jerusalem. He is appealed to by the sick, as He was wherever He went in Judea. He is also the same ; He is still the Lord, powerful and merciful, who had ' compassion on the multitude ;' who went about doing good.

' Blessed are the eyes that see the things which you see' O Lourdes' pilgrims ! ' Many prophets and kings have desired to see the things that you see, and have not seen them.'² You are not taken up to heaven, but heaven comes down upon earth, with all its might and goodness. You do not exactly see God Himself, but, at least, you witness the immediate effects of His presence.

¹ There were over thirty-five on August 15, 1858, a quite exceptional.

² Luke x. 23, 24.

direct action, like that of electricity is known by the flash of the lightning and the roar of the thunder. How awful it is to think: 'God was ten yards from me just now, for something supernatural has happened that must needs be traced immediately to Him.' It is something like being in His visible presence.

According to the computations of Dr. Boissarie, the resident physician, twenty thousand cures have already been wrought through our Lady of Lourdes, either at the shrine or away from it, through novenas and using water from the miraculous well. Lourdes has thus restored health to twenty thousand members of the Catholic Church. It has, at the same time, brought back peace, happiness, and in many cases¹ ease and comfort, to many homes from which they had been driven by illness. In what countless other ways has it not comforted the afflicted? I once, for instance, met a woman who had been for years literally broken-hearted (so her friends told me) at her only son's lameness. She had brought him to Lourdes, and he was not improved in the least. But she had come across so many awful diseases, that she found she must be truly thankful her boy was lame only. She went away reconciled with her lot. Was not such a result as good as a cure? Further, Lourdes is likely to prove more and more beneficial throughout the Catholic world in proportion as it becomes known more widely.

Is not this enough to insure it a high rank among the great religious events of the century? Yet it is but half of all that can be said in its praise; nay, it is less than half; inasmuch as the spiritual blessings are far more numerous than the temporal ones. Lourdes has wrought the same miracle of conversions of sinners. It is the bond of brotherly love between the confessions there that the spiritual blessings are far more numerous than the temporal ones. It is the bond of brotherly love between the confessions there that the spiritual blessings are far more numerous than the temporal ones.

blessings realized, they will offer a fitting reply to modern negations, a powerful remedy against unbelief, in so far, at least, as it is an intellectual disease, for it is sometimes a moral one also.

But are these real cures at Lourdes? What authorizes a belief in the genuineness of those that are reported? There is, in the first place, the testimony of those on whom they are wrought. Nor is it a worthless one; for you can read on their faces that they are of those 'in whom there is no guile.'¹ There is also that of their friends and travelling companions, and that of the lookers-on who saw them lying ill. A mere stranger can give pretty reliable evidence, for consumption in its last stage, cancers, ulcers, &c., cannot be counterfeited. Further, the names and addresses of the cured are published in the *Annales de Lourdes* and in some of the Paris newspapers which are circulated all over France, consequently in their own towns or villages. Supposing the supporters of Lourdes were dishonest enough to wish to impose spurious cases upon the public, how could they try to do so under such circumstances? It would be sheer folly.

But there is, above all, scientific evidence. All the registered patients bring descriptions of their cases, in the handwriting of their doctors, who are sometimes Protestant, and often infidel. Those who come from Paris are provided with a copy of the entries in the hospital-book concerning them. All can also be examined by any medical man in either of the three temporary hospitals at Lourdes. That they are ill cannot reasonably be doubted; nor can the reported cures, for they have been investigated in the medical room, where anyone who is a doctor, whatever his religious opinion may be, is not only admitted, but most earnestly invited.

But, after all, the public opinion is not so set against the reality of the Lourdes cures. It was so at one time. Dr. Diday, a distinguished physician of Lyons, once wrote to a Parisian journalist who persisted in standing up for

¹ John i. 47.

them : ' A friend of mine, who has had great experience as superintendent of a lunatic asylum, will soon go to Paris. I will ask him to call on you, and examine your mental state.' And, indeed, his contemporaries would have concurred in his views. But after the discovery of hypnotism, and in consequence of the exaggerated hopes it has given rise to, the world is no longer ready to dismiss supernatural facts *a priori*.¹ But it professes to account for them by means of its new science. It classifies them wholesale among hypnotic phenomena. So it happens that the task supporters of Lourdes are now confronted with is to prove, not the genuineness of the cures, but their supernatural character. Are those cures the result of self-suggestion? The way to solve the question is to compare them with those suggestion can effect.

There are cases in which sensibility, or the power of motion, are gone from a limb or organ. If the nerves are there still, and outwardly in their normal structure, if they are simply paralysed, suggestion can avail. It can quicken them into action, for a time, and if resorted to repeatedly, accustom them again to their former activity. But if they are gone, if they have been injured, cut, or destroyed, they will be unable to obey; therefore all the suggestion in the world will be to no purpose. In other words, simple paralysis can be improved, or even permanently cured, by hypnotism; but that is all.

Yet incurable paralysis has not always been proof against prayers to our Lord and His Holy Mother; it can, therefore, be already asserted that there are other agents at play at Lourdes than suggestion.

¹ 'Très réels, malgré les incrédules, les faits anciens ne demandent, pour prendre place dans la science qu'une observation attentive et précise, base d'une explication sérieuse.'—*Revue Scientifique*, 16th September, 1893 (a review with materialistic tendencies).

'As so often happens, a fact is denied until a welcome interpretation comes with it. Then it is admitted readily enough; and evidence quite insufficient to back a claim, so long as the Church had an interest in making it, proves to be quite sufficient for modern scientific enlightenment, the moment it appears that a reputed saint can thereby be classed as a case of hystero-epilepsy.'—*The Principles of Psychology*, by W. James, Professor in Harvard University, vol. ii., p. 612, 613.

It may happen that a stomach or lungs are out of order, although there is nothing altered in their structure. The disease is then due to the nerves not discharging their functions properly. If suggestion can quicken, moderate, or coordinate their action, according to cases, it will improve and cure. But what if an ulcer or cancer is eating away the stomach or some other part of the body? if consumption is destroying the tissues of the lungs? To effect a cure, it would, first of all, be necessary to stop their progress; for, whether they are caused by microbes or not, they are, as it were, living organisms which grow more and more, and drawing their substance from the body, destroy some of its essential parts, and ultimately make it unfit for the functions which keep up life. It would, moreover, be necessary to repair all the havoc that has already been done.

Can hypnotism answer the first of these purposes? We would ransack in vain the records of therapeutics for a case in which it has been successful in the treatment of the above diseases; but, as it is rather wise to overrate its power, especially as we can afford it, we will be *grand seigneur*, and grant that it can. The human organism does its best to resist the parasite which is destroying it; it literally struggles for life with it. Perhaps, then, it would get the better of it, if only some reinforcement were forthcoming. Who knows that suggestion cannot bring some. Perhaps it can impart to the patient a strong assurance of his recovery; and confidence is such an important element of success in therapeutics! Supposing even it has never been so efficient elsewhere, it does not follow that it will not be at Lourdes. As the sick there put their trust in an all-powerful and all-merciful Being, they must be inspired with incomparably greater confidence than those who expect their recovery from human skill. Let us, then, admit, for argument's sake, that an incurable disease can be brought to a standstill by the hope of a cure, imparted by the suggestion, or, at least, by the self-suggestion, that is brought to bear upon the patients at Lourdes in the shape of boundless confidence in God and the Blessed Virgin. In what way will the damage it has already done to the body be repaired?

The blood, in its incessant circulation, will have to remove, cell by cell, all the abnormal or morbid tissues, and to build the normal ones anew, cell by cell, also. How slowly such a process must go on! Just think how long it takes for the red tissue of a mere boil to go away, and the flesh and skin to resume their former appearance. Can suggestion accelerate this process? Let us suppose it can by a few days. Can it cause it to be completed in the twinkling of an eye? Decidedly not. What vehicle would take away wholesale such a quantity of morbid tissue? What vehicle would supply, in the twinkling of an eye, all the elements needed to form such a quantity of normal tissue? What force would turn all these elements into normal cells in the twinkling of an eye, or even in a few hours? There is no such force in the world. Such a phenomenon is beyond all possibility; it is contrary to the laws of biology. Yet it does take place at Lourdes. Other forces than those known in biology, in the natural world, come into play. These are, therefore, supernatural ones, and some of the cures, at least (and what matters their number?), are miraculous.

Those cures are reported in the *Annales de Lourdes* and in Dr. Boissarie's book; but let me quote one:—A man's leg had been broken by the fall of a tree. It remained unset for eight years, its condition becoming worse and worse. The two parts of the broken bone were a little over an inch distant from each other. The lower one could come out through a gangrenous sore that extended over the posterior part of the leg. The foot could even be brought up to the knee by folding the lower part of the leg forwards and upwards upon the upper one. This man was cured instantaneously, simply by means of a prayer to our Lady of Lourdes. The two blackened bones were brought together, welded, and so well, too, that the callus to be felt on every limb that was once broken is there literally absent. The sore was healed also. In a word, the broken, diseased leg became exactly like the other. This passes so much all that can be imagined (just think of the care, surgical attendance, rest, and time it requires to set a broken limb), that it is but legitimate to feel at first inclined to doubt it ever took

place. But all doubt is impossible : the man, Pierre Rudder, is still living at Jabbeke, a small station on the line from Ostend to Bruges, in Belgium.

True as this cure is, science knows of no force or agent in the world that could effect it. If so, there exists other agents or forces than those it knows ; we may justly say to it :—

There are more things in heaven and earth
Than are dreamt of in your philosophy.¹

In other words, there is a world beside nature—a supernatural one, therefore, and so the supernatural exists. By enabling to draw this conclusion Lourdes supplies a much-needed remedy for the disease of the age, the inability to believe in the supernatural. 'Almost every mechanical employment, it is said, has a tendency to injure some one or other of the bodily organs of the artisan. In the same manner, almost every intellectual employment has a tendency to produce some intellectual malady.'² Our age offers the best possible illustration of the truth of this remark. It has given itself up to the study of science, with stupendous results. It has made wonderful discoveries and inventions in chemistry, physics, natural philosophy, medicine, &c. ; but it has impaired its health. By dint of forcing nature to give up its secrets, it has brought about such a hypertrophy of its self-confidence, that it feels sure it can account for everything. It has so satisfactorily explained away, and in such a natural manner, what was once ascribed to preternatural agents, that it has every confidence it will, some day or other, be equally successful with what has baffled it as yet. In other words, it believes it can assign a natural origin to all that exists, and that anything that does not admit of a natural explanation is a myth. It is so accustomed to meet with immutable laws in nature that it jumps at the conclusion it must needs be so, and that miracle is impossible.³ As it professes not

¹ *Hamlet*, Act i., Sc. 1.

² Macaulay, *Essay on William Pitt*, p. 288.

³ Hence the awful spread of rationalism in the theological schools, and even in the lower clergy, in Protestant Germany. See a curious article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for October 1st, 1896.

to have witnessed God's interference in human affairs, it asserts, on that ground, that either He does not exist at all, or, at least, does not tamper with the world, whose matter He created and whose laws He ordained once for all at the beginning; and, therefore, in either alternative, prayer is of no avail. By dint of studying matters it has acquired a conviction that an immaterial entity is a mere absurdity, and it concurs with that renowned Parisian surgeon who used to say: 'I believe the soul does not exist, because I have never come across it with my scalpel.'

It has also inquired into the rational basis of the received Christian or rather human ideas about the conscience, the weight its dictates carry, the notions of good and evil; and as they rest on the existence of God and of the soul, these old notions engraven by the Creator in the human heart, these old notions, of which benighted heathens, like Sophocles, spoke with such reverence,¹ and which worse ones, like Ovid, acknowledged even when they did not live up to them,² have been involved in the general wreck. Nothing beyond mathematical and physical truths is left standing!

Such a disaster has brought its own remedy with itself. It has made it obvious that the methods were faulty. Distinguished men like Mallock,³ Kidd, Balfour in England, Brunetiere in France, have begun their endeavours to create a just reaction. They teach a new doctrine. A constant use of the intellect, the consequent neglect of that of the heart have resulted in what Macaulay calls an 'intellectual malady,' due to an atrophy of the heart, or rather an utter oblivion of the part it must play in the discovery of certain kinds of truth. But a part it does play. 'Ex corde creditur,' says St. Paul. 'Le cœur a ses raisons que la raison ne connaît pas,' says Pascal; and they are right. The spiritual world may exist, nay, it must exist after all, although the unaided intellect does not take cognizance of it. But what

¹ *Antigon*, v. 450, and *seq.*

² 'Video meliora, proboque, deteriora sequor.'—(*Met.* viii. 19.)

³ Where is there a better confutation of Positivism and Protestantism than his *Is Life Worth Living?*
Rom. x. 10.

Blessed Virgin, point to the conclusion that, in spite of the assurance of the Thirty-nine Articles, the invocation of saints is not 'repugnant to the word of God,' but rather pleasing to Him and serviceable.

All those latter cures are to be ascribed to the Rosary. Is it not unreasonable, then, to say, as even lukewarm Catholics will do, that it is absurd, because it is an endless repetition of the same prayer?

Surely it is no exaggeration to call Lourdes a supplement to Revelation, for the use of infidels and Protestants. But 'how shall they hear without a preacher?'¹ It is for the faithful to make it known. To fit themselves for this task, they must, of course, study the question at home; but they must also pay a visit to our Lady's shrine when it is at its best. And why should they not? From a worldly point of view, a pilgrimage to Lourdes is highly preferable to an idle tour on the Continent. The journey, right through France, to the very border of Spain, is a long one—660 miles from London. It is a cheap one, too: £3 15s. second class, £2 10s. third class; and it is interesting all the way. The landing-place, Caen, and Le Mans, where the train stops a few hours, offer splendid models of religious architecture. So does Tours; and pilgrims have not only time to go over that beautiful town, but also to pay a visit to the house of M. Dupont, the holy man of Tours; to St. Martin's basilica and tomb, and to the grottoes on the lovely banks of the Loire, where he lived with St. Patrick. May all Catholics, all Protestants, all infidels, come. If they want particulars and help, they can ask them from the author at Avranches.

F. GUEROULT.

¹ Rom. x, 15.

THE AFRICAN LETTERS OF POPE GREGORY THE GREAT

IN the *Life of St. Augustine*, just published by Gill & Son, Dublin, the following short sentence occurs at p. 256:— ‘We have forty African letters of Pope Gregory the Great.’ These letters deserve far more attention than could be there bestowed on them, for they suffice of themselves to refute the oft-repeated Anglican assertion that the African Church was anti-Papal. The pontificate of St. Gregory occurs (590-604) in one of the most critical periods of the Church’s history. The Roman Empire was broken up; the East was in the hands of weak and jealous emperors; the West was occupied by new races—Saxons, Franks, Burgundians, Lombards, Visigoths, &c.—some still pagan, others Arian, others just emerging from Arianism. Italy was in a deplorable state from the constant wars between the Lombards and the Exarchs, who still endeavoured to hold Rome and a great part of the country for the Emperor; for these emperors still considered themselves the *de jure* rulers of the whole empire; and it was on this principle Justinian wrested Africa from the Vandals, in 534, and Italy from the Ostrogoths, in 540. Constantly attacked or threatened by the Lombards, Rome was almost in ruins; and its inhabitants, decimated by famine and pestilence, were often dependant for their daily bread on the charity of the popes, who even still possessed more than twenty great estates in the old provinces of the empire, the remains of the ‘patrimony of St. Peter.’

In ecclesiastical affairs the outlook was no less gloomy. The East was almost equally divided between the Nestorians and Eutychians, on the one hand, and the orthodox on the other, these being kept habitually on the verge of schism by meddling emperors and ambitious patriarchs. The Donatists were making a desperate rally in Africa; the schisms caused in the West by the affair of the Three Chapters were not as

yet completely extinguished ; and the religious state of the new races was most unsettled. Worst of all, the emperors and the feudal princes had already entered on that career of simony and lay investiture which wrought so much evil in the Church. No wonder the new Pope trembled before the burden imposed on him, and in answer to every congratulation said that 'grief had pierced his very soul.' But he faced his task like a hero and a saint, and in the Benedictine edition of his works we still possess fourteen books of his letters, written to all sorts of persons, from emperors and patriarchs down to the agents placed over his numerous estates. His African letters are scattered through these books, according to date ; and in quoting them the book will be indicated by Roman numerals, the letters by ordinary figures. The better to understand the allusions, it will be well to recollect the following dates :—St. Augustine died in 430, the Vandals having almost completed the conquest of Africa. By the Treaty of Hippo, in 435, they restored Mauritania and Western Numidia to the empire. In violation of this treaty, they took possession of the whole country in 455, having already taken Carthage in 439. They were expelled by Belisarius, the great general of Justinian, in 534 ; and the country remained subject to the Greek Empire until the Arab conquest, in 665. During the Vandal occupation the Church had to pass through the longest and most ferocious persecution recorded in history. She enjoyed liberty and protection during the Greek period, but disappeared completely from Africa under the Arabs.

Among the numerous letters of congratulation that poured in on the new Pope, one came, accompanied by a solemn embassy, from Dominicus, Bishop of Carthage, Primate of Africa. Its contents may be inferred from the following answer :—¹

GREGORY TO DOMINICUS, BISHOP OF CARTHAGE

We have received with the greatest joy the letters of your fraternity, brought to us somewhat late by our most reverend brothers and fellow-bishops, Donatus and Quodvulteus, and the

deacon, Victor, with the notary, Agileus . . . The congratulations of your fraternity on my ordination are an evident sign of your most sincere charity and friendship ; but I confess that the very thought of this ordination pierces my soul with grief, for great is the burthen of the priesthood . . . Help me, then, most beloved brother, by your prayers, and ponder daily for yourself on the alarms you behold in me ; for in the bonds of Christ all my troubles are yours, and yours are mine. As regards the ecclesiastical privileges about which your fraternity has written, lay aside all doubt, and hold for certain that, as we defend our own rights, so do we preserve its rights to every other Church whatever. I am delighted with your representatives, and see in them another proof of your affection, which prompted you to make so choice a selection of brethren and sons.

We have here revived an old question. Before the Vandal period the primatial privileges of Carthage were never questioned ; but during this long persecution the see was nearly always vacant, and the subject metropolitans became practically independent. There were six of these metropolitans, and we shall see that they traced up their privileges to St. Peter himself ; not that he had evangelized Africa in person, or established these metropolitan sees, but that he had sent the first bishop to Carthage, with full power to establish a hierarchy, just as he had sent St. Mark to Alexandria. And, as a matter of fact, the authority of the Bishop of Carthage was equal to that of the Eastern patriarchs in everything but the name. Hence Canon 3 of the Council of Hippo, A.D. 393, which creates a new province, cannot be quoted as a precedent for ordinary provincial councils. Moreover, that very Council applied to Rome for the confirmation of its Canon of Scripture, and forbade these bishops to call themselves metropolitans. *Senex* was their usual title, and we never find Rome defending the rights of the *senex*, as it uniformly did those of metropolitans. The Bishop of Carthage could pass over the *senex*, and ordain bishops in his province at any time. The six provinces were—Proconsularis, Numidia, Byzacene, Tripolitana, Mauritania Sitifensis, Mauritania Cosariensis.

During a lull in the persecution, Boniface was elected Bishop of Carthage, in 525, and at once held a synod of sixty bishops to restore discipline. He was unable to obtain

full recognition of his privileges, and an appeal to Rome under Vandal rule, was too dangerous. But in 535, after the expulsion of the Vandals, the new primate, Reparatus, held a synod of two hundred and seventeen bishops. A synodical letter was sent on to Rome, in charge of twelve bishops and a deacon. It submits for decision several important points of discipline, and the Primate sent a special letter of congratulation to the new Pontiff, Agapetus, who in return confirms all his privileges.¹ Still, in a provincial synod of Byzacene, in 541, the question was again raised. In dealing with this question the synods never pretended to do more than attest the ancient usage. Thus, in the Council of Carthage, 397, when the right of the Bishop of Carthage to take any cleric he pleased, and make him bishop where pleased, was discussed, Numidius says, 'fuit semper huiusmodi licentia huic sedi;' and Epigonius says, 'unde tibi non potestatem damus, sed tuam assignamus.' In those days the Primate had to ordain a bishop every Sunday in the year of Carthage. From all this we can infer the meaning of the paragraph regarding the privileges. Dominicus had asked for the confirmation² of those of Carthage. We have six other letters to Dominicus, which shall be noticed further on.

The next letter³ speaks for itself:—

GREGORY TO ALL THE BISHOPS OF NUMIDIA

You have petitioned our predecessor, of happy memory, to have all your ancient customs preserved, as they had been consecrated by time, and by having been first instituted by the Blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles. We, therefore, grant, according to your relation—nothing being attempted contrary to the Catholic faith—that the usage may continue, both as to the mode of constituting primates and the other matters referred to with this exception, that we strictly prohibit the primacy of Donatist converts who may have become bishops; and that although their clerical *status* may otherwise entitle them to that dignity.

To understand this letter we must remember that by

¹ Hofele and Rohrbacher.

² Fleury says *confirmation*; Baronius, *conservation*; but either involve the question of Roman supremacy.

³ i 77

singular exception the senior bishop of the province became *de jure* its primate, the only formality being his installation by the synod of the province, and its notification to the Bishop of Carthage. The inconvenience of this system was felt only when sees were multiplied, and great cities arose, and then the primate was often an aged and infirm bishop of some remote town, while invested with authority over numerous bishops, some of them bishops of great cities. Thus, in Numidia alone, there were one hundred and twenty-five bishops and twenty great cities before the Vandal conquest. Fully sharing the ideas of his predecessor, St. Gregory had already written¹ to Gennadius, Exarch of Africa, to try and induce the provincial synods to fix the seat of the primacy in some central city, and to elect, not the oldest, but the best candidate. But his efforts were unsuccessful, and the above letter illustrates one of his fundamental principles, viz., that no lawful sacrifice is too great for the preservation of ecclesiastical peace and harmony.

The next letter² brings before us an instance of the evil above mentioned :—

GREGORY TO ADEODATUS, PRIMATE OF NUMIDIA

The tenor of your letter clearly evinces the great charity and affection of your fraternity towards us . . . Although your age or strength, as you say, will not permit you to come to us, &c.

He then exhorts him to discharge faithfully his duty of primate, especially as regards ordinations; to be guided in this, as in all other things, by the advice of grave and experienced men—

Such as our brother and fellow-bishop, Columbus . . . For we believe that if you act in all that you do by his advice, no one can find anything whatever to blame in you. Know also that you shall be thus as agreeable to us as if you acted on our own advice . . . Give me a full account of the council you are about to hold.

This letter and the next³ reveal to us another principle of St. Gregory's administration. To balance the incompetence

¹ i. 74.

² iii. 49.

³ iii. 48.

of an immovable man like Adeodatus, he looked out for a man like Columbus, the Numidian bishop, to whom the following letter was written:—

GREGORY TO COLUMBUS, BISHOP

Even before I received the letter of your fraternity, I knew, from trustworthy report, that you were a true servant of God . . . I bless God, our Creator, who does not deny the gifts of His mercy to His humble servants . . . I know, moreover, and knew even before I received your letter, that you are devoted heart and soul to the Apostolic See.

He then directs him to look after his Primate, especially in the matter of ordinations, to enforce the canons, and to consider himself responsible before God for all this.

We have seven of these letters to Columbus, and from them we learn that he was really the acting Primate of Numidia. In one letter¹ he is told that two deacons of Pudentia had come to Rome, and lodged an appeal against their bishop. He is directed to call a synod, and with Hilary, the Papal Agent, to examine the case; and if he finds these deacons in fault, 'not to spare them for the fatigues of their journey to Rome.' In another² he is told that a certain Peter, calling himself a bishop, had come to Rome, seeking for justice; that his evidence was incomplete; and that, as he had asked to be judged by Columbus, the case was now remitted to him. In another letter³ he is told that the bishop, Paul, had reached Rome, and lodged his appeal. In another⁴ he recommends Paul, who had elected to be judged by the Council of Numidia. In another⁵ he sends to him Donadeus, a deacon, who had come to Rome, and lodged an appeal against his bishop, Victor. He directs him to have the case examined in a council, with the Primate or some other bishops. Again,⁶ he directs him to call a council to examine the case of the Bishop Paulinus of Tigrisi, against whom complaints had been sent by his clergy; to act with his Primate, Victor; and, if necessary, to call in Hilary. He writes to the same effect⁷ to Victor, the new Primate of Numidia.

¹ ii. 48.

² vi. 37.

³ vii. 2.

⁴ viii. 13.

⁵ xii. 8.

⁶ xii. 28.

⁷ xii. 29.

The Hilary, so often mentioned in these letters, is always called *chartularius noster*; he had charge of the patrimony of St. Peter, which had been restored by Justinian after the expulsion of the Vandals; and was also Papal Legate for ecclesiastical affairs.

Beside these seven letters, we have two to Victor and Columbus *a paribus*,¹ an official formula which meant that identical copies were sent to both. In the first they are directed to call a council against the renewed efforts of the Donatists; in the second, to examine the case of the Bishop Valentian, against whom the Bishop Cresconius had lodged a complaint at Rome, for having annexed some of his parishes.

Turning to the province of Byzacene, we find a letter² inscribed thus: 'Gregory to Clementius, Bishop, Primate of Byzacene.' He directs him to examine canonically the case of Adeodatus, a priest who had appealed to Rome against his bishop, Quintianus; and so to conclude the matter as to leave no room for further appeal.

About nine years later we find the following letter:—

Gregory, to all the Bishops of the Council of Byzacene.

Reports about your primate, Clementius, have reached us, which have, pierced our heart with no small grief. [He then directs them to examine the matter canonically] so that, if true, it may be visited by canonical punishment; or if false, our brother's innocence may not remain under the infamy of a wicked accusation.³

We find by another letter⁴ that this case had been referred to Rome by order of the Emperor three years previously, but that Clementius had interposed various delays, protesting all the time his willingness to submit to the Apostolic See. It was then St. Gregory wrote:—

As to what he says about his willingness to submit to the Apostolic See, I know of no bishop who is not subject to this when he commits a fault; outside of this case all bishops are equal by the laws of humility.

The remaining letters to Dominicus can be only briefly noticed. Having received from him a report of a synod in

¹ iv. 35, viii. 28.

² iii. 13.

³ xii. 32.

⁴ ix. 59.

which he had enacted some laws regarding bishops, Gregory¹ condemns them as being too severe, and calculated to offend the provincial primates. In another letter² he tells him that a certain abbot had come to Rome to complain of his monks; and asks him to correct and punish them, and to prevent the bishops, by threats if necessary, from encouraging them. Again,³ he thanks him for his affectionate letter, praises his attachment to the Apostolic See, and, alluding to a constant African tradition, says:—

Knowing, moreover, whence the sacerdotal order [*ordinatio*] has come to Africa, you do well to love the Apostolic See; prudently calling to mind the origin of your office, you remain constant in your laudable affection: for it is certain that the sacerdotal reverence and affection thus rendered, adds more and more to your own honour.

His last letter⁴ to Dominicus begins thus:—

How abundant the charity of your heart is, your words demonstrate; for, such is the sweetness of your letters, that it is a pleasure and a comfort to read them.

From this we can see that their affectionate friendship continued to the end.

We have in these letters an authentic picture of the relations between Africa and Rome at the end of the sixth century. Is there in the whole world at the present day a Church more thoroughly Roman?⁵

But it will be said, it was not always so; there was once a bitter contest on the question of appeals, and in 424 a great African Council 'wrote a stern synodical letter to the Pope, rebuking him and repudiating his claims.'⁶

Yes, there was a dispute in 418-19, but not 'a bitter

¹ v. 5.

² vii. 35.

³ viii. 33.

⁴ xii. 1.

⁵ The temporary misunderstanding between the Africans and Pope Vigilius, in 550, was common to them with nearly the whole West, and was soon cleared up; even Gallicans could never make much of it. At bottom it was an excess of zeal for the honour of the Apostolic See, which seemed to them to have been compromised in the person of its present occupant. (Hefele, vol. iii. Rohrbacher, vol. ix.)

⁶ *Spectator*, quoted in the *Dublin Review*, July, 1890.

contest ; ' and there is no proof that it ever extended beyond that date, or ever existed before it.

Having already discussed the question in that article, I will merely repeat that—1st, the dispute regarded only clerical causes of the second order ; 2nd, it was carried on in a spirit most respectful to Rome ; 3rd, it ended quickly, and in the complete adoption of the Roman view. How this last result came about we have no positive evidence ; but that it did come about is absolutely certain. For Pope Leo the Great (440-461) tells us¹ that he had so many complaints and appeals from Mauritania that he had to establish there a special court of appeal responsible to himself. This was, of course, during the twenty years of Roman occupation, for such a thing was impossible under Vandal rule. The ' stern synodical letter,' was, therefore, quite unknown in St. Leo's time ; that there was no trace of it in St. Gregory's time, we have just seen. It was a manifest Donatist forgery from first to last.²

St. Gregory was a great puzzle to Gibbon,³ who was utterly incapable of understanding the motives or actions of a saint. Speaking of his temporal administration and boundless charity, he says : ' Gregory might justly be styled the father of his country.' And of the mission to Britain he says :—

The conquest of Britain reflects less glory on the name of Cæsar than on that of Gregory the First. Instead of six legions, forty monks were embarked for that distant island, and the Pontiff lamented the austere duties which forbade him to partake of the perils of their spiritual warfare. In less than two years he could announce to the Archbishop of Alexandria that they had baptized the King of Kent, with ten thousand of his Anglo-Saxons.

¹ Ep. xii. ed Migne.

² In that article of the *Dublin Review*, I admitted, with Hefele, that Pope Zosimus had mistaken Sardican canons for Nicene ; I now think Father Rivington (*Dublin Review*, July, 1891) has not only proved Hefele's conclusion to be extremely doubtful, but has almost proved that it was Nicene Canons that were called Sardican. What he there says about the unreliability of eastern archives, was strikingly exemplified at the Council in Trullo, A.D. 680, Sess. 3 ; the papal legates called for the acts of the fifth General Council, and had it openly proved that they had been tampered with and falsified in the patriarchal archives, no new thing there. (Rohrbacher, v. 9, b. 47—v. 10, b. 50.)

³ Ch. xlv.

After such admissions we could hardly expect to be told that his faith was only superstition, his humility mere policy, his zeal unbounded ambition. Again :—

In his rival, the Patriarch of Constantinople, he condemned the antichristian title of ‘universal bishop,’ which the successor of St. Peter was too haughty to concede, and too feeble to assume, and the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Gregory was confined to the triple character of Bishop of Rome, Primate of Italy, and Apostle of the West. . . . His successful inroads into the provinces of Greece, of Spain, and of Gaul might countenance the more lofty pretensions of succeeding popes.

With the mistakes about the title of ‘universal bishop,’ we need not quarrel, for Gibbon was hardly bound to know that it had been often given to the popes, and notably to St. Leo, in the Council of Chalcedon, in 451 ; it was complained of only when it began to be abused by the court bishops of Constantinople.¹ But there can be no excuse for the rest of this paragraph, as Gibbon had open before him these fourteen books of letters, carefully tabulated for the different countries, and they exhibit the relations between the Pope and the bishops in exactly the same light as we have seen for Africa. He seems to pay no attention to the difference between papal and patriarchal authority, or to the fact that the bishops of Constantinople, so far from questioning the former, were in the habit of appealing to it for the approval of their usurpations. By the ‘Provinces of Greece,’ Gibbon means Eastern and Western Illyria; that is, Dalmatia, Macedonia, Thessaly, Epirus, Achaia, and provalitana, of which Justinianopolis 1^{ma} (Acrida) was the capital ; he had before him an immense mass of correspondence with these countries, and a good deal of it against the pretensions of the Bishop of Constantinople ; from this he infers that Gregory was making ‘inroads into Greece.’ But what is the fact ? Why, that, like his predecessors, he is only resisting a barefaced usurpation. All these countries belonged to the Western Patriarchate² from time im-

¹ Thomassin, *Discipline de l'Eglise*, p. 2, l. 1, ch. 2.

² *Ibid.*, p. 1, l. 1, ch. 9.

memorial, and were subject to the Papal Vicar of Thessalonica, just as Gaul was to the Vicar of Arles, and Spain to the Vicar of Seville. The weak Emperor, Theodosius the Younger, countenanced an attempt to subject Eastern Illyria to the Patriarch of Constantinople early in the fifth century ; and Justinian, in the next century, could only succeed in inducing Pope Vigilius to divide the vicariate, and have two vicars ; one as before at Thessalonica for Eastern Illyria, the other at Justinianopolis 1^{ma} for Western Illyria. St. Gregory appointed John, Bishop of Justinianopolis, his Vicar, after having suspended his predecessor.¹ All these Papal Vicars had authority over bishops, metropolitans, and even primates, and through them the popes maintained unity and discipline. St. Gregory, like all the other Popes, knew well that to allow any part of his patriarchate to fall under the immediate authority of Constantinople, was to expose it to the eventual danger of schism. What Gibbon calls ambition was, therefore, only pure zeal, and an imperative sense of duty.

Gibbon knew that in those days the Popes had always a legate at Constantinople, and that Gregory himself had been a great favourite there as legate ; and yet in the above extract he deliberately selects the word *rival* to deceive his readers : what reliance can be placed on the incursions of such a man into Church history ? Well, until our own time he has been the Church historian of Anglicans. Reviewing a work of Milman's, in 1841,² Newman says : ' It is notorious that the English Church is destitute of an Ecclesiastical history ; Gibbon is almost our sole authority.' Newman was then a zealous Anglican ; history has been more cultivated since that time, but Gibbon's errors have been treated very gently.

St. Gregory died in 604, and, in 646, the African bishops sent their last synodical letter to Rome ; it informs Pope Theodore of some doctrinal innovations at Constantinople, and begs of him to exert all his authority against

¹ Thomassin, p. 2, l. 1, ch. 5.

² *Essays, Critical and Historical*, vol. ii,

them.¹ In 647 the Arabs invaded Africa, and completed their conquest in 665; Africo-Roman Society was broken up, and the garden of the empire was changed into Barbary. From this date the great African Church disappears almost completely from history; and this sudden disappearance has left us several historical problems, which have not been solved by Gibbon's hypothesis of a wholesale apostasy; for it is now quite certain that there was no such apostasy. It is also certain that the agony of the African Church lasted for at least four hundred years; and that whenever we get a glimpse at her during that long night, we find her looking to Rome for light and help, and never looking in vain.

P. BURTON, C.M.

¹ Rohrbacher, vol. x. An extract from the original text in Baronius (ad an. 646) will give the best idea of its spirit:—

'Domino beatissimo apostolico culmine sublimato sancto patri patrum Theodoro Papae et summo omnium presulum Pontifici,

'Magnum et indeficientem omnibus christianis fluentem apud apostolicam sedem consistere fontem, nullus ambigere possit, de quo rivuli prodeunt affluenter universum largissime irrigantes orbem christianorum; cui etiam in honore beatissimi Petri decreta Patrum peculiarem omnem decrevere reverentiam in requirendis Dei rebus. . . . Antiquis enim regulis sanctitum est, ut quidquid quamvis in remotis vel in longinquo positus ageretur provinciis, non prius tractandum vel accipiendum sit, nisi ad notitiam almae sedis vestrae fuisset deductum, ut hujus auctoritate justa quae fuisset pronuntiatio firmaretur, etc.'

THE MYSTICAL SENSE OF SCRIPTURE

VII.

WE saw in the preceding article¹ that the end and aim of the parables spoken to the multitudes (St. Matt. xiii.) was nothing less than a verification of Asaph's mystical prophecy. The Evangelist declares that our Lord delivered portions of His doctrine in this way, and only in this way, in order to accomplish what had been foretold of Him :—' All these things Jesus spoke in parables to the multitudes; and without parables He did not speak to them. That it might be fulfilled, which was spoken by the prophet, saying: *I will open My mouth in parables, I will utter things hidden from the foundation of the world.*'

The figurative style of discourse, the mysterious shadowing forth of heavenly truths which Jesus Christ employed on that occasion, was neither the fortuitous outcome of circumstances, nor *a fortiori* was it referable to the national peculiarities of His hearers, nor did it result from any combination of causes merely human or temporal. That exclusive use of parables had been decreed from all eternity as one of the infallible signs of the Messiah. One alone could speak in that manner. When He did so, then men would hear the voice of their Redeemer.

Of course, there was no such thing as chance in our Lord's actions; but even supposing, for the sake of illustration, as He himself does on a similar subject (St. Matt. xxiv. 24) that elsewhere chance were conceivable, chance could find no place here. In the fulfilment of a Messianic prophecy, all the deliberation of the Divine Will is, so to speak, brought into action. Heaven and earth may pass away, but that word shall not pass away. The mysterious deed foretold by Asaph had to be accomplished, and it was accomplished. Hence to those who were enlightened by revelation, the fact that Christ uttered 'the things hidden from the

¹ I. E. RECORD, September, 1896.

commencement of the world ' only in parables, was as certain a proof of His divinity as any other that was vouchsafed during all the years He spent on earth. Hence the nature of His discourse on the occasion referred to was as clear a manifestation of His being the Saviour of the world as any of those miracles which no one else could work. So much for the immediate scope or aim of our Lord's action considered in itself, and for the divine explanation or declaration of it given to us by means of His first Evangelist.

66. But students of Scripture are not left to themselves to form conjectures as to whether Christ had any ulterior motive in these parables. He Himself said that He had such a motive, and has, moreover, shown what that motive was :—

Therefore do I speak to them in parables: because seeing they see not, and hearing they hear not, neither do they understand. And the prophecy of Isaias is fulfilled in them who saith: By hearing you shall hear, and shall not understand; and seeing you shall see, and shall not perceive. For the heart of this people is grown gross, and with their ears they have been dull of hearing, and their eyes they have shut; lest at any time they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and be converted, and I should heal them.¹

The reason why our Lord condescended to give this explanation is not far to seek. It was necessary to reveal what was at once the foreseen result of these parables, and the effect which He had decided to produce by means of them on the majority of His hearers. We should never be able to discover it, but He has manifested it in the words above quoted, because He knew that unless we were told the scope of His discourse, we could not by any possibility perceive its real nature and intrinsic meaning. The *fact* of our Lord's speaking exclusively in parables, and the *lesson* which that *fact* was intended to convey, could not be understood as He wishes us to understand it, apart from the knowledge of the ulterior *end* which He had decreed to reach thereby. In one word, an explanation of this kind was as indispensable to man, as it was unattainable by him.

¹ St. Matt. xiii. 13, 14, 15.

Were it merely the act of a creature like ourselves that we had to consider, it is obvious that in many cases we should never succeed in estimating it duly, until we were informed of the man's intention. We might, indeed, in some measure apprehend the external action without having been made acquainted with the personal motive which induced the man to perform it, but we could not comprehend it. An act is never adequately understood so long as it is viewed irrespectively of its dependence on its determining cause, and in innumerable instances that cause can be made known to us only by the agent himself. Hence, in ordinary human affairs, in so much of what goes to make up everyday life, we are of ourselves incompetent to form a correct and complete judgment on our neighbour's behaviour. If this be so in respect of our fellow-creatures, how much more does it hold good of Him who is infinitely above us; and if it be true in regard to all His words and acts, how pre-eminently is it so in regard to these mysterious parables.

Certainly in obedience to the law which regulates the acquisition of one of the two great divisions of all knowledge, we must make the consideration of an action in itself and by itself, the initial stage of our inquiry; but it is only the initial stage, and must be recognised as such. All analytical science, or the science of explanation, proceeds from effect to cause. This law which guides and directs us in the investigation of what comes within the range of reason's vision, is still more binding when by revelation we are shown, as here in regard of the Gospel parables, what is above the ken of human intelligence or what belongs to the sphere of faith. It is, in fact, here the sole law, and the only possible method of instruction. Hence it is that with reference to our Lord's addressing the multitude exclusively in parables, we must learn first *what* He does, and then *why* He does it. Asaph foretells the one, Isaias foretells the other. For this reason, in considering our Lord's parables here, so far forth as they are the object of certain mystical prophecies, we have had to take that of Asaph before that of Isaias, although to do so it was necessary to

reverse the order in which these predictions are quoted in the Gospel of St. Matthew.

For the same reason also after having studied Asaph's prophecy, we are now going to read that of Isaias. Asaph, as we saw in the preceding article, mentions the *fact*, and the *fact* only; but as we shall presently see, Isaias announces the *purpose*. The Psalmist describes the *deed*, but the greatest of the prophets declares the deep mysterious *intention* which underlay it. And it is significant that the marked difference between the character of these two predictions is reproduced in that of their respective interpretations. St. Matthew explains how Asaph's prophecy was accomplished; Jesus Christ Himself declares in the most solemn manner that He is fulfilling that of Isaias. In respect of the parables which were not explained to the multitudes, the Evangelist shows us what is called in the theological language the *finis operis*; but the Evangelist's Master goes further, He reveals the *finis operantis*.

67. The words, 'Hearing you shall hear, and shall not understand,' &c., which our Lord quotes, were heard by Isaias in that glorious vision he describes in his sixth chapter. It was the inauguration of his own prophetic mission. In this, the only vision which Isaias mentions that he had, he beheld the Almighty seated on His throne (*to indicate that He was the Judge*), and the seraphim with veiled faces standing before it. They were crying out, one to another: 'Holy, Holy, Holy, the Lord God of hosts, all the earth is full of His glory.' One of the seraphim touched the lips of Isaias with a live coal¹ from the altar, in order to purify and sanctify them for the ministry of the word, and

¹ *Apropos* of this we may be allowed to remark that from the word 'gmurotho,' 'live coal,' found here in the Pschitta version, the name of the consecrated host in the Syriac liturgies is taken. It is called 'gmurotho' or 'gmuryotho,' for instance, in the prayer said by the celebrant immediately before the Communion (Renaudot, *Lit. Or.* ii. 24, in Payne Smith's *Thesaurus Syriacus*). This beautiful allusion to Isaias vi. sees in the live coal a symbol of Christ, Who now in reality is present on the altar. His own words: 'I am come to cast fire on the earth,' so often applied to the Blessed Sacrament, may also have in part suggested this interpretation.

We may add that in the Syriac liturgy (Renaudot. *ib.*) the Blessed Virgin, in whose chaste womb the body of Christ was contained, is called 'the sacred thurible.'

to the question from the throne: 'Whom shall I send?' the newly-consecrated prophet humbly ventured to answer, 'Lo, here I am, send me.' God then commanded him to preach, and that commission was, perhaps, the most awful He ever gave to man.¹

68. The divine words may be thus translated from the Hebrew, 'Go and say to this people: Hearing, hear ye, but understand not; and seeing, see ye, but perceive not. Make the heart of this people dull,² and make their ears deaf, and close (*literally* smear) their eyes; lest they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand, and be converted and be healed.' It may be observed in passing, that God does not call them, 'My people.' They have forfeited the title.

A few grammatical remarks may be necessary to bring out more distinctly the meaning of some parts of this passage. The repetition in 'hearing, hear,' expresses the long duration of the action: see Ewald,³ or Gesenius-Kautsch.⁴ As regards

¹ It is necessary to state here that some commentators in their remarks on *Isaias* vi. 9, 10, explain the words, 'Hearing, hear ye,' &c., solely in reference to the Jews of our Lord's time. No doubt, the divine utterance has the meaning which the New Testament in several places indicates. But the commentators we allude to, dwell exclusively on this meaning; and they, moreover, take the words in question to be a prophecy; whereas in their literal sense they are a command, and nothing else. These commentators ignore the obvious fact, that in these words God gives directions to *Isaias* about preaching to his own contemporaries.

In its place, we shall see where the Messianic prophecy really exists, and how it comes in. At present it is enough to say that those writers who ignore the direct reference to *Isaias*' contemporaries, and others that even hold positively that the words refer solely to the Jews in the time of Christ, make a serious mistake. Such explanations are at variance both with the divine words themselves and with their context.

² The Hebrew verb literally means 'to make fat,' then by an obvious metaphor 'to make dull, stupid.' Gesenius aptly illustrates this by the expressions *παχυσ την νουην*, 'pingui Minerva.' The Hebrews regarded the heart as the seat of the understanding, and in the Psalms, for instance, it is often spoken of as such. On the heart, i.e., the moral dispositions, depends whether a man really understands the law of God, or not. The knowledge of the Hebrew idiomatic phrase just explained enables us to perceive the meaning of what we recite every day, in the Psalm of Terce: 'Coagulum est sicut lac (*Hebrew* Pingui instar adipis est; the Septuagint, however, has *εμπρωθη ως γαλα*, which the Vulgate follows) cor eorum; ego vero legem tuam meditatus sum.' The antithesis becomes intelligible and the meaning clear, as soon as we read the verse in the original. The state of mind which David here describes, is precisely what is meant by God's words to *Isaias*.

³ *Hebrew Syntax*, 280.b.

⁴ *Hebrew Grammar*, 113.r.

the whole clause : 'hearing, hear ye, but understand not,' the first of the two imperatives, 'hear,' has a concessive¹ signification, and taken in conjunction with its participle (infinite absolute, *in Hebrew*), is equivalent to, 'you may hear as long as you like;' the second imperative, 'understand not,' contains a predictive prohibition that cannot be falsified or violated; and, therefore, the latter part of the sentence virtually means, 'but you shall never understand.' We say advisedly, 'the second imperative,' for although in the original the future indicative is used here, yet a future indicative preceded as this is by the negative particle, *לֹא*, is in reality the imperative of prohibition. Wherever *לֹא* forbids, it takes the future (by preference in the jussive mood where this is in use), but never the imperative. Hence, though in the original what is in form the future is found, it would be incorrect to translate it here by a simple: 'You will never understand.' In Hebrew the imperative mood is found only in positive commands; where a prohibition is to be expressed, the future with a negative particle must be employed. It resembles the Latin *ne feceris*. As Driver well says: 'Al [*לֹא*] is, in fact, not used with a verb, unless an imperative or jussive force is distinctly felt. Its use is, therefore, far more restricted than that of the Greek *μη*, with which it is often compared.'² It is indeed true that the subjective negative *לֹא* (*al*) even with the jussive form of the future, is not so peremptory as the objective negative with the *לֹא* (*lo*) simple future (*e.g.*, 'Thou shalt *not* steal'); nevertheless, a strict prohibition can be adequately expressed by means of it. See, for instance,

¹ As regards the concessive (or sometimes the hypothetical) meaning of the first of two imperatives, it may be useful to observe that it is an idiom frequently met with in the Old Testament. The first emphasizes the protasis, the second expresses the apodosis in rapid animated discourse. For instance (Gen. xlii. 18), Joseph's words to his brethren: 'Do this and live,' mean, 'your lives will be spared, if you do what I say;' or, to mention a text familiar to every clerical reader; 'Irascimini et nolite peccare,' is not a double command; David's adversaries are not told to get angry; the meaning is: 'in case you are angry, take care not to sin.' See also Psalms xxxvi. 27, 4 Kings v. 13, Proverbs iv. 4, vii. 2, Isaiah xxxvi. 16, Amos v. 4, 6. In some of these passages the Vulgate has two imperatives, in others it has an imperative followed by a future; but in all, the Hebrew has two imperatives.

² *Hebrew Tenses*, p. 79.

Exodus xxxiv. 8, Proverbs iii. 7, Job xv. 31. But we must observe it is not a moral prohibition, as in these three texts, and as in the Decalogue, where God, alas! saw that His command would often be broken, that we find here in Isaias. God does not lay a moral obligation on the Jewish people not to understand: quite the contrary; but in punishment for their sins, He decrees that they shall *not* understand. The divine sentence is the ground of the divine pre-science. 'Al' is also used with the future to express certainty that a thing cannot happen, for instance, Psalm 121 (120 *Vulgate*) v. 3, and Jeremias xlii. 6. This secondary meaning of the word is also apparent here. So much for 'hearing hear, but understand not.'

All that has been said about the syntax of the first sentence applies equally to that of the second, 'seeing see ye, but perceive not.' The iterative form denotes length of duration; the first imperative permits or presupposes the action, and the second indicates its utter futility.

In the latter part of the tenth verse [*lest* they should see, etc.] there is a little word, namely, לֹא (*pen*), that calls for a remark. לֹא is the negative particle that is always used in final sentences, and so far corresponds exactly to the Greek $\mu\eta$, and the Latin 'ne.' It does not by any means imply doubt; it is found in sentences that express certainty that a thing will not happen. In such a sentence as the one before us, uttered with all the majesty of the Divine Judge, deliberation and certainty are, of course, contained in the highest possible degree.

These few grammatical remarks will, it is hoped, be sufficient to explain the sense of the passage. It is evident that Almighty God here manifests what was His purpose in blinding the Jews, 'Quos perdit Deus, prius dementit.' If He intended only to reveal the future, or to disclose the extreme misery and destitution which was to be the result of sin, He would certainly have done so. He would not have spoken as Isaias declares he did. Hebrew can show whether a purpose or a consequence is meant, just as clearly as Greek or Latin or English; indeed, as we shall later have no occasion to see, it can show this more clearly and

certainly than any of these three languages ; for there is in Hebrew a different set of expressions for *purpose* and for *consequence*, respectively. The words written down by Isaias indicate a deliberate *purpose* on the part of the Speaker. He will *not* heal the people. He speaks here neither as Redeemer nor as Legislator, but as Judge. It is even not so much the sanctity and righteousness of God that appears, as His awful retributive justice. Divine vengeance has at last overtaken the transgressors. The Jews have persistently sinned against the light ; that light shall now be withdrawn : they have repeatedly impugned the known truth ; the knowledge of it shall be given to them no longer.

The divine means also for the accomplishment of that stern purpose are plainly pointed out by the words ‘understand not,’ ‘perceive not.’ The command hereby given is not one that the Jews can disobey ; it is not a ‘*voluntas signi*,’ but a ‘*voluntas consequens*.’ It is a decree, the fulfilment of which no man can impede ; a sentence, the execution of which the Almighty Himself will see to. God alone can bestow understanding. If He decides not to give it, who can compel Him ? Who can frustrate His will, or understand aught without Him ? The Jews are now under the ban of God’s unchangeable displeasure, and there they will remain. As regards themselves, their blindness is voluntary ; for in that blindness does their second sin consist. As regards God, their blindness is caused by Him in just punishment for their first sin, in order to bring about His all-holy ends. As St. Thomas so well says :—

Unde cum ipsa subtractio gratiae sit quaedam poena et a Deo, sequitur quod, per accidens etiam peccatum quod ex hoc sequitur, poena dicatur. Et hoc modo loquitur Apostolus (Rom. i. 24) dicens, *Propter quod tradidit eos Deus in desideria cordis eorum*, quae sunt animae passionibus ; quia scilicet deserti homines ab auxilio divinae gratiae, vincuntur a passionibus. Et hoc modo semper peccatum dicitur esse poena praecedentis peccati.¹

¹ 1^a, 2^a, q. lxxxvii., art. 2,

69. We may now see how the passage of *Isaias* appears in the *Septuagint*. It is translated thus:—

πορευθητι και ειπον τω λαω τουτω. Ακοη ακουσετε και ου μη συνητη, και βλεποντες βλεψετε και ου μη ιδητη. Επαχυνθη γαρ η καρδια του λαου τουτου, και τοις ωσιν αυτων βαρεως ηκουσαν, και τους οφθαλμους εκαμνισαν, μη ποτε ιδωσι τοις οφθαλμοις, και τοις ωσιν ακουσωσι, και τη καρδια συνωσι και επιστρεψωσι, και ιασωμαι αυτους.

With regard to this rendering, the following observations may be made:—The double negative ου μη¹ is an emphatic denial. In classical Greek ου μη with the aorist subjunctive is equivalent to our future; *e.g.*, ‘you shall not;’ but with the future indicative it corresponds to our imperative, ‘do not.’ In the later stage of the language (η κοινή διαλεκτος), however, this distinction is often ignored. It may not have been adverted to here by the Alexandrian translator; but certainly, of the two tenses in question, the future indicative would be preferable. However, as in *Isaias* xxxv. 9, and several other places, he uses the subjunctive to express a prohibition, it is probable that he does so here too. His language is not Attic Greek. At any rate, the difference of meaning between ‘do not’ and ‘you shall not’ is so slight that it does not affect the sense of the passage in an appreciable degree. With this proviso, it must be said that the ninth verse is accurately translated. This, however, cannot be said of the first part of the tenth. The *Septuagint* does not reproduce the original. The meaning, indeed, of the text, and the meaning of the translation virtually amount to the same, one being the logical converse, or, so to speak, the necessary complement of the other; but to show this theology has to be called to our assistance, and an inference has to be made. At first sight, indeed, it might almost seem that one of the greatest difficulties in all Scripture was suppressed. Instead of ‘make the heart of this people dull, and close their eyes,’ &c., the *Septuagint* has, ‘The heart of this people is become dull, and they have closed their eyes,’ &c. A description is substituted for an effective command, and what in the text is the work of God, is in the translation laid at the door of the

people.¹ Yet, on closer examination, it will appear not only that the two affirmations are compatible, but that the very same truth, one of the most fundamental in dogmatic theology, is contained, as logicians say, conversely in text and in translation respectively. But of this more anon. Suffice for the present to observe that the verse is quoted according to the Septuagint by our Lord in St. Matthew: 'Go and say to this people: Hearing, hear ye, and understand not; seeing, see ye, and perceive not. For the heart of this people is become dull, and with their ears they have been hard of hearing; and they have closed their eyes, lest they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their hearts, and be converted, and I should heal them;' and by St. Paul (Acts xxviii. 26); but in agreement with the Hebrew by St. John (xii. 40), and by St. Paul (Rom. xi. 7). Both readings, therefore, have equal authority; both are attested by God—the Hebrew because it is the inspired word itself; the Septuagint because it virtually conveys the meaning of the original.

70. A remark may be made in passing. Is not God's action, in respect of the Greek translation here, precisely similar to that of His Church in regard to the Vulgate version? In order to authenticity, as defined by the Council of Trent, it is necessary that each and every dogma contained in the version be contained also in the original, but not that it should be expressed in the same way. The

¹ 'The Ebionite translator, Symmachus (circa A.D. 200), does the same. His version, which is quoted with approval by Theodoret of Cyr, runs thus:—

Ο λαος ουτος τα ωτα εβαρυνε, και τους οφθαλμους αυτου εμυσε; μηπως ιδη εν τοις οφθαλμοις αυτου, και εν τοις ωσιν ακουη, και η καρδια αυτου συνη, και επιστραφη και ιαθη. (Field's *Hexapla Origenis*.)

The Syriac version, or Peshitta, also agrees here with the Septuagint. Although it was made directly from the Hebrew, yet the Peshitta was subsequently altered in many places, in order to make it correspond with the Septuagint. This seems to have been done here.

On the other hand, Rabbi Hillel's famous disciple, Jonathan ben Uzziel (circa A.D. 30), in his *Targum* on Isaiah, follows the Hebrew text. He preserves the imperatives, 'make the mind dull, close the eyes and the ears,' thus showing that he understood the words to be a command of God given to His prophet. His *Targum*, or Chaldaic paraphrase, is of the highest critical and exegetical value. Its readings bear witness to the Hebrew text as it was in the time of our Lord, and its explanations are the traditional ones of the great school in Jerusalem.

Hebrew or the Greek may exhibit a truth under one aspect, and the Latin under another. Intrinsic identity of meaning is sufficient. Dogmatic texts, however, in which such a modal difference is found, are of very rare occurrence.¹ Here we have a parallel instance: between the Hebrew of Isaias and the Greek translation quoted in St. Matthew there is just such a difference; yet the translation is cited as being the Divine word.² The 'critics,' therefore, that found fault with the Tridentine decree, in this respect, might as well have found fault with God Himself.

As regards Catholics, however, if here and there a difference such as has been referred to exists between the Vulgate and the original in the manner of representing '*res fidei et morum*,' while this can be no cause of difficulty to anyone, it may even prove indirectly to be of considerable advantage to the theologian and exegete that understands all about it, and is able to make use of his knowledge. Two different views of one and the same dogma, both of them true, and each, therefore, in perfect harmony with the other, are presented together to him. The authentic explanation, taken from revelation existing elsewhere, is practically a second revelation at a most opportune moment. Unaided human reason might be unable to apprehend much of the truth, if the truth were presented under one sole aspect. Reason might even form some erroneous conclusion about the other side of the question which it did not actually see. It might never advert to the fact that it had got a glimpse of the mystery from one standpoint only, and that, perhaps, its concept of what was thus revealed was far from being accurate. It might even think that it saw everything, and reject as being contrary to truth what did not fall in with its own deductions, or what seemed not to agree with

¹ See Cardinal Franzelin, *De Divina Scriptura*, Thesis xix.

² The following remarkable instance of accidental differences in the Hebrew itself may also be mentioned:—The 18th Psalm (in the Vulgate reckoned as the 17th) is contained *in extenso* in 8 Samuel xxii. (2 Kings, Vulgate). Between what appears to be its original form, as it is given there, and what may be called the Psalter recension, there are no fewer than ninety-five differences; on the average, two a verse! These changes were deliberately made by some inspired writer, in order to render the archaisms of David's hymn intelligible, and to adapt it for choral use.

In Hebraico difficultas est quomodo Deus praecepiat ipse populo, ut auditu audiat et non intelligat, et videns videat et non agnoscat. De praesenti autem loco dicendum est, frustra nos ad LXX. translationem confugere, ne blasphemum videatur esse quod juxta Hebraicum dicitur: 'Auditu audite et nolite intelligere; et videte visionem, et nolite cognoscere,' cum hujusmodi testimonia, etiam in LXX. interpretibus reperiamus, ut est illud in Exodo quod ad Pharaonem dicitur: 'Propterea suscitavi te, ut ostendam in te virtutem meam. (Exod. ix. 16.) Si autem ipse suscitavit, et induravit cor Pharaonis ne crederet: et de aliis dicitur: 'Dedit eis Deus spiritum compunctionis, oculos, ut non videant, et aures ut non audiant' (Rom. xi. 3) et in Psalmis: 'Fiat mensa eorum in laqueum et in captionem et in scandalum et in retributionem; obscurentur oculi eorum ne videant, et dorsa eorum semper incurva' (Ps. lxxviii. 23, 24); non sunt illi in culpa qui non videant, sed ille qui dedit oculos ad non videndum. Ergo et absque hoc testimonio quod nunc conamur exponere, manet eadem quaestio in Ecclesiis, et aut cum ista solventur et caeterae, aut cum caeteris et haec indissolubilis erit. Locum istum beatus apostolus Paulus plenius explicat ad Romanos, et quod ille pene tota epistola prosecutus est nos superfluum facimus, si voluerimus brevi sermone comprehendere. Dicit enim post multa: 'Concluserit Deus omnia in incredulitate, ut omnibus misereatur.' (Rom. xi. 32.) Admiransque Domini sacramenta intulit: 'O profundum divitiarum sapientiae et scientiae Dei, quam inscrutabilia judicia ejus, et investigabiles viae ejus.' Et iterum de Judaeorum incredulitate disputans ait: 'Numquid sic peccaverunt, ut caderent? absit; sed illorum delicto salus gentium fieret ad aemulandum eos.' (Rom. xi. 11.) Et post modicum: 'Si enim abjectio eorum reconciliatio mundi, quae assumptio eorum? nonne vita ex mortuis?' Et iterum 'Nolo enim vos ignorare, fratres, mysterium hoc, ut non sitis vobismetipsis prudentes, quia caecitas ex parte facta est in Israel, donec plenitudo gentium introeat, et tunc omnis Israel salvus fiat.' Et post paululum. (Rom. xi. 25.) 'Juxta Evangelium quidem inimici propter vos, juxta electionem autem dilecti propter patres; absque poenitentia enim sunt donationes et vocatio Dei. Sicut enim vos,' inquit 'aliquando non credidistis Deo, nunc autem estis misericordiam consecuti, propter eorum incredulitatem; sic et isti nunc non crediderunt in vestram misericordiam, ut et ipsi misericordiam consequantur.' Ergo non est crudelitas Dei, sed misericordia, unam perire gentem, ut omnes salvae fiant, Judaeorum partem non videre, ut omnis mundus aspiat. Unde et ipse Dominus in evangelio sacramentum caeci a nativitate qui receperat oculos, vertit ad tropologiam, et dicit: 'In judicium ego veni in hunc mundum, ut videntes non videant, et non videntes videant.' (Joan. ix. 39.) Et in alio loco Simeon loquitur: 'Ecce hic positus est in ruinam et in resur-

rectionem multorum.' (Luc. ii. 34.) Illis itaque non videntibus nos videmus; illis cadentibus, nos resurgimus. Quod intelligens Propheta quodammodo aliis verbis dicit: O Domine, praecepis mihi loqui populo Judaeorum, ut audiant, et non intelligant Salvatorem, et videant eum, et non cognoscant. Si vis impleri jussionem tuam et totum salvari mundum, quod et ego fieri desidero, tu excarce cor populi hujus, et aures aggrava, et oculos claudes, ne intelligant, ne audiant, ne videant. Si enim illi viderint et conversi fuerint et intellexerint et sanati fuerint, totus mundus non recipiet sanitatem.

From some of the texts of Scripture referred to by St. Jerome, it is evident that the obduracy of the Jews in the days of Isaias was by no means an isolated instance. This fact is of the greatest assistance to the commentator of Scripture. By comparison and induction he discovers that there is a general law underlying the several cases, and the knowledge of the law makes his interpretation certain. We saw above that the obduracy of the Jews was caused by themselves, and by God. In precisely the same way, Pharaoh hardened his own heart;¹ and God hardened it;² and

¹ Exodus, vii. 13, 22; viii. 15; ix. 35. In only one passage of the first group, namely, viii. 15, does the Vulgate say that Pharaoh hardened his own heart, 'ingravavit cor suum;' in all the others it employs the passive, 'induratum est cor Pharaonis,' 'ingravatum est cor ejus,' and does not mention the cause of the hardening; but in all four passages the Hebrew (*Masoretic*) text has the active voice: 'Pharaoh hardened his heart.'

Another interesting fact about the *Masoretic* text is, that it indicates a difference between the action of God and that of Pharaoh; for the simple active voice (*Qal*)—'he hardened,' is used of Pharaoh, but the causative voice (*Piel*)—'He made Pharaoh harden his heart,' is employed about God. Both these instances of modal differences between the version and the original are commended to the notice of students.

² Ib. iv. 21; ix. 12, 16; x. 20, 27; xi. 10; xiv. 4, 8, 17. The words of the book of Exodus, ix. 16, are the 'locus classicus' on our subject; of all the texts in Scripture that show God's motive in reprobation, none other is so explicit. The divine intention could not be made plainer. It would be impossible to express a deliberate purpose more emphatically than is done here. The greatest resources of the language are put into operation lest by any chance God's awful meaning should not be clearly understood. There are in Hebrew, as scholars know, several conjunctions, any one of which may be used in sentences that signify purpose; the strongest and most intense of them all, 'lemahan,' is found here. As Mitchell says (*Final Constructions of Biblical Hebrew*, Leipzig, 1879): 'The most perfect development of the idea of purpose in the Hebrew language is denoted by the particle 'lemahan'—it denotes a constant purpose, corresponding very nearly to the English 'for the sake of,' in its strictest sense.' See numerous examples in Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, p. 1051, and Gesenius-Kautsch, § 151, b.

Another final conjunction, 'bahabur,' is used here, on the peculiar force of which Mitchell makes a remark that will enable the reader to perceive the

moreover in xiv. 4, 17, 18, He declares the foreseen and intended result (v. 4)—‘ I shall harden his heart, and he will pursue you ; and I shall be glorified in Pharaoh, and in all his army ; and the Egyptians shall know that I am the Lord.’

It is true that in the literal sense of these denunciations there is no reference to eternal punishment ; the fate in store for the unbelieving Jews was banishment from Palestine, and the doom which awaited the disobedient Pharaoh was death beneath the waters of the Red Sea. It is not even implied that he is eternally lost. In his case it may have been

Mercy sought, and mercy found,
Between the saddle and the ground.

But it would be a great mistake to imagine that these temporal calamities did not portend spiritual ones. We cannot say what befel either Pharaoh or those Jews in the other world, but we do know on divine authority that their punishment in this world was typical.

It is an axiom in exegesis that many of the temporal evils recorded in the Old Testament were prefigurative or spiritual ones in the New. St. Peter, for instance, implicitly teaches that the destruction of those who were not in the ark foreshadowed the damnation of those who are outside

meaning of the whole passage better. ‘Bahabur’ implies concomitance, but as concomitance usually implies a more intimate relation, the word thus acquires the force of ‘by occasion of,’ introducing a circumstance which brings into operation a deeper cause.’ He concludes his explanation thus : ‘ In Exodus ix. 16, both ‘bahabur’ and ‘lemahan’ are found, each with its appropriate signification. The sense is : ‘ Therefore (by occasion) upheld I thee, that (lemahan) while (bahabur) showing thee My power, I might publish My name in the whole earth.’ Thus Pharaoh is taught that the dealings of God with him are but part of a great plan, to whose accomplishment he is merely incidental.

The verse of the 68th (Hebrew 69th) Psalm which St. Jerome quotes, is shown by St. Paul (Rom. xi. 9) to be a prediction of the blindness of the Jews in our Lord’s time. We shall have occasion to say something about it in the next article, but in this we can treat only of the blindness of the Jews under the Old Testament.

Besides the examples referred to by St. Jerome, there are some others in the Old Testament. One regards the Hivites. We read of them in the Book of Josue (xi. 20). ‘ For it was the sentence of the Lord that their hearts should be hardened, and they should fight against Israel, and fall, and should not deserve clemency, and should be destroyed, as the Lord had commanded Moses.’

A second example is seen in the obstinate refusal of Roboam. It was the

the Church; and St. Paul, after he has enumerated several chastisements inflicted on the Jews, says that all these happened to them in figure. So too is it with regard to 'the blinding of the eyes' referred to above; as we shall see, it is symbolical of a far greater one mentioned in the New Testament, and is, like it, the result of reprobation. As such it is at once the work of a sinful people, and of an angry God: the one being the positive, the absolute, and the culpable origin; the other being the negative, the conditional, and the just cause of it. Compare Deuteronomy xxix. 4 with Psalm xciv. 8, 9.

To be continued

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immediate cause of the revolt and secession of the ten tribes, and might, perhaps, seem to be the only one. But this was by no means the case. In reality God hardened Roboam's heart. 'And the king condescended not to the people: for the Lord was turned away from him, to make good His word, which He had spoken in the hand of Ahias the Silonite, to Jeroboam the son of Nabat.' (3 Kings, xii. 15.)

Another terrifying instance of God's blinding the sinner is to be seen in connection with the last crime of Antiochus (2 Mach. ix.). Swelling with anger, he commanded his chariot to be driven without stopping, that he might the sooner wreak his vengeance on the Jews, and make Jerusalem their burying place. Yet, beside his own violent rage, another and a more powerful cause impelled him. It was 'the judgment of heaven urging him forward' (*ib.*, v. 4). On he went in his furious hurry, till he was thrown out of his chariot, and had to be carried in a litter, 'bearing witness to the manifest power of God in himself' (v. 8). At length when interior agony and intolerable stench brought him to the knowledge of his nothingness, 'this wicked man prayed to the Lord, of Whom he was not to obtain mercy' (v. 18). And so the murderer and blasphemer died a miserable death (v. 28).

THE NATURE OF SACRIFICE

THERE are two truths which the writer of the following pages has long believed, but which, up to the present, he has never fully understood or realized. One of them is, that God can be honoured by the destruction, say, of some life which, in His infinite goodness, He has given for the assistance and support of man; the other, that not alone is the Divinity honoured by such an act, but that there is no other worship, no prayer, no almsgiving, which, of its nature, gives such glory to the Almighty, and draws forth from His limitless compassion such copious streams of grace and mercy.

A further element of mystery has also struck him as being present in this context—the dignity of the person sacrificing, and the value of the object destroyed, by their own increase, proportionately enhance the efficacy of the sacrificial ceremony in the twofold direction of praise and impetration, not to mention others where the same effect is found.

To elucidate the former difficulty will be to clear away the obscurity of this latter point; and the attempt at accomplishing the double task will lead us to discuss in order all points that can be raised in an investigation of the true nature of sacrifice.

Let us begin, then, by endeavouring to realize what is understood by giving glory to God by our actions, and why we, poor as we are, should be thought capable of adding, and should be obliged to add, anything to the wondrous perfections of a Being all glorious, all powerful, all sufficient in Himself. It is true that we cannot make our Creator more perfect than He is in His own complete and infinite nature, which is His end, and from which all things that exist derive their due proportion of reality. But we can do what the inanimate world and lower animate forms are doing each moment of their being; nay, more, without a single action on our part, by our mere existence, by the powers of our soul and body, we too are joining in the vast harmony

of praise that peals through all creation, telling of the magnificence of Him, the first cause, who has made us and all things else. 'Coeli enarrant gloriam Dei; et opera manuum ejus annuntiat firmamentum.' And how? we ask. 'Invisibilia, enim, ipsius, per ea, quae facta sunt, intellecta conspiciuntur.' The heavens are beautiful when the pale round moon moves slowly through the star-lit cloisters of the sky, or when, at morn, the restless coursers of Aurora 'beat the twilight into flakes of fire.' All round us, as we write, the fresh flowers of spring are scattering fragrant odours on the breeze, and from out the new-leaved trees, 'that clap their little hands in glee,' the birds pour forth upon our ears a wealth of glorious melody. And all are giving glory to God—the sun and moon, the flowers and leaves, and the little birds; for, whispering us, they say: 'If we are so fair, and can so delight the human heart, and fill it with such peace and joy, what must be the beauty of Him who has drawn us all from nothingness! What must be the happiness of one who looks upon His loveliness, and hearkens to the music of His voice!' And the higher we ascend in the grade of being, the greater is the glory given by the creature to his Creator, until, in man, we reach the summit of this world's perfection, and find the greatest honour rendered to the Almighty by the mere existence of a human soul. It tells us, not in words, but by its silent being, of an excellence in the Divinity which no lower form could help us to conceive.

Thus, then, to honour God is not to make Him greater in Himself, but to declare aloud, as far as in us lies, His wondrous majesty; and we can conclude that the more fully we announce the perfections of His essence, the greater is the glory that we give Him.

The importance we attach to an understanding of this elementary conception may not, at first sight, seem reasonable; but, in truth, it arises from the idea which we, and everyone in general, form of sacrifice. Few, if any, deny that the essential end of this highest act is the worshipping and honouring of our Maker. These two phrases are continually occurring in every discussion on the subject we contemplate; and while it is necessary to determine, once

for all, the meaning we attach to them, and so declare in general terms the nature of the act we study, the examples cited and drawn from nature, will help us to realize points that might otherwise be obscure, and will ward off the questionings that easily arise as to whether, after all, one of the essential characteristics of sacrifice is utility, or a necessity springing from our nature.

In the general sense, it certainly is useful for man to glorify his Maker. Working onward to his end, he daily shows forth the talents of his soul, and so speaks to all of the perfection in the First Cause, whence those powers have come. And bound, moreover, as he is, to utilize those faculties with diligence, we discern in him the obligation of declaring to the utmost of his capacity the majesty of the Most High.

One perfection, the noblest he possesses—his intellect—enables him to know his end, and investigate, to a very perfect degree, the magnificence of God. By the almost intuitive vision of this power, he cannot help seeing that the whole world around him, and he, himself, the apparent king of all, has above a superior from whom everything proceeded, on whom they all depend for being; who is, however, so great that creation and its beauty, even man, with all his faculties, are no way needed by Him for His perfection. And, when the human mind has realized this truth, it has accomplished what is in outline its most perfect act. Details may be added by increasing knowledge of nature's secrets, but, in the form portrayed, it gives implicitly all the glory of his Creator which man can know.

Let us analyze this act, and classify its parts. It evidently contains two elements: one, positive; the other, negative, the latter being that which adds a full, complete expressiveness to the thought. The former, it is true, declares, interiorly, at least, that all the reality of creation is in God, the wonders of inanimate and animate creation, the perfections and faculties of man himself. But even this, great as it is, is not the most that can be told him by his soul. As, in passing from the idea of a finite thing, we reach the infinite by removing all limits from the object or

collection of perfections we consider, so here, having seen that all depend upon their Maker, that He contains their every excellence, that all are His, we still must pass beyond ; and only when we grasp that He needs them not, that His glory is complete without them, shall we reach the limit of our powers, and be utterly unable to form a more adequate concept of His perfection.

Just at this point, the transition point, as we may call it, from the internal to the external order, an obvious question claims attention, and must be answered if we wish to fully understand the nature of a ceremony so widespread as sacrifice. There never was a people in which it did not exist ; there never has been a religion, save, perhaps, that sprung from Luther, which has not possessed it. If, therefore, it be the expression of the above-described *sacrificium invisibile*, to use St. Augustine's phrase, in order to a realization of its character, and the peculiarly natural and necessary relation it bears to the interior thought, we must dwell a little on the philosophy of external signs in general.

Everywhere around us we see our fellow-men using signs, as distinct from speech, where, at first, we should think this latter method of expressing thought sufficient. A person meets a superior, and lifts his hat to acknowledge thereby some ecclesiastical or civil eminence. He might have done the same in words, and the end of the communication would have been accomplished, but, following the impulse of nature, we all act otherwise. A savage wandering on the plains, far from the society of all his kind, cowers upon the earth to signify his dread of a Deity against whom he has offended. Again, even when speaking, we use gestures, and feel that they enhance our words ; sometimes the motions are quiet and argumentative, on another occasion they are wild and stormy, and we throw down, and trample on, a document with whose contents we thus express our utter dissatisfaction or disgust. Those, and a thousand other examples that might be cited, prove how thoroughly natural and, thereby, necessary it is for us to externalize not by words alone, but by signs also, our secret feelings and thoughts in certain circumstances ; and they

help us, moreover, to understand how, from some peculiar aptitude in a motion, leading us to choose it for our communication, or from the mere fact of repeatedly selecting some particular arbitrary sign, there may be found a code of tokens ready, as it were, to hand, for the expression of any thought our intellects conceive. As to the further interesting point, whence springs this tendency of nature to symbolize by acts as well as words the mind of man, space forbids a formal investigation. Nor is it necessary for our purpose. The fact remains that such symbolism is natural, and that men think verbal manifestation in some circumstances inadequate, if not altogether insincere; and such alone is the point on which our context requires us to insist.

Man, then, having formulated the notion, above described, of God, in accordance with this law of signs, would feel himself impelled to manifest it to his fellows. He would look about him for some appropriately expressive action, and would choose it in accordance with the nature of the thought he wished to manifest. In this 'sacrificium invisibile' there are, as we said, two elements: one positive, telling us that all things belong to God; the other negative, declaring that, so great is the Divinity, He needs not His creation, He can, as it were, do without it all. For the former, the positive constituent, he would find everywhere around him the appropriate expression. From the dawn of society there have been superiors, and subjects who held from them, as from lords, their lands or other movable possessions; and the inferiors have ever been wont, in acknowledgment of the source of their prosperity, to bring a part of their wealth—a part that symbolized the whole—and place it at their masters' feet. Thus too we find man acting in regard to God. From Him he had received, not material goods alone, but life itself, the highest of all gifts. Wishing to adequately admit this truth, he should select a symbol that could be thought to fitly represent this best and grandest of his possessions. Life itself he could offer to his God, that it might serve its Creator, just as the humbler present brought profit to the earthly lord. Life would have been the most perfect token, and in the one great sacrifice

it was adopted ; but such could not ordinarily be used. The negative element, as we shall see, requires destruction ; and since man could not lawfully destroy himself, he was forced to select some other symbol. Beings endowed with life, and used by man as food, the sheep, or the goat, or the ox ; inanimate substances, closely connected with his existence, as bread and flour, would next suggest themselves as suitable ; and these, we learn from profane as well as sacred history, were chosen. Among savage tribes, and even among peoples as highly civilized as the ancient Mexicans, the most expressive of all signs, a human being, was used, and the fact helps us to realize how vividly the idea of dependence from an all-independent and all-glorious First Cause was impressed on minds benighted as well as enlightened. One other point also must be remarked before proceeding. In addition to the texts alleged by theologians, the objects chosen by man for sacrifice prove clearly that substitution for his own being was intended. To specify but one example : the horse is a much nobler animal than the ox, and much better suited thereby, we should think, to be offered in honour of the Lord of Hosts. Still we never read that such was used in sacrifice. Its life had not that connection with its master's being which pointed out the other objects, animate and inanimate, as fit symbols for the sacrificial thought.

Humbly prostrate at his Maker's feet, man's life would have been, therefore, the most perfect token of that dependence acknowledged by his intellect, did not the negative element in his mental adoration prohibit it. To express this negative constituent, destruction, in some form or other, would at once suggest itself as alone appropriate. The giving an object to a prince is tantamount to saying that from its use he will derive increase, or, at least, that the connection with all the goods thus symbolized is a perfection he would lose were they subtracted from his dominion. Did we wish to signify that He needed not the wealth or life we have, that, though Lord of all, they added not a whit to His most perfect glory, no action could be more suitable than to destroy, with this intention, the token symbolizing all ; no


other ceremony could express that highest perfection of independent being which God alone possesses.

Wishing, then, to honour his Creator in the most perfect way, man has chosen sacrifice. Human life could not be destroyed; a substitution was, therefore, made of some being, animate or inanimate. Placing it on the altar, at the feet of the Most High, the creature thus professed the glory of his Master, and told the source whence all his being proceeded. Destroying it by knife, consuming it by fire, he showed a grander thought, of One who needed not at all the beings, even the noblest, of His hands.

Such being, as it appears to us, the true signification of the sacrificial act, before advancing it will be interesting to discuss the theory of Cardinal De Lugo, and the objection brought by him against the position held by Suarez. The former, following Eusebius, maintains that by sacrifice we declare God's majesty to be so great, that were it lawful, we should be ready to sacrifice in His honour our very lives. We cannot actually do so, but to signify this willingness on our part we select some creature inferior to us, and by destroying it testify this adoration of our heart.

The great difficulty against such an explanation arises from the fact that it is by no means fundamental, and leaves untouched the central point of our subject. Suppose, for an instant, that in some great oblation a man were to offer up his life to his Creator, here we should have a true sacrifice; and, in reply to a question seeking the signification of this act, it is no reply to say merely that this person thereby honours God. How does the honour arise in this case? In particular, how does the separation of soul and body express it? Lugo states that the effect exists, but goes no further; the position explained by us, and modified from Suarez, suitably explains the whole, and, distinguishing the elements of the purely internal thought, displays, in addition, the symbolism and efficacy of the external sign.

The objection referred to above, brought by the Cardinal against Suarez' doctrine, seems based on an inadequate estimation of his opponent's theory. According to this account the latter requires destruction, not, as was explained,



to signify that negative constituent, but as a means of placing the victim offered more completely under God's dominion. Against such a position an obvious difficulty is raised at once. If this be true, we should not look for destruction in sacrifices made, as they often are, to kings on earth. In these cases, the objects offered, and thus, the goods they represent, could be placed within the rulers' power far more effectually by presentation than by the other complete change.

In reply, we say that if the alleged interpretation of the great Jesuit's opinion be correct, the difficulty appears to avail against it; in the explanation of the doctrine adopted by us the objection disappears at once. When men offered sacrifices to earthly potentates, their object was to signify that those latter were credited with all the perfections assigned by men to God, and, since chief amongst those divine perfections shone the idea of complete independence of any creature, destruction was assumed by those idolaters as the only appropriate symbol of their thought.

Having reached thus far in our discussion, to avoid confusion in a somewhat tangled subject, it will be highly useful to analyze, and assign a name to the various elements of the external sign.

First, then, there is what may be termed the matter—*materia*—of the sacrifice: the object selected by man to represent his highest good, his life, his soul, and thence all his other wealth. This token was not chosen arbitrarily. Outside the Jewish nation, as within it, the victims and the materials for unbloody offerings were, by their nature, peculiarly appropriate for such an end, and were strikingly similar in consequence. On the brazen altar, at the entrance to the temple, were offered up domestic animals: sheep, oxen, &c., and bread and wine, and oil, 'velut primariæ creaturæ pertinentes ad sustentandam vitam hominum,' as Franzelin says. On the golden table were placed the loaves of proposition, regarded, and rightly so, by some as a mere symbolical oblation. On the golden altar of the tabernacle was burned the incense which, as we shall see, can be thought sacrifice only in a loose sense.

Such being the matter, the form—*forma*—was twofold,

in harmony with the thought of adoration ; one consisted in placing the selected offerings at the Creator's feet, either by bringing them to some place set apart as peculiarly His, or by some other action suited to express the same idea ; the other was the destruction of the victim in oblation, to externalize the negative concept. Taken separately, each is but a partial form, both together are required to constitute the true determining element of sacrifice. We might, however, say that destruction differs from the act of presentation, as the form which makes the sensible sign a fit symbol for the internal thought differs from that which gives the sign, so physically constituted, what might be called its metaphysical essence. Every day sheep and other animals are slain ; but such actions are not sacrifices. They could be made so if the real *forma* of this worship were added to what is otherwise a mere ordinary occurrence ; and then only will this determining element be applied when some person, having the requisite interior thought, assumes this symbol as a means, and with the intention of thereby expressing the adoration of his soul. The act of presentation externalizes this purpose, and constitutes the sacrifice in its complete essence. Nor let it be said that presentation preceding, as it does, destruction, could never make this latter more definite or more significant. Though it really precede in time, the virtue of the former action is, in truth, co-existent with the latter, and so, can sufficiently determine and qualify it.

Furthermore, from this brief analysis, we learn the highly important fact that a person can refuse, as it were, to sacrifice, until two, or even more signs—each, in other circumstances, sufficient by itself—are used ; and that up to the moment in which both are made complete the sacrificial act does not truly exist. If I destroy, for example, a lamb, and have not the intention of thereby signifying my adoration, wherever the act takes place, there is evidently no sacrifice. What, now, if in this same act my will be, not to manifest thereby my thought until some other different class of animal be destroyed with the same intention ? Others looking on may deem all essentials present ; but it is for me, not them, to sacrifice, and when I so decide to retain

within my power the application of this metaphysical form, it is evident that the essence cannot be as is required. We might, indeed, call the first offering a conditional oblation, conditional on another animal being added; but in no sense could it alone be thought enough. Somewhat after this manner, Jesus Christ offers daily on our altars the 'clean oblation' of prophecy. He might have consummated His infinite worship under one species; but He has willed it otherwise. He wishes to express His adoration by self-annihilation under both bread and wine; and, if one alone be consecrated, the internal thought is not externalized, for the will does not exist for its expression.

Without this form, therefore, called metaphysical by Franzelin, we have no sacrifice. That which we call physical is no less necessary, for without it we have not the fitting sign.

As to the act of presentation as such, there can be but little difficulty. It must put the object in some place apart, consecrated to divine service: or, should the condition of society be so primitive that no such spot exists, it is hard to see how this form—at least by itself—can be. However, as destruction is the principal element, to it we shall direct attention: for it may well be said that its efficacy in segregating the victim offered may atone for lack of temples or other sacred places.

From the etymology of words used to signify sacrifice, the necessity of this latter form is at once apparent. The Hebrews employed, therefor, a term equivalent to the Latin 'mactare': the Greeks had *θυσια*, from the verb that means 'to burn'; for fire was the element they adopted to consume the offering.

In the Sacred Scriptures, moreover, we find a marked distinction drawn between mere oblations and peculiar ceremonies which, from the annexation thereto of a distinctive title, are shown to require essentially some further action. In the Epistle to the Hebrews we read: 'Omnis pontifex ex hominibus assumptus pro hominibus constituitur . . . ut offerat dona et sacrificia (*προσφορα και θυσια*).' And though such texts do not explain the full nature of this latter, they show, at least, that something more than ordinary consecra-

tion is required; and the only additional ceremony we know of was destruction.

Against this fundamental position an old objection is found in the Protestant theory, that every virtuous act, by being good, has all the essential elements of a true sacrifice. Were such a doctrine true, we should not expect to read: '*Misericordiam volo et non sacrificium*,' and other such texts that might be cited; and granted that we learn '*sacrificium Deo spiritus contribulatus*,' or '*elevatio manuum mearum sacrificium vespertinum*,' we can easily explain them by the tendency of the human mind to attach a common name to actions having a somewhat similar efficacy in one direction, or alike in the element of time besides, though they differ totally in these points which are essential to constitute the prototype.

Acts, then, which do not cause destruction—nay, which are totally internal—may be termed sacrifice; but they are not truly such. For, first, they do not answer to the etymological signification of this name; secondly, they are distinguished more or less explicitly from the ceremonies properly so called; lastly, in the philosophy of external signs, they would not, or could not, be assumed as appropriate symbols for that high thought which sacrifice is ordained to manifest.

This third point needs but little amplification, after all that we have said. Sacrifice is the grandest act of worship. It, more completely than aught else, glorifies our Maker by manifesting the greatest thought of God a creature can possess. All admit it to be the noblest exercise of the virtue of religion. Seeing, then, that the negative element of internal adoration is that which crowns and completes the full, but still inadequate, positive constituent, no external ceremony will really convey the whole where this negation is not expressed. We may wish to tell it by other signs, but none, except destruction in some way, can do so; no other symbol is a fit form to specify the indifferent matter, and so constitute a fit recipient for the higher metaphysical determination.

• Against this, the central portion of the theory, manifold

objections from Scripture, from rival systems, and the sacrifice of Mass arise. We can glance only at a few, for the subject has already outrun a reasonable space, and positive points of interest still await discussion. The 'loaves of proposition,' if admitted as a sacrifice, present some difficulty, for we read of no occasion on which they are said to have been destroyed in any appropriate manner. Each Sabbath, those of the preceding week were removed, and in their stead twelve others, in two rows, six and six, were placed before the Lord, and sparkling incense scattered on them all.

In replying to this point, Lugo adopts the easiest solution, and denies a sacrifice. Franzelin maintains the opposite, thinking that there may be found a two-fold, real, and sufficient destruction in the case: one accomplished by the burning of the super-imposed incense—a symbol of the whole oblation; the other, the priest's act of eating them, *sacrificiali modo*. Finally, some even say that baking in the oven was the process that had sufficiently changed the bread before its presentation each Sabbath in the tabernacle.

This third hypothesis may be at once abandoned, for no one seriously thinks that a bake-house could be a sacrificial chamber, or that the accidental change wrought in it could express the negative concept as described. The second theory, as far, at least, as regards its latter portion, cannot be thought quite satisfactory. Eating, with any intention whatsoever, especially when the object is bread, could not be regarded as a true sign of that independence attributed to God. As to the substitution of the incense for the whole offering, the consumption of the part might or might not be a sufficient token for sacrifice; but, apart from this question, by the destruction of this portion we cannot rightly say that the loaves were sacrificed any more than man's life when in its place he has offered up an ox or a lamb.

With the first opinion, therefore, it seems more probable to hold that there was no sacrifice in the case; and the meaning of the rite may be explained by regarding the twelve loaves as a symbol of the twelve tribes who, in a mystic manner, thus continually, in the presence of

Jehovah, offered up their praise and prayer, as typified by incense.

The oblation of Melchisedech presents more difficulty. No one admitting its relation to the tremendous sacrifice of our altars, can, for a moment, deny it the quality of a real sacrifice ; nor is there the least necessity for doing so. As to the wine offered, we can at once declare that pouring it forth was certainly, or almost certainly, the means used by the celebrant for the consummation of his worship. It was the obvious, and the universally-adopted token used in such materials. The Scripture says he sacrificed, but thought it quite needless to explain the method, when everyone was rightly considered to be acquainted therewith. In regard of the bread, since there was an altar at hand, and since, in after times, under the law, this substance was often used in worship, we are at liberty to think that at both periods the method was the same, and the victim was consumed, at least in part, by fire.

The last objection drawn from Sacred Scripture, found in the ceremony of the emissary goat, may be quickly dismissed. The sacrifice had been consummated by the slaying of one such animal, and then another was let loose, to signify, not the highest worship of God, but the fact that the people's sins had been taken away upon the other victim, and had been hidden out of sight for ever.

Rival theories and the Mass, named above as two sources of difficulty, in reality coincide. The former were elaborated by their authors under the light of this new revelation ; and from the particular discussion of the character of this last and greatest sacrifice they legitimately transferred their conclusions to the general question, which alone we contemplate. We shall not, however, treat these teachings as objections to anything hitherto laid down. In reality they are not so. Our preceding remarks have gone to show that some destruction is required ; but its character has been in no way decided. At this point it can most suitably be declared.

First, we shall see what theologians teach.

According to Suarez, provided that there be some sacred action exercised on the victim, by which it is consecrated, and

thus only morally destroyed, we have all that is sufficient and necessary. For this he quotes St. Thomas, giving, for example : '*Quando panis comeditur, frangitur et benedicitur ;*' and he himself admits as sacrifice in its essentials the change wrought in a lamb by its presentation on an altar, and its consequent consecration. Immediately, however, he maintains, that there is more than this in Mass ; and he explains by distinguishing three elements or stages in sacrifice—the object offered, the sheep or bread, as it is before destruction ; the act by which it is destroyed ; and, thirdly, its consequent condition. In Mass, then, we have the bread as Host ; by the words of a priest its substance is completely changed into the Sacred Body of our Lord, which is thus presented as an agreeable offering to God. Under the Old Law the matter, in its first stage, was nobler than in its third and final condition ; and to it, in this worthier state, the word 'sacrificed' was applied, and the chief intention of the minister directed. In the New Law the 'term' is the nobler part ; and though it be not destroyed, since its production is principally intended by the person sacrificing, we can say that it is 'sacrificed.'

A grade beyond this, and more explicit, the theory of Bellarmine maintains, that since Christ's body is ordained to destruction in the celebrant's communion, we have, in this act, the determining and completing element of a hitherto unfinished sacrifice.

At the opposite pole to these two systems, distinguishing relative from absolute oblations, Vasquez defines sacrifice as '*nota existens in re, qua profitemur Deum dominum vitæ et mortis,*' and maintains that, though in 'absolute' offerings we do require destruction to signify the thought within, in 'relative' we need it not at all, and can deem all completed by a representation of it as having taken place.

Somewhat in the same manner, Billot and others teach that when an object is presented under its proper species destruction is required of substance as of species, but, when, as in Mass, a victim is concealed under strange accidents, nothing more can be demanded than the expression, in the outward appearance, of this complete change in the concealed

substance. The reason alleged by them is obvious. Sacrifice, being a sign, must be sensible, and no change, however great, happening beneath the appearance, say, of bread, can ever fulfil this principal and necessary condition. When, 'vi sacramenti,' the Body of our Lord is alone recognised beneath the Host, and His Sacred Blood beneath the species of wine, we have then, in the only manner possible, externalized our adoration.

With the first of these theories it is difficult to agree when it states that a consecration such as has been instanced would be quite sufficient alteration. All, indeed, admit that when something is made sacred we have the highest act of worship; but mere presentation will not fulfil the essential conditions of that 'sacrificatio,' which everyone, or almost everyone, maintains to be something more. Nor does it avail to quote St. Thomas as favouring this initial contention. In the text alleged the Angelic Doctor is proposing instances of sacrifices that had really existed, to exemplify the various modes of consecration that had been actually adopted; and, therefore, it is fair to say that, when he mentions this 'breaking, blessing, and eating of bread,' he draws attention to the great Eucharistic mystery he so loved himself, without analyzing or describing the peculiar and full effect of the various acts referred to.

The second portion of this great writer's theory is not less unsatisfactory. It can never be truly said, except, perhaps, in holocausts, and even then not properly, that the 'term' of the sacrificial act is sacrificed; and the reason is plain in our analysis. The action by which we express the negative component of our internal adoration must, apparently, be regarded as the chief object of the worshipper's mind. It alone adequately specifies the external sign. This act, it is true, results in destruction, and in some such sense it may be said that in all sacrifices the 'term' is what we chiefly aim at. If, however, by this action we purpose, as our principal end, not to destroy, but to produce, however noble be the result, we fail to apply the metaphysical form to the external symbol, and so have not at all the intention of sacrificing in the true sense. In

addition, the victim to which we direct this principal act must be regarded as the chief and sole victim in the circumstances, for that alone can rightly be said to be 'sacrificed' about which entirely the distinguishing form of this mode of honouring God is exercised. If, then, the Sacred Body of our Lord remain unchanged, and no destruction, real, equivalent, or symbolical thereof, takes place, it is hard to see, not how there is a sacrifice in Mass, but how Christ is verily the victim immolated.

Bellarmino's position somewhat confirms this reasoning, for, having stated that by consecration the All-holy Victim is placed upon the altar, he seeks for some further action by which it is destroyed, and finds it in the Communion of the priest. This latter, then, as well as consecration, is in such a system equally essential to the sacrifice; nay, it may well be regarded as the more important part. On the general question we discuss this theory commends itself as in some way adequate. Hidden, as in such a case the victim would be, under strange species, the act of destroying these by fire, for example, if the victim were mortal, would be as sufficient as if exercised on the same person in his own peculiar form. Why not, then, consumption by the act of eating, unless it be said that, even while consuming them, we well know there is no change whatever in Christ's body, either as in heaven or beneath the Host? This objection hits the position very strongly, and to it may be added that any such ceremony about bread, whether substantially present or only in appearance, is by no means an appropriate symbol of what men, in this case, intend by destruction. We object to the Cardinal's theory on other grounds also, for, as we said above, the metaphysical essence may be wanting even where the physical sign is complete. Even though, then, it were granted that this latter could be found in the Communion, we should still deny that this particular action pertained to the sacrifice, as the intention of Christ was not to manifest thereby His infinitely perfect adoration.

The third opinion, that of Vasquez, is now very generally rejected. Few think that the mere representation

of a destruction which has really taken place will be enough, and the reason comes out at once from that philosophy of signs at which we have but glanced. By sacrifice a thought is to be externalized, and by some significant action, not by mere words or mere pictures of what would suffice if real, must man declare it to his fellows. Such is the human mind, and such its peculiarly interesting dictate in the present subject.

The fourth opinion, one of a large class, at first sight seems plausible enough. The destruction must be, it says, evident to the senses in order to constitute a sign. This complete change cannot take place in the requisite manner in the concealed Victim, for, this latter not being palpable or visible, no alteration of it can possess either of those indispensable conditions. Since, then, it is absolutely necessary that the Victim should be destroyed, and in a manner evident to the senses, the only alternative is a mystical slaying whereby the Body alone is made visible through the species of bread, and the Sacred Blood through that of wine, and so are placed apart.

To this reasoning it may be well replied that our Divine Lord, to speak of the one such case, is as truly present to us under each of the sacramental species as He would be beneath His proper accidents. In the latter, as in the former case, we use some intellectual process to recognise and admit the substance beneath the appearances that cover it. If, then, we confess and know no change whatever in the offering, say, under the Host at Mass, it is hard to see how we can be said to have sufficiently portrayed that negative element which is the chief and highest part of the invisible concept.

What, then, if all these theories be inadequate, shall be considered sufficient destruction, when the victim cannot die?

An answer may, we think, be discovered through a consideration of the thought we manifest by sacrifice. The offering must be presented to the Lord, and on it must be exercised some action apt to externalise the negation of dependence that enters into our internal adoration. Amongst us aequivalent destruction, as it is called, is almost as expressive of this latter element as the loss of life itself. To

every mind the dashing of a bowl of wine upon the earth by one who made the liquid a symbol of something he would utterly destroy—a hostile nation, for example—would convey his thought most perfectly. It is a strangely expressive sign of the idea. So, too, if we could divest a victim, say a lamb, of all its senses, then of all its limbs, and then could present it under the form of an object extremely small, such would speak eloquently as to our mind. This really occurs in Mass. Christ, offering this mystery, deprives Himself of the natural use of every power of body and soul, changes even His human shape, and presents Himself, thus annihilated, upon the altar. The very loss of life is not so complete a change as this. When the soul is gone it still, we know, exists, and the body, to our senses, is almost the same. In Mass, by the mystic words, the priest destroys, totally, the use of every faculty, the very form of man itself, to testify that both those elements, the perfection itself, we may say, of our Redeemer's very soul, are no way needed by the Almighty Father. In plainer words—by actual death we do not annihilate the soul, nor, to all intents and purposes, do we destroy the body. We separate the two, and so declare that, as the result of union is His, so He needs not, whatever be the perfection thereof, the being and faculties of man. We do exactly the same in the Sacrifice of our altars. We take away the noblest properties of the most perfect human being, and so testify most fully the idea of Divine independence as conceived.

Very little space now remains for the investigation of the point—how far institution is essential to the matter of a sacrifice. In so far as we mean by institution the selection on some one's part of the external symbol as a means, and with the intention, of thereby worshipping, we need no argument to prove it necessary. Moreover, if a number of persons, or a whole society, in their corporate capacity, wish to honour God by sacrifice, the matter of this offering can be that alone which they or their representative decide. If different objects be selected, the will to worship in this manner is not present; the metaphysical, and absolutely necessary form, has not been applied,

Two other hypotheses may be made, and about them alone does difficulty arise. In a state, such as the ancient Hebrew nation, where the superior has fixed the matter of oblations, might a man validly sacrifice with some forbidden beasts or substances; or, secondly, could one, dwelling in the woods, far from all society, select an appropriate and adequate sign, not instituted by his fellow-men or society, and thereby honour God in truly sacrificial form?

To the question of this latter hypothesis, Lugo gives a negative reply. Such an individual, he maintains, could not give the due signification to an external sign, any more than annex a new meaning, say that of 'horse' to the word 'homo;' and in confirmation, he adds, no person could now take as the matter of sacrifice the cutting down of a tree, or the pruning of a vine, and this because society has not instituted such acts as fitting symbols of adoration.

To this confirmation we can at once reply that even society itself could not erect these actions into tokens for sacrifice. Neither of them has that peculiar relation to human life which in this case the philosophy of signs requires.

In the preceding argument there is more truth. It might well be questioned whether the benighted savage could ever in his lonely life attain such notion of Divinity as would urge him to any more than those motions which naturally express fear or reverence—genuflection and the like. Such, Lugo admits he could exercise. But, supposing for an instant that he elaborated the 'sacrificium invisibile,' to a certain extent, it is true that he could not invent for its expression an altogether arbitrary sign. Society itself could not do so, because, as we instanced, of a certain natural dictate. It might decree that a symbol short of destruction would express what this latter signifies at present, and man would understand the meaning of such. The restriction would, however, be against nature, nor could the token so forced be ever thought an adequate expression. The two actions that express the elements of the sacrificial concept have a relation to those ideas that comes not from institution by society, but is made evident as inherent, by the almost intuitive vision of our minds.

The solitary being of our question, therefore, having reached the exalted idea of an all-producing, independent God would feel an impulse to externalize it. In reply to the movement he would not use a purely arbitrary sign, and if such alone could exist, his thought would remain for ever buried in his breast. Arbitrary signs are used only when we wish to communicate an idea to a fellow-man, or to some other being who, we may think, could understand us. They would not, and need not, be where only one individual exists. A 'quasi-natural' appropriate sign would be the issue of the savage's conception; and, since the external act of sacrifice is such, not purely arbitrary, we cannot see why it requires institution by men, when by them it is, and must be, selected for the very reason that seems to recommend it as appropriate to our lonely friend.

This conclusion Suarez admits to be apparently according to the mind of the Angelic Doctor. Franzelin declares that if a sacrifice could in the circumstances exist, it would be quite different in kind from that offered by society. The only way in which it seems to differ is in the persons who apply the metaphysical form to the sensible sign. This latter element appears specifically the same in both. Finally, as to Lugo's objection from the meaning of words, we can easily deny its application to our present question. Without institution, by two persons at least, 'homo' could not be selected as a symbol for the idea 'horse.' To assume it from my private fancy for such a purpose would be not to assume a sign at all. In sacrifice, my whims have no part. Long before my existence, even before states and peoples, there was an obvious meaning in the act of placing some object at another person's feet, and when men looked around for a token of that other negative element it was not their decision but nature itself that led them to use destruction. The two combined were in a sense a 'natural' sign. They were not, indeed, necessarily connected with the metaphysical form, as smoke is with fire: slaughter might exist, and no sacrifice be present. But this physical sign is dictated by nature as the only appropriate, and so the necessary token of our adoration.

As to the former hypothesis regarding individuals in a society where the matter of sacrifice has been determined by the superior, it might be asked does the nature of our subject forbid their using therefor some prohibited materials? Under the Jewish law it is easy to see how in several cases it would be so. Those living within its jurisdiction were not allowed to, and, as a matter of fact, did not, use as food the flesh of swine; and thus the assumption of objects prohibited in this manner would not suffice. The same is true also of every society in which an animal or substance not having the relation of supporting medium to human life was condemned as unfit for sacrifice.

What, however, if an element related by use to man's existence, and not allowed in offerings, be utilized by some person against the law! Can we call that true sacrifice? and what if a certain class of persons alone are permitted to perform such ceremony? First of all, it has not the essence of a 'satisfactory' sacrifice. If God appoint a certain quality of suffering, either physical in the body, or material in wealth, declaring that such only will satisfy His justice, plainly no other can be thought sufficient. Next, it cannot be termed 'Eucharistic.' For this it should be pleasing, and *ex hypothesi*, it is sinful. Thirdly, it is not 'impetratory.' The Creator does not answer prayers stained, as in this case, with disobedience. Lastly, can we say it is 'Latreutical'? We think not, especially if the prohibited matter be deliberately assumed. In such a case two signs, as it were, collide. One, that which has all the necessary conditions for a sacrificial symbol—the presentation of man's life on the altar, and the consequent destruction thereof in figure; the other, and more powerful, the actual performance of a ceremony gravely sinful from an express command of God. To every mind this latter expresses a practical denial of God's all-embracing power and jurisdiction, and the worshipper's total dependence, far more strongly than any results connected with it could manifest the admission of these two truths. The denial extinguishes the affirmation, and with it the sacrifice; nor can the person offering, by any means in his power, render the latter element triumphant.

The same positions may be held regarding the second question, as to the necessity of an individual from amongst the designated priesthood. Just as in the case discussed at the close of the preceding paragraph we had two conflicting symbols, one yielding to the other's greater force, so we should have a similar contradiction and a like result where a person would deliberately arrogate to himself, against the ordinance of God, an office which the Divinity, mediately through a superior, had entrusted exclusively to some favoured race or class of individuals. In any state, moreover, it is quite natural, nay more, most requisite that the worship of the Most High should be duly regulated, for terrible confusion would result, were each individual permitted to use his own materials, or his own place, and be himself the minister of sacrifice. In such a sense, then, and such only, the necessity of a priest is easily admitted, though it may be added that a representative of this class is ever necessary if we define him to be 'one who worships God sacrificially.'

One of his functions, however we describe his qualities, is, as we have seen, to destroy the victim offered; and here to complete our exposition of his duties it may be asked:—How far is it required that he should be the immediate physical cause of the complete change in question; or would it be enough if he bore to it a real but somewhat more removed relation? It appears that something of this latter kind suffices, for in the Old Law the priest was not always the actual immolator of the victims. The lamb or ox was frequently slain by the hands of the lay worshipper, and then the blood was poured forth upon the altar by the minister and the sacrifice consummated. On Calvary, too, the Jews were they who impiously caused the wounds that, of their nature, led to death. But here it was Christ, we know, who offered Himself, and satisfied for a world's sin. However, the latter case is scarcely an argument for our position. Since our Divine Lord was the only real and necessary cause of His own death, He could not be slain by wounds inflicted on His sacred body. All such, therefore, were in a sense useless. By an act of the Divine

and when he is still young His soul in spite of all things that He will can do He lies, and by a free choice of death Himself is no martyr. Such was the death of the man who is martyr whose death as a martyr is not a martyr in the sense required by the law of the man in the example from the law of the man in the priest. Here the metaphysical death is not a death in the sense of the moment at which the man is killed by the worshipper, good Jew, but a death in the sense of the attention of manifesting the man's death in the moment of his soul. To this is what a man. But when the priest performed the act of death, the man was killed and the sweet death of the man was killed in the man.

The last point now demands attention, and with it we shall conclude this work and to our readers, we fear, a somewhat long one. In the preceding pages we have shown that death is in action, in other times we have shown that it is a man composed of matter and form, physical as well as metaphysical. The inner designation is that death is a death in the sense of the man, he argues, in the man, death—death—of some object animate or inanimate, and in which there is such effect produced. Death is the designation in the man, it may be safely said, and death is not death. Death is not an action, but a death. This is certainly the most important element, and the last point that would give all the physical or moral *esse* to the man's death from this worshipper's point of view may be denominated. But there is plainly and surely something more. Death is indiscriminately death, and it is the same act as such, but it would not be death. Then only when the man speaks of, and perhaps when the man does the death arise, and to the man's death must be added this reality that death is the death of the man's death.

But at the same time, to act or not means fully, is our own of the nature of the act we study, and its essential character. We have seen that it is primarily a sign to man to show the thought of the Almighty's perfection.

We have glanced at its necessity arising from man's proneness to use something more than mere words in all circumstances. We have gathered the nature of the honour and worship, which it offers to our Maker. We have learned how, from its chief end, there may arise other and subordinate effects, 'eucharistic,' from the pleasure such an oblation gives to our Creator, 'impetratory' from the moving power consequent on this pleasing efficacy; and, lastly, satisfaction and propitiation from the sufferings or losses, physical or otherwise, the worshipper may endure. We have explained in what sense, and for what reason, destruction is required and the necessity of immediate causality thereof by the person consummating the oblation. We have examined the question of institution, and, dividing its many significations, have endeavoured to discriminate circumstances in which the nature of sacrifice requires it from these where it needs it not at all. Where a particular class is set apart to perform the sacrificial ceremonies, we have investigated how far, without their intervention, such worship can exist.

And here, at length, we are in a position to accomplish the most useful and practical portion of this essay—the solution of the difficulties proposed on opening. The first, as to how the death of any creature honours God, needs no further amplification. The body of the paper is occupied with the explanation of that question, in the various phases it can and does assume when all its various parts are analysed and examined. How such an act excels all others in giving glory to God, has also been abundantly set forth.

One point alone remains—that obscurity which we referred to at the beginning of our work, and with an attempt at its elucidation we conclude.

A person by sacrificing declares that all his goods and his soul with all its powers are God's; and that, moreover, were they, every one of them, destroyed, He would still be all-glorious, and all-perfect. Evidently, then, the nobler and more powerful the man who so worships, the greater the honour given to the Most High, for the higher is the excellence of His being declared to be both positively and negatively. The former, positively, because He is confessed

Lord of faculties more exalted than those of a different worshipper; the latter, negatively, for the more elaborate and extensive those goods are of which the Godhead is thus declared quite independent, the mightier is He who needs them in no way at all, who can afford to dispense with them and all their grandeur.

The value of the object offered, also, when increased, in our explanation, is plainly seen to enhance the glory announced thereby. As the destruction of human life would most perfectly manifest the idea of adoration, so the nearer we keep thereto in the value and signification of our selected matter, the worthier our sacrifice shall be. Besides, as among men a high esteem, say of some public personage, is expressed by a proportionately grand testimonial, so, the more exalted the idea we have of our Creator, the more splendid will be the object chosen from among our goods to consecrate to His worship.

Both these capabilities of sacrifice are found employed to their uttermost in the tremendous oblation of the Christian altar. There, the noblest of all mankind, Jesus Christ, true God and true man, protests before heaven and earth the infinitely perfect adoration of His soul. The victim used by Him is no less than His own all-glorious humanity, annihilated before His Father, to testify the source whence it has come, and the majesty of Him who needs not at all its most exalted attributes. The most perfect of worshippers, the most perfect of all possible offerings, are joined in one grand oblation to Him from whom the universe, and its greatness, hath proceeded, before whom the cherubim and seraphim are prostrate in humble adoration, and who yet finds beneath the humble roof of each lowly country church, the one supreme and infinite worship that adequately tells His glory.

P. SEXTON, S.T.L.

THE EPISCOPAL CITY OF FERNS

II.

BISHOP ST. JOHN died in 1243, and it is not a little remarkable that all the subsequent Bishops of Ferns, until the appointment of Bernard O'Donnell, O.S.F., in 1541, were Anglo-Normans. At the close of the same year Geoffrey St. John, Vicar-General of Ferns, was chosen to fill the vacancy, and went to reside in the Castle. In 1250 Ferns was the property of William de Valence, in consequence of the death of John de Monte Caniso without heirs; but, on February 24th, 1252, Henry III. gave orders to Sir John FitzGeoffrey, Viceroy of Ireland, 'not to give seisin of the manors of Ferns and Odon (Hy Duach, near Gorey), or any part thereof, but, till further orders, to take possession of them for the king.' On May 31st of the same year, as we learn from Theiner, Pope Innocent IV. wrote a letter to the Bishop and Chapter of Ferns, 'to confer a canonry on a certain Richard, Chancellor of the said diocese, a learned cleric, and a distinguished student of Paris University.'

On August 23rd, 1255, the appointment of a Dean for the existing Chapter of Ferns was confirmed by Pope Alexander IV. In 1252 Maurice de Rochford, by his marriage with Matilda, daughter and co-heiress of Gerald Prendergast, acquired the lordship of Enniscorthy and the barony of Duffrey (*Dubhthir* = the black turfy land), in which inheritance he was succeeded by his son Maurice. Bishop St. John died early in 1257. The obituary notice of 'Murray, son of Maelbrighde, O'Farrelly, Coarb of Maidoc,' in 1257, by the *Four Masters* has caused some eminent historians to imagine that the entry referred to the see of Ferns, inasmuch as the Bishops of that see were not unfrequently styled 'coarbs of Maidoc;' but, as is evident from subsequent entries in the *Four Masters*, under date of 1330 and 1368, the allusion is to the O'Farrellys, who were hereditary coarbs of Maidoc at Drumlane near

Belturbet, in the diocese of Kilmore. The successor of Bishop St. John was Hugh de Lamport (now generally written Lambert), an English Canon, and Treasurer of Ferns. On July 10th, 1258, the king ordered John FitzThomas and Master William de Bakepus, escheator of Ireland, to receive fealty from Bishop Lambert, and to restore him the temporalities of the see.

By an Inquisition taken in 1272, Geoffrey, son of Sir William Prendergast, was said to have been 'brother and heir to John Prendergast, who owned lands in Ardnasallagh and Ferns.' Bishop Lambert was a courtier prelate, and under him, the living of Rathmacknee, near Wexford, was confirmed to the Priory of All Hallows, Dublin, in 1274. The see of Dublin was vacant from 1271 to 1279, and the episcopal functions were performed by Robert de Provenç, assistant Bishop—the earliest instance we meet with of such an appointment in the Anglo-Norman Irish Church. During the rule of Bishop Lambert the Franciscan Friar of Wexford, in 1260, got the church of St. Bridget and St. John, which had belonged to the Knights Hospitallers. This prelate died May 23rd, 1282; and, in July, the Dean and Chapter elected Richard of Northampton (who had been dispensed by Pope Urban IV., on January 22nd, 1264, in the matter of holding a plurality of benefices), Canon of Killaloe. He was confirmed by the King, and restored his temporalities on October 13th, 1282.

Murtogh MacMurrough, King of Leinster, and Art, his brother, were slain at Arklow by the English, in 1282. A few years later, Sir John Devereux founded a convent for Franciscans at New Ross, which was then the most important town in the diocese of Ferns. Nicholas, Archdeacon of Ferns, petitioned the Chancellor of Ireland, in 1284, seeking redress in the matter of a debt of 86 pounds and silver, for which he had been held responsible as executor of the will of Adam St. John. In this document he describes himself as being then 'blind and infirm,' and that he had 'faithfully administered the chattels of the deceased,' 'rendering his final account for same before the Bishop of Ferns. On June 11th, 1285, Pope Honorius IV. wrote a mandat

to have either the Bishop of Ferns or the Bishop of Leighlin, assisted by two other prelates, consecrate John Saundford as Archbishop of Dublin. From the *Calendar to Christ Church Deeds* we learn that on April 25th, 1289, Richard, Bishop of Ferns, granted an Indulgence of forty days 'to those who, being contrite, and having confessed, hear Mass celebrated by any Canon of the monastery of Holy Trinity, Dublin, or say the Lord's Prayer and the Salutation of the B.V.M., for the benefactors of the said monastery, and for the souls of the faithful departed;' as also, 'to those who by legacy or gift promote the building of Holy Trinity Church.'

Early in 1297 there was a dispute concerning the jurisdiction of the archiepiscopal see of Dublin, *sede vacante*, which was claimed by the Prior of Holy Trinity and the Dean of St. Patrick's on one hand, as against the Bishop of Ferns on the other part; and, on March 7th, 1297, the matter was referred by Pope Boniface VIII. to the decision of the Prior of All Hallows.

There were thirty-three separate sees in Ireland, in 1302, and we have the taxation of them all by command of Boniface VIII., in that year, with the exception of Ferns and Ossory. Bishop Northampton died January 13th, 1304, and was buried in his Cathedral Church. The royal licence for an election was granted on March 12th, and Simon of Evesham was the capitular choice. He was duly consecrated on June 22nd of the same year; but, after a rule of only nine weeks, he died September 1st. His successor was Robert Walrand, Vicar-General of Dublin, who took possession of his see before the close of the year.

In 1305 Gilbert Sutton, Seneschal of Wexford, was slain by the Irish near the village of Hamon le Gros [*Clough Hamon*, or Clohamon, a couple of miles from Ferns]; and, in 1313, this Hamon, who, in the previous skirmish is said 'to have fought stoutly, merely escaping by his great valour,' and his neighbour Sir William Prendergast, were slain at Skerries.

Bishop Walrand died at Ferns Castle on November 17th, 1311, and was succeeded by Adam of Northampton,

who was consecrated on Trinity Sunday, 1312. This prelate appropriated the church of St. Fintan, Mayglass, to the Deanery of the Cathedral. Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke and Lord of Wexford, who came to Ireland in 1315, gave a charter to Wexford, dated Radcliff-on-Trent, July 25th, 1317, subscribed to, among others, by Sir Maurice Rochford, Lord of Enniscorthy.

The Bishop of Ferns sided with the Irish, on behalf of the Bruces. On January 26th, 1316, Edward Bruce defeated Sir Edmund Butler, Lord Justice, at Ardsclull, Co. Kildare. Robert Bruce joined his brother in February, 1317, and matters looked very inauspicious for the colonists. Sir John Gilbert writes:—‘Important services were also rendered to the Bruces by Adam de Northampton, Bishop of Ferns, who, seated in the midst of the Anglo-Norman settlement, secretly communicated to them, through his brother, the councils and intended movements of the lords of the colony, and also assisted the Scots in obtaining supplies of arms and provisions.’ In January, 1317, Sir Maurice Rochford was one of those who renewed the oath of allegiance. Roger Mortimer landed at Youghal, as Lord Justice, on Easter Thursday, 1317, with thirty-eight knights and a large army, and on August 6th a writ was issued to Mortimer ‘to arrest the Bishop of Ferns, and arraign him for high treason.’ However, his Lordship was subsequently pardoned, and Edward Bruce was slain at the Battle of Faughart, on Sunday, October 14th, 1318.

On the death of Aymer de Valence, in 1323, Sir Maurice Rochford acquired four and a-half knights’ fees in Kiltale, near Enniscorthy, ‘which were waste by reason of the wars of the Irish.’ Meantime there was a provincial Chapter of Franciscans held at New Ross on the Feast of St. Bartholomew, August 24th, 1318, when we find a certain Friar Adam as Guardian of that convent. An Augustinian Friary was founded at New Ross by William Roche in 1320. In 1327 Donald MacMurrough was elected by his clan as King of Leinster, but in the same year he was captured by Sir Henry Traherne, who received £100 as a reward. Shortly afterwards Donald escaped through the

connivance of Adam de Nangle. This faithful Anglo-Norman provided the Leinster king with a rope, and by its means he effected his escape from Dublin Castle in the following January, but Nangle was hanged.

In 1326 the differences between Bishop Ledrede of Ossory, Lord Arnold le Poer, Dame Alice le Kyteler, and William Outlagh, in regard to heretical charges, &c., were referred to the Bishops of Kildare, Ferns, Emly, and Lismore, when matters were amicably arranged for the time being. On April 21st, 1331, the English forces defeated the Irish in North Wexford, but, soon after, the O'Tooles took Arklow Castle, which, however, was recaptured by Sir Anthony Lucy, Viceroy of Ireland, in 1332, 'who repaired the same, leaving a strong garrison in it.' Early in August the Irish pillaged and burned the city and castle of Ferns, and the Bishop had to fly.

After a long and stormy episcopate of thirty-four years, Adam of Northampton died on October 29th, 1346.¹ Hugh *de Saltu* of Leixlip, Co. Dublin, Prebendary of St. Patrick's, Dublin, was canonically elected by the Chapter of Ferns in December, and was consecrated on Passion Sunday, 1347. Meantime, Pope Clement VI., *proprio motu*, appointed Geoffrey Groffield (whom Ware calls *Grosseld*), D.D., O.S.A., to the vacant see on the 3rd of the Nones of March, 1347. This same Pontiff deprived Hugh of Leixlip in August, 1347, whereupon the Chapter elected John Esmonde as Bishop of Ferns, who was duly confirmed by his metropolitan and consecrated. However, Dr. Groffield was sent from Rome, and was given the temporalities of the see by King Edward III., on March 26th, 1348. Bishop Esmonde resided in Ferns Castle from October, 1347, to June, 1348, when Bishop Groffield arrived to take up possession, and not only refused to admit the latter, but put the Castle in a state of defence. The Augustinian Bishop then appealed to Rome, but fell sick of the 'Black Death' in October, 1349, and died on October 22nd, without taking possession. The Holy See then

¹ In 1345 the Furlongs gave a foundation for a Carmelite monastery at Hortown, in the diocese of Ferns, and, in 1346, the clergy of Ferns granted the King £10 as a contribution for the defence of the Pale.

appointed William Charnels, a distinguished Dominican Friar, who was confirmed by the King on April 19th, 1350, having been consecrated at Rome. He received the temporalities of the see on October 15th, 1350, and went to take possession of the Castle of Ferns. Yet, Bishop Esmonde, whose family influence was very powerful in Co. Wexford,¹ declined to admit Dr. Charnels, who, in January, 1351, called in the aid of the civil arm. On April 23rd, 1351, a writ was issued by Bishop Charnels directing the Sheriff of County Wexford 'to forthwith remove all lay force from the church and diocese of Ferns raised to disturb the Bishop in the exercise of his spiritual office.' However, we read that 'the Sheriff was unable to execute the writ, inasmuch as John Esmonde, *late* Bishop, William Furlong, and twenty-six others had opposed him,' and had strongly fortified the castle. Finally, the stronghold was taken by strategy, and Dr. Charnels took up his residence therein in August of that year.

In 1352 Bishop Esmonde wrote a long petition to the Holy See, and stated his position. Pope Innocent VI. wrote a most paternal letter to Dr. Esmonde, and as a *solatium* gave him the prebends of Taghmon and Coolstuffe. Previously, on a false report of the death of Robert Walshe, Bishop of Emly, Pope Clement VI., by a brief dated 'third of the Ides of January, 1352,' appointed Esmonde to that see. However, Bishop Walshe lived till 1355, and, finally, on April 27th, 1356, Bishop Esmonde was given the temporalities of the see of Emly.²

On September 15th, 1352, Sir Maurice Rochford of Enniscorthy brought the hostages of the MacMurroughs, the O'Murchoes, or Murphys, of Castle Ellis, and those of the O'Tooles and O'Byrnes to Wexford Castle. In 1354, as

¹ For much of the information concerning Bishop Esmonde, I am indebted to Sir Thomas H. Grattan Esmonde, M.P., who has collected voluminous notes regarding his distinguished ancestor from the Vatican Archives, transcribed from the originals by Father Costelloe, O.P., St. Clements, Rome.

² In 1340 Sir Nicholas Devereux of Balmagir became a surety for the good behaviour of John Esmonde, *late* Bishop of Ferns. Bishop Esmonde ruled over the see of Emly from 1356 till his death on the 4th of April, 1362. In 1370 Thomas Esmonde was Lieutenant to Sir John Blyterly, Constable of Wexford Castle.

we learn from the *Four Masters*, 'MacMurrough was put to death by the English.' Bishop Charnels was appointed Lord Treasurer of Ireland on February 23rd, 1361, but died in July, 1362, and was succeeded by Thomas Denn, Archdeacon of Ferns, who was provided to the See by Pope Urban V. on February 20th, 1363, being consecrated in the same year on Trinity Sunday. Under date of 1361 the *Four Masters* have the following entry: 'Art MacMurrough and Donnell Reagh, heir apparent to the kingship of Leinster, were treacherously captured by Lionel, Duke of Clarence, and imprisoned. They afterwards died in prison.'

In 1368 Dermot *Lavderg* MacMurrough, King of Leinster, was taken prisoner by the English; and, in the following year, he and his son Gerald 'were put to death by the English.' Sir William Windsor carried on a vigorous campaign throughout Wicklow and North Wexford, in 1370, but with no decided result. The name of Martin John Barron, Archdeacon of Ferns, appears in many deeds of this period. In 1376, Gilbert Sutton, Precentor of Ferns, received pardon for his political leanings. From this date Art MacMurrough Kavanagh, King of Leinster, continued to be paid an annual subsidy by the Crown of 80 marks,¹ and, in 1377, he recovered Enniscorthy and the Duffrey district from the Rochfords. In 1380 he founded the Augustinian Friary of Clonmines, which was completed by Nicholas the Clerk in 1385. In 1379 Richard Sutton of Clonard received a grant of various lands from the Bishop of Ferns. Art MacMurrough, heir presumptive to the kingdom of Leinster, was slain by the English of County Wexford, in 1383, in which year a fifth plague devastated Ireland.

After a long interval we find mention of Ferns Abbey in 1389, in which year the monks acquired possession of 'the tithes of the Island of Barry [the scar of Barrystown] on the sea coast.' This inlet of the sea, which marks the boundary

¹ Donogh MacMurrough, King of Leinster, was treacherously slain in 1375 by the English of Carlow, 'among whom he had often before spread desolation.' In the Close Roll of 1379, under date of October 19th, there is reference made to this subsidy of 80 marks 'payable out of the Irish Exchequer half quarterly, by ten marks at a time.' In 1381 Donnell O'Murphy, chief of Hy Felimy (Barony of Ballaghkeen) was slain by the Hy Kinsellagh.

between the parishes of Tintirn and Bannow, 'is about three miles long and about one mile wide, narrowing gradually as it recedes from the sea.' From a deed dated July 26th, 1392, Thomas Denn, Bishop of Ferns, and Johanna Devereux, were appointed custodians of the lands of Nicholas Devereux of Balmagir.

Art MacMurrough, who killed numbers of the English of Ossory in 1386, burned New Ross in 1394, the rectory of which belonged to the Austin Canons of St. John's, Kilkenny. From the year 1395 Ferns Castle was held by Constables, and the whole country was in a ferment owing to the raids of MacMurrough, who took Carlow Castle early in 1397. On July 20th, 1398, at the battle of Kells. Co. Kilkenny, Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, and all his army, were defeated by the Irish of Leinster. Richard II. landed, for the second time, at Waterford on June 1st, 1399, with an army of about 30,000 troops; but, *en route* to Dublin, the troops were sorely harassed in Carlow and Wicklow, and all readers are familiar with the tragic end of the unfortunate monarch four months later.

Bishop Denn died on the 27th of August, 1400, after an episcopate of thirty-seven years, and was succeeded by Patrick Barret, a learned Austin Canon of Kells, who was consecrated at Rome, in December, 1400, and received restitution of temporalities on the 11th of April, 1401. Dr. Barret transferred the see of Ferns to New Ross, as being more populous and less free from the attacks of the Leinster septs. On June 16th, 1402, King Henry IV. granted a licence whereby the Bishop appropriated the Church of Ardccolm to Selskar Abbey, Wexford. The Castle of Ballyteige was burned by MacMurrough 'on Tuesday, the morrow of the Feast of St. Barnabas,' *i.e.*, June 12th, 1408, but was rebuilt by Sir Richard Whitty.

On June 11th, 1410, the Bishop of Ferns was appointed Chancellor of Ireland, vacant by the resignation of Archbishop Cranley of Dublin, and he built the stately Castle of Mountgarret, near New Ross, where he resided. He also built 'Bishop's Gate,' through which he was wont to enter when pontificating at St. Mary's Church, and he

beautified the church itself, of which he completed the south transept.¹ Three years later the Bishop retired from the Chancellorship, which was again resumed by Archbishop Cranley, and devoted himself to the care of his diocese. He compiled a *Registry of the See of Ferns*, with memoirs of his predecessors—a work which, alas! has disappeared. He died November 10th, 1415, and was interred, by his own desire, in the Priory of Kells, Co. Kilkenny, of which he had been a Regular Canon.

In 1416 Art MacMurrough made a great raid on Wexford, and took 340 prisoners in one day.' This was his last exploit, as he was poisoned at New Ross on the 12th of January, 1417, and was buried at St. Mullins, being succeeded in the kingship of Leinster by his son Gerald. His son Donald MacArt was taken prisoner by Sir John Talbot, Lord Furnivall, Lord of Wexford, on May 4th, 1419, and sent to the Tower of London, where he remained for nine years.

The see of Ferns was vacant for over two years, and, at length, on February 17th, 1418, Robert Whitty of Ballyteige Castle, Precentor of the diocese, was 'provided' by the Holy See. In 1418 Sir John Talbot gave the monks of Selskar Abbey the Chapel of St. Nicholas of Carrick. On September 3th, 1423, Pope Martin V. wrote a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Winchester to the effect that they should threaten with excommunication the Archbishop of Dublin (Richard Talbot, Lord Justice) and the Bishop of Ferns for favouring schismatics, as also for other ecclesiastical irregularities. In 1425 Lord Furnivall² obtained a promise from Donogh O'Byrne to protect the royalists in County Wexford. Bishop Whitty lived mostly at Ballyteige Castle, and, in 1425, he gave the Church of Ardkevan, or Kilkevan, to Selskar Abbey.

¹ Bishop's Gate has long since disappeared, and in 1845 Aldgate or Bewley Gate—better known as Three Bullet Gate—was pulled down by the Corporation, who took care to let posterity know the fact by inserting a stone in the wall of an adjacent corn store, with the following inscription; 'This is the west side of Bewley Gate, taken down in the year 1845, by consent of the Town Commissioners.'

² On June 18th, 1429, Lord Talbot de Furnivall was made prisoner at the battle of Patay, but was released by order of the Venerable Jeanne d'Arc, alias Joan of Arc. He was created Earl of Shrewsbury on May 20th, 1442.

Donal MacArt, generally called *Reagh* or *Fuscus* (the brown or the swarthy-complexioned), 'was ransomed by his own province' in 1428. Sir John Grey, who was sworn in Viceroy on August 1st, 1427, 'had to disburse much of his own proper gold' to provide troops for the defence of Leinster against the MacMurrroughs and others; and he returned to England, in 1428, without accomplishing anything in particular. The Lord Deputyship of Lord Dudley, in 1429, and of Sir Thomas Strange, in 1430, did not materially extend the Pale. On the death of Gerald Kavanagh, in 1431, 'a man illustrious for hospitality and prowess,' the Leinster clans chose Donal MacArt as sovereign, who, soon after, took up his residence in Enniscorthy Castle, and joined the O'Tooles against the English.

In 1435 the Colonial Privy Council addressed a letter to the King, through the Viceroy, Sir Thomas Stanley, stating that one hundred and forty-eight castles and forts in County Carlow, within the previous nine years, had been destroyed or taken possession of by the 'Irish enemy,' especially the MacMurrroughs. A plague raged throughout Leinster in 1439. 'To such an ebb had the fortunes of the Palesmen been reduced at this period, that, in 1441, James Cornwalsh, Chief Baron, was seized in his own house at Baggotrath and murdered by William FitzWilliam of Dundrum. In 1442 the English troops of Wexford killed the son and heir of Donald *Fuscus* Kavanagh, and took seven of his chief warriors prisoners near Ferns; but shortly afterwards the King of Leinster attacked Wexford, and compelled the Governor to deliver up the seven prisoners, 'as also to pay 800 marks *eric* (blood money) for the murder of his son Murty.' Early in 1443 Archbishop Talbot of Dublin, and John White, Abbot of St. Mary's, were sent to represent to the King 'the miserable estate and condition of Ireland,' the public revenue being, as Cox writes, 'so low, that it was less than the necessary charge of keeping the kingdom by one thousand four hundred and fifty-six pounds per annum.'

WILLIAM H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

DOCUMENTS

DOUBTS REGARDING OCTAVES

MEXICANA.

DUBIUM CIRCA OCTAVAS

Rmus Dnus Prosper Josephus Maria Alarcon Archiepiscopus Mexicanus a S. Rituum Congregatione sequentium dubiorum resolutionem humiliter efflagitavit, nimirum :

Quum in Mexicana Archidioecesi ex benigna concessione Pii Papae VI, d. d. 5 Martii an. 1776 Octava Solemnitatis Corporis Christi eodem gaudeat privilegio, quo Octava Epiphaniae Domini, et ex altera apostolica concessione Gregorii Papae XVI, per Decretum S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide d. d. 20 Februarii an. 1831, Festum SSmae Trinitatis sub ritu duplici primae classis cum Octava celebretur ; quaeritur : An attentis supradictis concessionibus RR. PP. Pii VI et Gregorii XVI. in Archidioecesi Mexicana cessare debeat Octava SSmae Trinitatis, adveniente festo cum Octava SSmi Corporis Christi ?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, referente subscripto Secretario, audito etiam voto Commissionis Liturgicae, proposito dubio respondendum censuit : *Affirmative*. Atque ita rescripsit et servari mandavit. Die 5 Martii 1898.

C. CARD. MAZZELLA, *Ep. Praen. S. R. C. Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

DIOMEDES PANICI, *Secret.*

MEXICANA

DUBIUM CIRCA OCTAVAS

Rmus Archiepiscopus Mexicanus ad componendam quamdam controversiam inter nonnullos Sacerdotes suae Archidioecesis, a Sacra Rituum Congregatione sequentis dubii solutionem humiliter postulavit, nimirum :

An in Archidioecesi Mexicana, Dominica infra Octavam privilegiatam SS. Corporis Christi dicenda sit Praefatio de SS. ma Trinitate, prouti ex benigna concessione Gregorii Papae XVI tum Festi de SS. Trinitate cum Octava, tum Praefationis de eodem Mysterio recitandae supradicta Dominica infra Octavam Corporis Christi : quae tamen concessio facta fuit absque ulla

mentione, sive in supplici libello sive in rescripto, concessionis de altero privilegio anteriori a Pio Papa VI eidem Archidioecesi collato super Octava SS. Corporis Christi privilegiata ad instar Epiphaniae?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, proposito dubio respondendum censuit: *Negative*, iuxta decretum in una *Mexicana* diei 5 Martii 1898. Atque ita rescripsit, die 26 iisdem mense et anno.

C. CARD. MAZZELLA, *Ep. Praen. S. R. C. Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

D. PANICI, *Secret.*

THE MASSES UNDERTAKEN BY THE ADMINISTRATOR OF ST. JOACHIM'S

E. SACRA CONGREGATIONE VISITATIONIS APOSTOLICAE

LITTERA CIRCULARIS, QUA NOTIFICATUR FUISSE ULTRO SUSCEPTA ET ADIMPLETA, A VIRIS CATHOLICIS, GALLIS PRAESERTIM, ONERA 260,000 MISSARUM QUAE AB ADMINISTRATORE ECCLESIAE A S. JOACHIM DE URBE, SUPERERANT CELEBRANDA ¹

Appena divulgatasi la notizia, che a carico del Santo Padre colla rivendicazione della Chiesa di San Gioacchino rimaneva l'adempimento di 260,000 Messe, trascurato della cessata Azienda Brugidou, venerandi Vescovi si nostrani, che esteri, principalmente della Francia, mossi da filiale amore con nobile pensiero, invitarono il Clero tanto secolare, quanto regolare di unirsi ad essi nel rilevare Sua Santità da sì grave peso colla gratuita applicazione di Messe, o con corrispondenti offerte.

Collo stesso intendimento, giornali cattolici fecero caldo appello ai loro abbonati.

All'invito fu corrisposto con tanta sollecitate generosa gara, che nel giro di un quadrimestre presso la S. Congregazione della Visita Apostolica fu registrato tale numero di Messe, tra celebrate e in corso di celebrazione, da supplire interamente a quello non soddisfatto.

Raggiuntosi pertanto con felicissimo esito lo scopo prefisso, si rende noto, che da ora innanzi rimane sospeso ogni ulteriore impegno per Messe; facendosi tuttavia obbligo a quelli, che ne assunsero il carico fino al presente, di non ometterne l'esatto

¹ Huius lugendi casus non est cur originem, vicissitudinesque recolamus, quum notae satis superque sint.

adempimento, e di trasmetterne alla S. Visita a suo tempo il relativo certificato vidimato dalla propria Curia.

Sua Santità, a cui è riuscito di sommo aggradimento questa nuova dimostrazione di filiale attaccamento e devoto omaggio, profondamente commossa è consolata nel rendere vive grazie a tutti quelli, che hanno preso parte all'opera generosa, in auspicio di ogni celeste favore, ed a pegno di benevolenza, impartisce di vero cuore la Benedizione Apostolica.

Roma, li 20 Aprile, 1898,

L. M. CARD. VICARIO,

Presidente della S. Visita Apostolica.

THE BEATIFICATION AND CANONIZATION OF THE VENERABLE SERVANT OF GOD IGNATIUS JENNACO, SECULAR PRIEST OF THE DIOCESE OF NAPLES

NEAPOLITANA. BEATIFICATIONIS ET CANONIZATIONIS VEN. SERVI DEI IGNATII IENNACO SACERDOTIS SAECULARIS IN ARCHIDIOECESI NEAPOLITANA

Mirabilis et misericors Deus opportune seligit ac mittit suos fideles servos, benedicens eis benedictionibus propriis in Christo haerede universorum, cuius meritis et gratia adiuti, in exemplum ac praesidium virtutis singulis hominum statibus ipsi praelucent. Temporibus etiam a nostra aetate haud dissitis florentissima, Italia ac praesertim regio Neapolitana plures vidit eiusmodi Dei famulos atque ex iis laeta adhuc commemorat servum Dei anno Ignatium Iennaco sacerdotem saecularem. Hic die 30 Aprilis 1752 in civitate Turri Annuntiata, Archidioeceseos Neapolitanae ortus, die sequenti in Ecclesia parochiali Spiritus Sancti baptismo regeneratus fuit. Boni parentes Nicolaus et Caecilia Salvatore christianam pueruli educationem suscipientes, in eo suavem docilemque indolem invenerunt. In ipsa prima aetate vocationis ecclesiastica indicia portndebat, erigendo domi parva altaria ac quotidiana pietatis exercitia et ad annua festa religiosa peragenda. Erga Beatissimam Virginem suam devotionem pandebat, tum per mariale rosarium, tum per ieiunium in sabbato. Dictis parentum obediens, si quid pecuniae ab eis vel ab aliis in praemium recipiebat, praeter morem puerorum et adolescentium, illud in Dei cultum et in hominum levamen expendebat; atque animas defunctorum piacularibus flammis addictas, stipe sacerdotibus oblata, ut sacra litarent, sublevabat. Ignatius domi, ecclesiae ac scholae amantissimus cum esset parvulus non parvuli

speciem, sed viri formam induisse videbatur. Inde accidit ut clericali statu ac veste dignus habitus sit, unanimi cleri et populi consensione. Ob progressus in studiis et in christiana cathedesi inter alumnos Seminarii Urbani Neapolitani meruit cooperari, locum tenens gratuitum. Ex actibus processualibus liquet Ignatium peculiarem finem a Sacrosancto Concilio Tridentino alumni in spem Ecclesiae succrescentibus propositum, plane assequutum fuisse. Eius pietas, modestia, obedientia et litteras ac scientiam addiscendi ardor ab ipso Ephebei Rectore ceteris clericis indicabatur. Quamvis vero, ut citius ad sacros ordines promoveretur optimum haberet testimonium, ipse tamen praetulit servare tempora singulis sacris ordinibus praefinita, alienum se ostendens a dispensationibus impetrandis. Adhuc iuvenis et vix diaconus ad humaniores litteras edocendas in praedicto Seminario electus fuit, et deinceps linguae hebraicae magister renunciatus eam maxima cum laude usque ad vitae exitum tradidit. Ad sacerdotalem dignitatem evectus sacris quotidie et devote operabatur, praedicationi verbi Dei naviter incumbere, et pari sedulitate ac discretione confessiones fidelium excipere, praecipue sequens S. Alphonsi de Ligorio doctrinam. Quod sacrum ministerium exercuit tum Neapoli praesertim in Seminario urbano, directoris spiritualis munere fungens et simul sanctuarii candidatos iuxta regulam SS. Patrum ad sacri textus intelligentiam instituens, tum in civitate Turri Annuntiata penes ecclesiam Congregationis SS^{mi} Rosarii et parocciam Spiritus Sancti. In confratres marialis rosarii, quibus erat magister pietatis atque in suos concives fervidum suum amorem, quo Eucharistiae Sacramentum atque Deiparam Perdolentem amplectebatur, transfundebat. Inde ibidem instituta ab eo tridnana expositio Ss. Eucharistiae in Maiori Hebdomada a dominica palmarum ad feriam III., et pium exercitium feriae VI. in Parasceve ad Beatissimae Mariae Virginis inexplicabiles dolores recolendos; atque illa duo opuscula eius sapientiam ac pietatem redolentia, primum super modo et ratione audiendi Missam, alterum super Virgine Matre Desolata. Decorem domus Dei dilexit atque promovit, eleemosynis etiam a fidelibus ad hunc finem collectis; insuper ut sacrae functiones rite peragerentur, ipse cantum ecclesiasticum in quo erat peritus, saepe dirigebat. Hisce aliisque operibus in Dei gloriam et in proximorum utilitatem intentus, studio et laboribus fractus; sed animo fortis et patiens dum extremo insanabili morbo afflictabatur, et sacramentis ecclesiae roboratus, die quam praedixerat 22 Decembris anno 1828,

mortem occubuit. Corpus Servi Dei in sacello Seminarii Neapolitani prius expositum ac deinceps ad civitatem natalem delatum, ultra tres dies mansit insepultum, concivibus aliquid ex veste vel ex capillis, devotionis causa, sibi diripientibus. Exequiis rite peractis, in sepultura congregationis SSmi Rosarii, tunc conditum fuit et post octodecim annos, auctoritate ecclesiastica approbante translatum in sacrarium eiusdem congregationis, sub pavimento tumulatum est. Interim fama sanctitatis quam Dei Famulus vivens acquisierat, post obitum magis inclaruit; et super ea in ecclesiastica curia neapolitana rite adornatus fuit Processus Ordinarius in Alman Urbem iam delatus, in Actis Sacrae Rituum Congregationis exhibitus et legitime apertus. Hinc rogante Rmo Dño Cosimo Stornajolo huius Causae Postulatore, Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo Papa XIII., per decreta 8 Iulii, 1891, 13 Martii, 1894 et 29 Martii, 1895, et sententiam probavit ipsius Sacri Consilii super revisione peracta scriptorum Servi Dei, et veniam indulsit proponendi, etiam ante lapsum decennii, absque interventu et voto Consultorum in Congregatione Ordinaria dubium de signanda commissione introductionis eiusdem Causae. Quare, instante praefato Postulatore, attentisque Litteris Postulatoriis aliquorum Eñorum S. R. E. Cardinalium, plurium Rmorum Antistitum, nec non Rmi Capituli Metropolitanae Ecclesiae Neapolitanae, una cum clero et populo civitatis Turris Annuntiatae praesertim e sodalibus SSmi Rosarii, Eñus et Rñus Dñus Card. Vincentius Vannutelli, ipsius Causae Ponens seu Relator, in Ordinariis Comitii, subsignata die, ad Vaticanum coadunatis, sequens dubium discutiendum proposuit: 'An sit signanda Commissio introductionis Causae in casu et ad effectum de quo agitur?' Et Sacra Rituum Congregatio, post relationem Eñi Ponentis, audito etiam R. P. D. Ioanne Baptista Lugari Sanctae Fidei Promotore, omnibusque rite expensis, rescribendum censuit: 'Affirmative, seu signandam esse Commissionem, si Sanctissimo Domino placuerit.' Die 7 Decembris, 1897.

Quibus omnibus Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leoni Papae XIII per infrascriptum Cardinalem Sacrae Rituum Congregationis Praefectum relatis, Sanctitas Sua Rescriptum Sacrae ipsius Congregationis ratum habens, propria manu signare dignata est Commissionem Introductionis Causae Venerabilis Servi Dei Ignatii Iennaco, die undecima iisdem mense et anno.

CAMILLUS CARD. MAZZELLA, S. R. C. Praefectus.

L. ✱ S

DIOMEDES PANICI, S. R. C. Secretarius.

contrasts and harmonizes, one by one, the salient stages through which, in that theory, the universe passed, with those which are disposed of 'in a few pithy sentences' by the inspired writer of Genesis. Whoever the latter was, he does not, it is true, formally base his narrative on the nebular theory. But if the ideas and events described, stripped of that technical word-clothing so dear to the scientific heart, are precisely the same in both, what right has man to grumble if the inspired writer spoke not learnedly of primordial fire-mist, of nebulae and star-clusters, of aqueous rocks and glacial epochs, of moneron and mammals? His work was to be, not the scientific treatise of a Geikie or a Sir Robert Ball, but the 'Book of Ages.'

To most, if not to all, of the usual points of difficulty our author gives the customary solution, clothed, however, with a certain freshness and vigour which stamps it as the sterling truth, 'ever ancient, yet ever new.' Nevertheless, the perfections of his work are not wholly unmingled. As far as we can see, he has, in some instances, quite unnecessarily adopted a line of argument which is calculated to leave the sacred narrative, if we may be pardoned the expression, 'in a corner.' It was quite sufficient for his purpose to show that there is nothing in Genesis irreconcilable with the nebular hypothesis; but the beauty of perfect harmony lured him on to maintain that the events described in the first chapter of Genesis are identical with the cardinal points of that theory. Now, identicals stand and fall together; and while Genesis is a record of facts, the nebular theory is—just what it is. Suppose it should some day succumb to age and infirmity, what is to become of the historical authority of Genesis? Mr. Smith may have a firm and lively faith in the nebular theory—indeed, he holds it to be 'no speculation, but a truth actually fortified by Revelation'—but so the whole world for ages swore by the Ptolemaic system; and who knows but an enlightened generation, in the thirtieth century, may read with indulgent pity of those benighted days when the best that science could offer to the world was the nebular hypothesis!

Again, Mr. Smith's chapter on that question of questions, the duration of the Mosaic day, possesses a startling interest. Hitherto we had possessed our souls in the comfortable conviction that in this matter there were three more or less respectable opinions to choose from. Now, however, we are assured that both the literal and period theories are 'not only without authority, but

erroneous and misleading,' thus leaving the allegorical interpretation the only possible. The Mosaic days are simply mental pictures of the universe at select stages of its evolution. 'Through one interminable day, divisible into any number of convenient intellectual views (for purposes of exposition), the primitive world unfolded its own development, and the inspired writer describes it accordingly.'

We have no objection to the author's choice, and nothing but praise for his able exposition of it; but we see no grounds for stigmatizing all other interpretations as 'grave errors,' and we believe it not less in accord with the interests of Genesis than with the unanimous opinion of contemporary Catholic writers, that apologists should not be reduced to one bare opinion on a question still probably in its infancy.

Five plates are inserted in the work. Three of these are ideal pictures of the probable state of our solar system at intervals during the Hexaemeron; the others are very fair representations of 'the great Nebula in Orion and the 'Ring (spiral?) Nebula iubanes Venatici,' two corners of creation where the history of our Genesis is supposed by astronomers to be slowly repeating itself. Seeing that the book is published at the rate of about a penny per leaf, an appendix of a few pages, or even an occasional allusion explanatory of these plates (at present left to introduce themselves) would be more useful for the average reader than the appended forty-page catalogue of the publishers, which can be had for a post-card.

Of course, Mr. Smith can scarcely claim to have made more than a fragmentary contribution to the literature of the subject; and one prefatory remark, that 'in the following pages abundant proof is given that the several phenomena recorded in the first chapter of Genesis are scientifically certain,' surely savours somewhat of exaggeration. Still brevity is the soul as well of wisdom as of wit; and we feel justified in saying that the average quality of this modest booklet is inversely proportional to its quantity. It offers to the educated Catholic (or Christian, for that matter) a reliable key to the solution of those 'difficulties' against the Mosaic Cosmogony which, if they do not voluntarily present themselves to the believing scientist, are sure to be triumphantly shaken in his face by the votary of pure reason.'

J. W. B.

THE COMMANDMENTS EXPLAINED, ACCORDING TO THE TEACHING AND DOCTRINES OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.
By the Rev. Arthur Devine, Passionist, Author of *The Creed Explained*, &c. London: R. Washbourne, 18 Paternoster-row. New York, Cincinnati, and Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

WE have no hesitation in saying that this volume will prove an immense boon to many missionary priests. There is no duty that falls to the lot of the minister of Christ of more abiding importance than that of nourishing the souls committed to his charge with the sacred food of Christian doctrine, and teaching them the nature of the moral obligations by which they are bound towards their Creator so that they may walk securely in the path of His commandments. It is in the faithful observance of these that their future happiness is made to depend by our Lord Himself, and it is clearly the lips of the pastor that, to a great extent, must enlighten them with regard to what is opposed to divine law, and what is not. Now, of course, there are numerous treatises that deal with this branch of theology. These are the manuals that are in every student's hand in college, and there are many more besides. But all these tomes are, as a rule, written in Latin, and we doubt whether the ordinary missionary priest would not prefer to consult some book written in a language which he can, at least, better appreciate, when he wants information on a given subject. It may be easy to read Gury, for instance, to prepare for a call in class, but it is not so easy to translate his terse terminology into English that would be intelligible to average congregations. This, then, to our minds, is obviously one of the great advantages of the book before us, that it gives us, ready at hand, a clear, intelligible, and exhaustive exposition of each of the principal moral obligations that devolve upon us as Christians and members of the society of the world.

Father Devine has spared neither labour nor research with a view to arrive at the soundest judgment on every question he has treated of. He has not only consulted the ordinary standard works on theology, but he has also gone into unbeaten tracks, and introduced to us the most up-to-date as well as the most reliable views on those scores of interesting problems that are to be met with at every step in the social and moral ethics of the

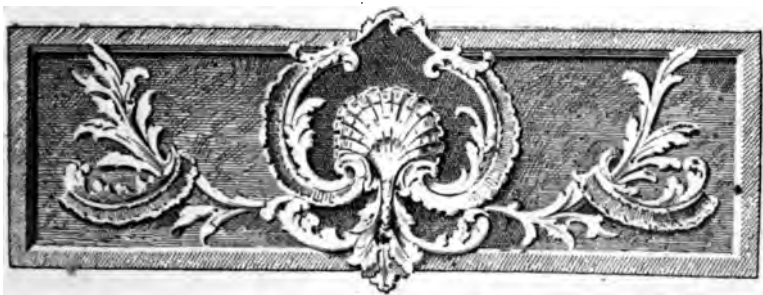
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The result is most pleasing, for he has thus made his book once authoritative and interesting.

The method followed is closely allied to that pursued in mostologies. In some instances we were inclined to find fault, cause, in our opinion, he delayed too long over questions that are not of a very practical aspect, and overlooked others of a more practical character ; but cases of such a kind are very rare. In general, every question comes in for its due share of treatment. The style of the author is very readable ; in fact, it is exceptionally good, when we consider how difficult a thing it is to clothe technical theological expressions in suitable English dress.

We trust, now that this very valuable treatise has been brought under the notice of our readers, that it will meet with a share of patronage which it so well deserves.

P. M.



'HELBECK OF BANNISDALE': AN IMPRESSION

What do you mean by 'soul?' Have I a soul? And what do you suppose is going to happen to it?¹

IN the foremost rank of the novelists of the day stands the figure of Mrs. Humphrey Ward, a writer of great power, freshness, and originality. Her bent of mind and training are such that social and religious questions, the doubts and cravings of the human mind and heart, possess for her a well-nigh irresistible attraction; and it is with such subjects that her novels are mainly concerned. Any ordinary writer would naturally shrink from introducing such questions into his works, and that not so much from lack of appreciation of their importance, as from a certain diffidence of being able to treat of them in such a way as to render them acceptable to his readers; or to subordinate them to the exigencies of the plot of his story. Herein lies Mrs. Ward's opportunity. By sheer force of intellect, allied to imaginative powers of much brilliancy, and wielding a style which rivets the attention of the reader, she carries even the most inobservant along the current of her story, and compels him to realise the vastness and the importance of the questions she is debating through the mouths of her characters. There is a living actuality about her works which no one can fail to apprehend; and her mental outlook is broad enough to embrace almost everything which is

¹ *Helbeck of Bannisdale*, p. 328.

deemed worthy of consideration by the thinkers and philosophers of our time. Such as have read *Robert Elsmere*, *David Grieve*, *Marcella*, and *Sir George Tressady*, will understand the drift of my remarks; and all who have read the foregoing works are sure to find a rare intellectual treat in Mrs. Ward's latest publication—*Helbeck of Bannisdale*.

This book, in my opinion, is one of her best; nay, I would even go so far as to say her very best, under certain aspects. It is sure to be read far and wide. In fact, at the present moment one hears of little else in educated circles; and from what most of us know concerning the unspeakable amount of ignorance and prejudice existing in England, even to-day, respecting the Catholic religion and what it really inculcates, I am persuaded that this book will be the means of doing a vast amount of good. Its author may not have intended this. But the fact remains that she has put before the world a picture of Catholic life and feeling; not, of course, without a certain element of indistinctness, but in the main correct and even sympathetic, which cannot fail to make a profound and lasting impression on thousands of minds to which the Catholic Church so far has stood for narrowness of mind, falsity of ethical principle, corruption, and sordidness. For this we have all reason to feel grateful. Just now the Protestant Establishment in this country is face to face with a crisis which no amount of trimming and compromise on the part of her rulers can turn aside; and which may be the means, under God, of bringing thousands of our separated brethren into the barque of Peter. At such a juncture anything and everything that helps to put the Catholic Church in a favourable light before the minds of the people of this great country, ought to be welcomed and looked upon in the light of an ally in the unrelenting contest between the powers of truth and error.

The scene of this story is laid in Westmoreland, a county with which Mrs. Humphrey Ward seems to be as well acquainted as Kingsley was in his day with Devonshire. The result of this intimate knowledge is that we are treated to descriptions rich in local colouring, and introduced to quaintly interesting characters, drawn from the stable and

cow-shed, who stand vividly before us in all their native *gaucherie* and breadth of accent; full of wise saws and shrewd observations which import no small amount of piquancy and picturesqueness to the narrative.

The hero of the story is one Alan Helbeck, a Catholic squire, with the blood of thirty generations of Papists coursing in his veins, and residing at Bannisdale, upon the remnant of what was once a large and profitable estate, in a mansion upon which the hand of time has rudely printed the traces of its progress. The country round about is greatly diversified:—

Slopes and scars, and wooded fells, a medley of lovely lines, of pastures and copses, of villages clinging to the hills, each with its church tower and its white, spreading farms—a land of homely charm and comfort, gently bounding the marsh below it, and cut off by the seething clouds in the north-west from the mountains towards which it climbed.

Helbeck is an ideal Catholic, with scarcely a thought for himself or his own wants; devoting all his time, his energies, and his wealth to the sacred cause of Holy Church, and that from a deep-rooted sense of duty which rendered him equal to almost any sacrifice. At the time the novel opens he is thirty-five years of age, a solitary inhabitant of the mansion which had sheltered many a priest in the dark and bitter days of persecution. In person he is described for us as being a remarkably tall man with a dark head, and short frizzled beard, holding himself very erect as a soldier holds himself, though he had never been a soldier. He is full of dignity; distant, reserved, yet showing no trace of pride, and of charming manners, as becomes the descendant of a noble stock. The only immediate relation Helbeck possesses is his sister Augustina, who had been taken to wife, *en secondes nocces*, by an atheistical Cambridge Professor named Stephen Fountain. The father of this man Fountain was the son of a small farmer who lived in the hill country above Bannisdale. Endowed by nature more richly than his fellows he left home and entered on a small situation at Newcastle. His son, Stephen, inherited his talent, and, by dint of hard study and determination to succeed, ultimately

found himself in the enjoyment of a small chair in Cambridge University. When spending his holidays at a small sea-side resort near his native Westmoreland, a widower with his only child, a girl of eight, he comes across Augustina Helbeck, and, moved to pity by the loneliness of her life, he proposes marriage and is accepted. Fountain has an interview with his future brother-in-law at Bannisdale, and is deeply impressed by the squire's superb good looks and courteous reserve of manner :—


‘I am one of those people,’ said the Professor, ‘who don’t trouble themselves about the affairs of another world, and I can’t present myself in church, even for Augustina.’

The result is that, notwithstanding the powerful pleading of her brother, Augustina marries Fountain without a dispensation, and in a Registry Office. She practically ceases to be a Catholic. After some uneventful years of married life her health began to fail. Fountain himself is brought to an early grave full of bitterness and disappointment. When on his death-bed he was greatly troubled for the future of Augustina, and earnestly recommended her to the care of his daughter :—

‘Take care of her, Laura,’ he said, ‘till she gets strong.’ Look after her. But you can’t sacrifice your life. It may be Christian, ‘he added, in a murmur, but it isn’t sense.’

The shock of her husband’s death, and her own indifferent health, moved Augustina to sincere repentance. She made her peace with the Church, and at the same time with her brother, who forgives her everything and offers her a home in Bannisdale. This offer is accepted; and the arrival of Augustina with her step-daughter, Laura Fountain, at the ancient home of the Helbecks is chronicled in the opening chapter of the novel. This is the first meeting of the hero and heroine of the book—Helbeck and Laura.

I can safely aver that the whole range of fiction may be searched for two characters more essentially dissimilar and antagonistic than these two. At first sight there would seem to be an impassable gulf separating them. Helbeck is thirty-five, a man of marked austerity of life, a Franciscan tertiary,



bound to the Church by a thousand claims of love and service ; rigorous in his own regard, indulgent to others. In fine, a character of singular charm and irresistible pathos. He represents, as the author makes someone say, Catholicism at its best—' a type sprung from the best English blood, disciplined by heroic memories, by the persecutions and hardships of the Penal Laws.'

But Laura ! How do justice to such a complex character ! Mrs. Ward describes her as ' the pure product of an environment.' A product, if I may add, which received a fatal bias at a time when feeling was more potent in her than reason. She loved her father with an intense love. From hearing scraps of his conversation she came gradually to imbibe his spirit. She felt instinctively that he had failed, that the world had refused him a hearing, and this sense of failure served only to draw her the more closely to him. She shares his likes and dislikes, his hatreds, his contempts without being able to explain why or wherefore. In a word, she is dominated by *feeling*. Though baptized as an infant in the Church of England, she is now, at the age of twenty, absolutely destitute of all religious belief, and filled with a sense of unutterable loathing for all that Catholics hold most sacred. When referring to Fountain's influence over his daughter, Mrs. Ward makes Dr. Friedland, who is heard for a few too brief moments in the book, say of him :—

' He makes Laura a child of knowledge, a child of freedom, a child of revolution—without an ounce of training to fit her for the part. It is like an heir flung to the gypsies. Then you put her to the test—sorely—conspicuously, and she stands fast—she does not yield—it is not in her blood, scarcely in her power to yield.'

The domain of poetry was the only one into which Fountain introduced his daughter. She taught herself German to taste the delight of reading Heine and Goethe with him : and it astonished him now and then to note what capacity she had, not only for the feeling, but for the sensuous pleasure of poetry. ' Lines, sounds, haunted her for days, the beauty of them would make her start and tremble. Added to this there was her love for music, ' the only study

which ever conquered her indolence.' Brahms, Wagner, and Chopin ruled her in the domain of music with the same potency as Shelley and Rossetti did in poetry.

We can hardly say that she was endowed with the *dono infelice della bellezza*. When Helbeck first cast eyes on her he noticed that 'she was very small and slight, her hair made a spot of gold against the oak panelling of the walls ; ' and then the auther tells us of 'the brilliance of her eyes—large and greenish-grey, with a marked black line round the iris.'

Such is the young creature who now takes up her abode in Bannisdale, coming daily into contact with Alan Helbeck. She observes him closely ; noticing the strict fashion in which he carries out the Lenten observance. She sees him starting in the early morning without breakfast on his long walk to the nearest Catholic Church in the neighbouring town. She comes to know of the great sacrifices he has made to build churches and orphanages. Yet all this tends but to intensify her dislike of all things Catholic. There is a private chapel at Bannisdale with the privilege of reserving the Blessed Sacrament. Laura dreads the idea of entering it. Once she crosses its threshold. It is her first glimpse of a Catholic Church. She stares at the altar with a scornful repugnance. 'God, the Christ of Calvary, in that gilt box upon the altar !' At the mere thought of this her whole being is swept by a wave of passionate repulsion.

An important incident in the story is Laura's visit to her father's cousins, the Masons, whose farm is situated in the hill country above Bannisdale. She goes there for the first time on a Sunday, to find Mrs. Mason and her daughter away at church. The only son of the family, Hubert Mason, a lout by nature, coarse and sensual, but broad-shouldered and athletic, is at home. The contrast between this man and Helbeck is finely brought out, and serves, no doubt, a very useful purpose in the hands of the author. Mrs. Mason is one of the most ignorant and narrow-minded provincial Church of England Protestants conceivable. Her hatred of Catholics is increased a hundred-fold by the weekly diatribes of a creature named Bailey, the local curate. The thought

of Laura, a blood-relation of hers, being under the one roof with Helbeck is almost enough to give the good woman a fit of apoplexy :—

'Why art tha not at church on t' Lord's day?' she demands of Laura.

'Because,' comes the ready response, 'I'm not of your sort either. I don't believe in your church or your ministers. Father didn't, and I'm like him.'

Mrs. Mason persists :—

'Dost tha hate Alan Helbeck?'

The girl hesitates. The bluntness of the question almost unbalances her; she experiences a strange inward feeling, and then wildly answers :—

'Yes!—No, no!—that's silly. I haven't had time to hate him. But I don't like him, anyway. I'm nearly sure I *shall* hate him.'

Hate him, however, she does not—cannot. In fact, she feels herself gradually drawn towards him by some overmastering influence against which her innate antipathies are almost powerless. Helbeck, too, feels himself strangely influenced in her regard. Is it pity; is it compassion for her isolation; her want of spiritual perception? The scene in the chapel when the children from the orphanage assist at Rosary and Benediction—Laura, too, being present—is very touching. He glances in her direction, and notices the varying impressions that fill her mind, half in awe, half in rebellion. He prays for her :—

The words falling slow and deliberate within his consciousness. And she could not resent it or stop it. It was an aggression before which she was helpless; it struck down the protest of her pale look.

Helbeck is greatly perturbed by the frequency of Laura's visits to the Masons. He knows what an evil reputation Hubert Mason has won for himself, and shudders at the idea of Laura's coming in contact with such a character. When he sees the real nature of his own feelings towards this little pagan, he takes considerable pains to keep aloof from her society, and frequently absents himself from

Bannisdale on the plea of business. He recognises ~~what a~~ union with Laura would mean to him :—

‘It would be the betrayal of great trusts, the ~~annulment~~ of great opportunities. My life would centre in ~~her~~. She would come first—the Church second. Her nature would work on mine—not mine on hers. Could I ever speak to her even of what I believe?—the very alphabet of it is unknown to her. I shrink from proselytism. God forgive me!—it is her wild pagan self that I love—that I desire.’

The visit of Laura with Polly Mason to Froswick to meet Herbert Mason and another leads up to the chief crisis in the work. The chapters in which the incidents of this visit are described are probably the finest in the work. The horribly sudden accident in the steel works serves a very useful purpose, and is magnificently described. Laura misses her train, and is able to get only part of the way towards Bannisdale by midnight. She is alarmed to find that young Mason has followed her; but she eludes him, and elects to spend the night in a quarry alone and unprotected. Helbeck meanwhile awaits her arrival at Bannisdale, almost beside himself with dread for the girl's reputation, not, perhaps, without a suspicion of jealousy. All through the night he paces his study in an agony of suspense. Laura reaches Bannisdale shortly after dawn, quite overcome with fatigue. Helbeck, when he has heard the account of her adventures, declares his love, which he finds reciprocated to the fullest.

‘It's the strangest thing in the world,’ says Laura, ‘that we should love each other. What can it mean? I hated you when I came, and meant to hate you, and I can never, never be a Catholic.’

The news of Helbeck's engagement causes no small amount of surprise to friends and foes; some are even scandalized by the announcement. Laura spends much time in earnest conversation with her future husband. We feel as we follow them the full truth of the author's description of Laura as ‘a creature of excess, of poignant and indelible impressions.’ At one moment she shrinks ‘bewildered before the fancied bliss of yielding,’ whilst on

another occasion she plainly tells Helbeck that there is something in her 'that fears nothing—not even the breaking of both our hearts.' She cannot bring herself to understand the motive which induces Helbeck to make so many and so great sacrifices for the Church. She dips into the lives of the saints, and comes across a passage in the life of St. Francis Borgia which brings to the front all her old instincts of repulsion and contempt :—

'It is, she declares, that horrible egotism of religion that poisons everything . . . What can one do but hate—hate—hate it!'

This leads up to that magnificent scene in which Helbeck puts before her the story of his life :—

'I will tell you,' he cries out, 'the only story that a man truly knows—the story of his own soul. You shall know—what you hate.'

This is probably one of the finest touches in the whole novel. It effects a revolution in the mind of Laura. 'The woman had suddenly blossomed from the girl.' She recognises clearly the grandeur, the nobility, of Helbeck's character. 'It would be a crime to marry him,' she said, with a dull resolve that was beyond weeping.

The better to put this resolve into effect, and to preserve herself from all risk of relapse, Laura flies from Bannisdale, and betakes herself to Cambridge, where she is welcomed by Dr. Friedland, an old and valued friend of her father's. Helbeck follows her, and pleads his cause with all the passion and tenderness of which he is capable. In vain. He is forced to return to Bannisdale alone, with an added weight to the burden of his lonesome, desolate life. The end, however, is not yet. Augustina becomes suddenly worse; and Laura is summoned to her side. She notices the change that has come over Helbeck, who treats her as he would a mere acquaintance. Augustina implores Laura, as a dying request, to come to some understanding with her brother. A relic of St. John of the Cross is brought to the dying Augustina by a Carmelite Father. The sight of it fills Laura with a sensation of horror. She shows this

so unmistakably that Helbeck is almost rude to her. An interview follows—this time of Laura's seeking—during which their old affection re-asserts itself, even more intensely. Laura asks if she may receive instruction as to the Catholic religion. Helbeck warns her of the gravity of the step she proposes taking, and begs of her not to do so from a motive of pity for Augustina, or from a wish to give her comfort in dying:—

'Are there not many motives,' asks Laura, 'many ways? I want to give Augustina happiness—and—and to satisfy many questions of my own.'

The old leaven is still so strong in her that she will even stipulate the manner and the way in which she is to be instructed in the mysteries of the faith. As she puts it:—

'Not "Lives of the Saints," I think, and not "Catechisms," or "Outlines;" just a building up from the beginning by somebody who found it hard, *very* hard, to believe, and yet did believe.'

Helbeck is beside himself with delight at hearing this. He cries out:—

'Laura, what does it mean?—my head turns.'

'It means, came the reply, 'that either you must love me or—well—I must die.'

Laura anticipates the pleasure that Augustina will feel when she hears the good news. But even as she and Helbeck are exchanging confidences a sudden cry is heard, loud and piercing. They fly to the sick chamber to find Mrs. Fountain on the point of expiring: 'Receive Thy servant, O Lord, into the place of salvation she hopes from Thy mercy.' Laura craves for one look from the dying woman. But even that is denied her. How cruel of Providence to snatch this frail life away ere she had heard the good tidings for which she had so ardently prayed and yearned. Laura remains alone with the dead. She takes the cold hand of Augustina in hers, and then the thought of the step she is about to take seizes hold of her. She imagines it is her father's hand that is clasped in hers, and hears him say distinctly, 'Laura, you cannot do it—*you cannot do it.*' What is she to do? To open all the old

wounds again; to strike and leave Helbeck again; or to remain and live a lie. There is but one escape from this intolerable situation—suicide. 'Oh! if God hears, may He forgive me.' Early next morning Helbeck found her in the bosom of the 'tyrant river,' and in the long agony which ensued his 'soul parted for ever with the first fresh pang to suffer. Neither life nor death could ever stab in such wise again.' He ends his life as a Jesuit. 'Have I a soul?' she had once asked him, 'and what do you suppose is going to happen to it?' To that question Helbeck vouchsafed no answer; and from a close study of her character and motives it is not easy to reply to it. For my part, Helbeck's infatuation from beginning to end gives me the impression of being unreal and improbable.

Of the other characters which pass before us in this remarkable book old Father Bowles is not the least original, with his hatred of blue-bottle flies, and his love for the smell of burning wax. We are told that he

Disliked Jesuits, and religious generally, if the truth were known. He had no love for modern innovations, or modern devotions; there was a hidden Gallican strain in him; and he firmly believed that in the old days before Catholic Emancipation, and before the Oxford movement, the Church had made more converts than she did now.

A different and finer type of priest is the Jesuit, Leadham. He is a convert, and a distinguished Cambridge man. Needless to say, he has nothing in common with the old priest of whom he has heard, 'who thanked God he had never received anyone into the Church;' on the contrary, he sharply reminds Helbeck in the course of conversation, that 'England is a baptized nation, and is therefore in a supernatural state.'

He gave a strong inward assent to the judgment that—

'The older Catholic priests of this country are, as a rule, lamentably unfit for their work. Our chance in England is broadening every year,' he said to himself. 'How are we to seize it with such tools? But all round we want *men*. Oh! for a few more of those who were out in forty-five!'

He clearly recognises the 'thorny charm' that was Laura's peculiar possession, and anticipated its probable

effect on Helbeck. There is one disagreeable excrescence in this otherwise homogeneous work, and that is Williams, the Jesuit scholastic. One fails utterly to see what right he has to make his appearance at all. But probably Mrs. Ward used him to show her acquaintance with the details of what to most well-informed people is an unknown system.

Daffaday, Mrs. Mason's farm labourer, is another character who cannot fail to interest and amuse the reader. He is a Wesleyan, and, like most others of that ilk, addicted to preaching. He sometimes gives his mistress an unpleasant *quart d'heure* by his allusions to paid ministers and other Anglican institutions. He has a marked prejudice, like most humble folk, to a poor 'buryin.' Referring to such a case, he speaks contemptuously of the viands put before the mourners:—

'Nowt but tay, an sic-like. Wal, I've buried three childer—an I'm nobbut a labrin mon—but a thank the Lord I ha buried tham aw—wi' ham.'

On one occasion he tells Laura—

'We'd a deal to larn from Romanists i' soom ways. Noo, their noshun o' Purgatory—I daurna say a word for 't when t' minister's taakin—but I'll uphod yo, its juist handy? Heaven an hell are verra well fort' foak as are ower good, or ower bad—but t' moast o' foak are juist a mish-mash.'

As I have already said the Catholic Church fills the book, and on the whole the author represents her claims and her position fairly and intelligently. Many a Protestant who reads it must tremble, as Laura did, 'before the claims of this great visible system.' We read again that—

The figure of the Church, spouse or captive, bride or martyr, as she has become personified in Catholic imagination, is surely among the greatest, the most ravishing of human conceptions.

Few Protestants will care to read what Mrs. Ward has to say of the Catholic doctrine of the Mass. 'Marvellous, indestructible belief!—that brings God to man, that satisfies the deepest emotions of the human heart.' 'What,' we are asked, 'will the religion of the free mind discover to put in its place?' Nothing; and hence its failure; hence that

turning towards the teaching Church which wields an authority not of this world, which is evident on all sides to-day.

'I often think,' says Dr. Friedland, 'we should be the better for some chair of 'The Inner Life' at an English university. What does the ordinary Protestant know of all these treasures of spiritual experiences which Catholicism has secreted for centuries? *There* is the debt of debts that we all owe to the Catholic Church.'

Catholics, in turn, owe a debt of gratitude to Mrs. Ward for this book taken as a whole. It is being read at the present moment by thousands, and from the little I know of the English Protestant mind, its prejudices, its moral outlook, I have no hesitation in declaring it will make for truth and righteousness.

RICHARD A. O'GORMAN, O.S.A.

THE MYSTICAL SENSE OF SCRIPTURE

VIII.

UP to this we have been listening to what the greatest authority on Scripture has to tell us about the meaning of God's words, as those words are reported by the prophet Isaias to whom they were spoken. So much for the exegetical explanation of the passage—now for the dogmatic. As St. Jerome is *par excellence* the Church's commentator, so is St. Thomas her theologian. To him, therefore, we now turn. All that are conversant with his works know that in biblical interpretation, his vast erudition embracing everything treated of up to his own time and his all-penetrating theological acumen frequently lead him to precisely the same results as are obtained to-day by the best modern means and methods. He has an article in the *Summa*¹ which is the best theological commentary on the twin passages of Exodus and of Isaias that ever was written. The article is too long for insertion, but we will quote a part of it:—

Excaecatio et obduratio duo important. Quorum unum est motus animi humani inhaerentis malo, et aversi a divino lumine; et quantum ad hoc Deus non est causa excaecationis et obdurationis, sicut non est causa peccati. Aliud autem est subtractio gratiae, ex qua sequitur quod mens divinitus non illuminetur ad recte vivendum, et cor hominis non emolliatur ad recte vivendum; et quantum ad hoc Deus est causa excaecationis et obdurationis. Unde causa subtractionis gratiae est non solum ille qui ponit obstaculum gratiae, sed etiam Deus qui suo iudicio gratiam non apponit. Et per hunc modum Deus est causa excaecationis, et aggravationis aurium, et obdurationis cordis; quae quidem distinguuntur secundum effectus gratiae, quae et perficit intellectum dono sapientiae, et affectum emollit igne charitatis. Et quia ad cognitionem intellectus maxime deservunt duo sensus, scilicet visus et auditus, quorum unus deservit inventioni, scilicet visus, alius disciplinae, scilicet auditus ideo quantum ad visum, ponitur excaecatio; quantum ad auditum, aurium aggravatio; quantum ad affectum, obduratio.

¹ 1^a 2^a, q. lxxix., art. 3.

But God is not the cause, absolutely speaking, of spiritual blindness or the privation of grace, in the sense just now explained; He is its negative cause, and that only in the hypothesis of man's being unwilling to receive grace or to be enlightened:—

Hominem carere gratia ex duobus contingit, tum quia iste non vult recipere, tum quia Deus non sibi (i.e. *isti*) infundit vel non vult sibi (i.e. *isti*) infundere. Horum autem duorum talis est ordo, ut secundum non sit nisi ex suppositione primi. Cum enim Deus non velit nisi bonum, non vult istum carere gratia, nisi secundum quod bonum est; sed quod iste careat gratia, non est bonum simpliciter, unde hoc absolute consideratum non est volitum a Deo. Est tamen bonum ut careat gratia, si eam habere non vult vel si ad eam habendam negligenter se preparat, quia justum est, et hoc modo est volitum a Deo. Patet ergo quod hujus defectus absolute prima causa est ex parte hominis qui gratia caret; sed ex parte Dei non est causa hujus defectus nisi ex suppositione illius, quod est ex parte hominis.¹

God, in thus withholding His grace, is the just and all-righteous cause of reprobation:—

Hoc ipsum quod aliquis non ponit obstaculum gratiae, ex gratia procedit; unde si aliquis ponat, et tamen moveatur cor ejus ad removendum illud, hoc est ex dono gratiae Dei. Quod ergo a quibusdam removetur istud obstaculum, hoc est ex misericordia Dei; quod autem non removetur, hoc est ex justitia ejus.²

In no sense is God the cause of sin. For His own all-wise ends He does not hinder its commission:—

Aliter se habet reprobatio in causando quam praedestinatio. Nam praedestinatio est causa, et ejus quod expectatur in futura vita a praedestinatīs, scilicet gloriae, et ejus quod percipitur in praesenti, scilicet gratiae. Reprobatio vero non est causa ejus quod est in praesenti, scilicet culpae; sed est causa derelictionis a Deo.³

Licet mala fieri, et mala non fieri contradictorie opponuntur, tamen velle mala fieri, et velle mala non fieri non opponuntur contradictorie, cum utrumque sit affirmativum. Deus igitur neque vult mala fieri, neque vult mala non fieri, sed vult *permittere* mala fieri. Et hoc est bonum.⁴

¹ 1 Dist. 40, q. 4, art. 2.

² In Ep. ad Heb. cap. 12.

³ 1^a p. q. xxiii., art. 3, ad. 2.

⁴ *Ib.* q. xix., art. 9, ad. 3.

In these passages St. Thomas¹ has developed the doctrine as no other could, of his great compeer, St. Augustine, who says :—

Nec obdurat Deus impertiendo malitiam, sed non impertiendo misericordiam.

*And,*² Nemo igitur quaerat causam efficientem malae voluntatis quia nec illa est effectio, sed defectio.

Deus induravit Pharoanem per justum iudicium, et ipse se Phraao per liberum arbitrium.

Hic apparet non illas tantum fuisse causas obdurationis cordis Pharaonis, quod incantatores ejus similia faciebant ; verum etiam ipsam Dei patientiam, qua parcebat. Patientia Dei secundum corda hominum, quibusdam utilis ad poenitendum, quibusdam inutilis ad resistendum Deo et in malo perseverandum, non tamen per se ipsam inutilis est, sed secundum cor malum.³

Sic intelligendum est, ac si diceret, Ego enim patiens fui super eum et servos ejus, ut non eos auferrem, ut ordine superveniant signa mea super eos. Quia enim patientia Dei obstinator fiebat malus animus, ideo pro eo quod est, Patiens in eum fui, dicitur, *Gravavi cor ejus*.

Ut obduratio Dei sit, *nolle misereri*, ut non ab illo irrogetur aliquid quo homo sit deterior, sed tantum quo sit melior non irrogatur.

St. Augustine did not write on Isaias, nor, as it seems after a careful examination, did he even once quote St. Jerome's translation of chap. vi. 9, 10. That translation appeared about A.D. 390 ; but, so far as we can see, in none of all St. Augustine's numerous works, written subsequently to that period, is any use made of St. Jerome's rendering of our passage. As is well known, he was at first strongly

¹ St. Thomas in his commentary on Isaias says :—‘ *Audite audientes.* Hic ponitur sententia : et primo ponitur sententia obdurationis. Non obdurat autem immitendo malitiam, sed non impertiendo gratiam ; et quia non se volunt ad gratiam convertere.’ But as an alternative explanation, he afterwards remarks : ‘ Vel est verbum Domini, et est sensus, *Excaeca*, id est excaecatum praedica.’ However, in his commentary on the place in St. Matthew, where the words are quoted from Isaias, he reverts to the true interpretation. He writes thus : ‘ In ista obduratione causa per se est homo, Deus vero non indurat nisi in non impertiendo gratiam. Deus ergo indurat, quia non dat gratiam ; sed homo, quia imponit sibi impedimentum lumini ; ideo istis imputatur quod oculos clausurunt.’ St. Thomas is more scientific in his theology than in his exegesis ; nevertheless the conclusions are the same. This appears clearly when his commentaries are compared with the article in the *Summa* (1^a 8^{ae}, q. lxxix. 3), a part of which was quoted above. The text of the article is ‘ *Excaeca cor populi hujus, et aures ejus aggrava.*’

² De Civitate Dei, lib. xii. c. 7.

³ Quaest. in Exodum, q. xxiv.

opposed to St. Jerome's undertaking, but as time went on he learned to appreciate its value. He, indeed, speaks repeatedly of the rejection of the Jews, but almost always it is about those who refused to believe in our Lord. In his *Quaestiones in Matthaeum* (written about A.D. 400), he explains our passage as it is quoted there (according to the Septuagint); in his *Tractatus in Joannem* (written about A.D. 416), he comments on it as it appears there (in agreement with the Hebrew), without, however, making any remark on the cause of the difference, or even alluding to St. Jerome's version. The *Itala* or old Latin version of Isaias, of which St. Augustine was always so fond from the time he commenced to read it at St. Ambrose's suggestion, was a translation of the Septuagint (so called). As regards the true interpretation of our passage, therefore, St. Augustine was apparently at a disadvantage. For his *Quaestiones in Exodum*, St. Augustine had in the *Itala* a translation which showed him both sides of the picture, or the twofold origin of Pharaoh's obduracy; but as regards Isaias vi. 9, 10, he appears to have been much in the same position as the Greek fathers that had only the Septuagint (*so called*), or a version agreeing with it.¹

Eusebius, St. Basil, St. John Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, Theodoret of Cyr, and Procopius of Gaza, all of whom were dependent on Greek translations, regard the passage as prophetic, and speak exclusively of the obstinacy and wilful blindness of the Jews. Origen, indeed, had every exegetical means at his command, but we do not know how he explained the passage in his commentary, for it is no longer extant. In his sixth homily on Isaias—perhaps because it was a homily—he follows the Septuagint reading, and then interprets it about the unbelieving Jews of our Lord's time.

¹ As is well known, only the Pentateuch was at first translated into Greek. It alone can justly claim to be the 'Septuagint.' St. Jerome says:—'*Josephus enim scribit et Hebraei tradunt quinque tantum libros Moysi ab eis (lxx.) translato et Ptolomaeo regi contraditos.*' The remaining portions of the Hebrew Bible were afterwards translated, and the translations are apparently the work of several persons. They have not much in common, and though they are very different from the Pentateuch, nevertheless, the name 'Septuagint' as being a suitable designation was in course of time extended to them all.

From the fathers let us pass to the Catholic commentators on Isaias of more recent date, until we reach those of our own day. It must be said that they are not unanimous as regards the interpretation of the passage. Foreiro,¹ one of the most learned, takes the verbs (*make dull, &c.*) as imperatives, and agrees with the exposition given above. Estius does the same, both here and in his *scholia* on Exodus ix. Mariana says very little about verse 10, and not one word about the theological difficulty it contains; but he admits that the verbs are imperatives. Malvenda prefers to take them as imperatives. Bade, who goes into the whole matter thoroughly, shows that the imperatives must be explained so as to preserve their own essential meaning, and all the more so on account of the presence of the final particles '*al*' and '*pen*.' Schegg also agrees completely with what has been said in these pages, and the remarks he makes on the manifestation of God's deliberate purpose leave nothing to be desired. Le Hir, Fillion, Loch, and Reischl all say that God gave the Prophet Isaias a command to blind the Jews of his own time. Knabenbauer also holds this to be the true meaning, and indeed his commentary on the passage is by far the best that has come under the notice of the present writer.

On the other side, A Lapide prefers to explain the words in the sense of an announcement regarding the future. Calmet also discourses at great length about the verbal differences between the Hebrew and the Septuagint, without going deep enough into the matter; then mistakes the meaning of the Hebrew, and concludes by saying that the whole passage is nothing more than a simple prediction. Sa follows the Septuagint as his guide to the meaning of the original, and consequently takes the imperatives to be in reality future

¹ Francis Foreiro, O.P., was one of the greatest theologians in the Council of Trent. The text of the decrees is his work. He was also entrusted with the final preparation of the Catechism of the Council, his fellow-workers being Leonardo Marini, Archbishop of Lanciano, and Egidio Foscarari, Bishop of Modena, both Dominicans. All three were held in the highest esteem by St. Charles Borromeo. Foreiro's reputation as a commentator of Scripture is as great as his fame as a theologian, though of his numerous commentaries that on Isaias is the only one published. It has been reprinted in Migne's *Series S. Scripturæ*, as being the best Catholic commentary.

indicatives. Menochius thinks that the verbs in verse 9 must be understood as futures, and also those in verse 10, as far as Isaias is concerned, unless they are explained as denoting the result of his preaching. Tirinus is also in favour of the future; *i.e.*, of interpreting the passage as if it were a prophetic description. Gordon manages, in a way, to unite both explanations. However, in a note he shows that he prefers the latter, for he paraphrases the Hebrew imperatives by future indicatives. Reinke's exposition also is peculiar. He holds that the verbs are in the imperative mood, but remarks that the future is sometimes represented as if it were the result of external agency; and so in this way the obduracy of the people is spoken of as if it were caused by God, whereas in reality God only foretells it, though by so doing it is true that He is the occasion of more notice being taken of it when it does come to pass. Lastly, Dr. G. K. Mayer, Bamberg, 1861, declares against the Hebrew text and its Vulgate version, '*because they have no sense.*'

72. Several of these writers content themselves with making a passing remark, or, at most, with employing the arguments that we have spoken of above; but Maldonatus brings forward some other ones.¹ He says that the entire passage is nothing more than a description; that Isaias merely foretells the obduracy of the Jews. In proof of these assertions, Maldonatus refers to the following 'facts': in the first place, God wishes all men to be saved; in the second, it is not God, but Isaias, that is said to blind the people. Maldonatus adds that, even if God were said to cause the blindness, the meaning would only be (as it actually is here, in the case of Isaias), that God predicted it.

But, surely, this betrays very weak theology. It is in itself

¹ 'Verba sunt Dei ad Prophetam, quem jubet excaecare populum, id est futuram ejus caecitatem prænuntiare. Itaque inepte hæretici hoc loco abutuntur, ut probent Deum non solum permittendo sed etiam efficiendo indurare. Neque enim Deus hic excaecare dicitur, sed Propheta; et si diceretur, eodem modo excaecare intelligeretur quo Propheta. Cum autem dicit, *ne forte videant oculis, etc.*, non significatur causa ex parte Dei, sed ex parte ipsorum, quasi dicat; Denuntia illis fore, ut studio nolint intelligere, ne convertantur et sanem eos, ut Ps. xxxi. 4. Deus enim vult omnes ad se converti atque sanari.'—(Comm. in Isaiam).

nothing else than a superficial remark, an evasion quite unworthy of the justly renowned commentator. As a matter of fact, all men are not saved. The will of God, which St. Paul speaks of, is, therefore, not the 'voluntas consequens' which is always fulfilled, but the 'voluntas antecedens,' which regards the abstract, and is purely conditional.* A real will regarding a *bonum in se*, or an object in itself considered apart from circumstances, is alluded to by St. Paul. On the other hand, an absolute decree, taking every circumstance of a particular case into account, is spoken of in Isaias. Hence the text that is brought forward as a proof by Maldonatus is quite irrelevant.

In his second remark, on the contrary, he omits some texts that are relevant, and others that are indispensable. He does not mention that in Exodus, Deuteronomy, and Josue, God is expressly said to harden the heart of man. Neither does he appear to remember that both St. John (xii. 39, 40) and St. Paul (Rom. xi. 8) quote these very words of Isaias, as proving beyond doubt that God did cause the blindness and obduracy of the Jews. All that can in fairness be maintained about the subject of Maldonatus' second assertion is, that in the Septuagint version, and consequently in St. Matthew's Gospel, where Isaias is quoted according to it, God is not said to blind the people. But that is very different from what, as it seems, Maldonatus would fain persuade his readers to think, viz., that God did not blind the people. It is one thing *not* to say, another thing to say '*not*.' It is one thing not to say that the Jews' wilful obduracy was also the result of God's action, and quite another to state that God did not produce it. Nowhere in Scripture is the latter proposition to be found; but, on the contrary, in this very text of Isaias, which Maldonatus professes to explain, the very opposite is affirmed.

Maldonatus is, indeed, endeavouring to combat the Calvinist doctrine of reprobation; but this is not the way to do it. His intention is laudable, but his arguments are worthless. So far from defending Catholic truth, in fact

* See St. Thomas, *Summa*, 1^a p., q. xix. art. 6 ad 1.

he exposes himself to defeat. He lays himself open to an unanswerable rejoinder from any learned and skilful adversary. But, apart from the consideration of the requirements of controversy, it is but too evident that the laws of exegesis have not been observed. One text of Scripture cannot be preferred to another, nor, when they both treat of the same subject, can an interpretation of the one be profitably made, regardless of the other. Electicism in philosophy is bad, but in exegesis it is inexcusable. A commentator must collect and compare all parallel texts (especially when engaged on such a difficult subject as this), and not commit himself irrevocably to an interpretation before he is sure that his theory about one text is borne out by all the others. Maldonatus' explanation of Isaias vi. 9, 10, fails to comply with this fundamental rule. It is not in accord with the teaching of four inspired historians in the Old Testament, and it contradicts the express statement of two inspired apostles in the New.

As regards Maldonatus' next remark, namely, that Isaias, and not God, is said to blind the Jews, it must be observed that Isaias was told to do so by Almighty God. 'Qui facit per alium, facit per se.' Nor was the divine command an empty, inefficient sound. It is utterly impossible that God should give a commission to His prophet, without *ipso facto* enabling him to fulfil it. The words of Isaias, taken in themselves, were, of course, incapable of producing the awful effect on the souls of his hearers. Hence, unless Maldonatus is prepared to prove that God was not in earnest, and that His command had no meaning, he must grant that the words of the prophet were to be endowed with supernatural efficacy. To take a parallel instance. If the fire of purgatory—though according to a well-founded belief it is corporeal, nevertheless—inflicts pain on disembodied souls, it must have received a power far above that of its own nature. We cannot believe that Almighty God would bid material fire to punish spirits, or that He would employ it for the purpose, without imparting to it a 'vis mirabiliter penetrativa.' If, however, a Greek objected to the teaching of the Latin or Western Church about purgatory, and Maldonatus

wished to explain and defend it, he might as well reply, forsooth, 'that in some text it was, indeed, said that fire (but not said that God) caused agony to souls,' as make the apologetic remark we are referring to. He might also continue in the same strain: 'If in any passage of a Latin father, &c., God were said to punish by fire, the meaning was, that He punished in the sense in which fire of itself might be said to punish;' *i.e., not at all*. This method of interpretation would, of course, relieve him from the obligation of answering the objection that 'material fire cannot affect a spirit,' but it does so at the cost of giving up the *sententia communis* altogether. It is an explanation that explains away everything. It may be said that Maldonatus would not have recourse to it. Presumably he would not; but why, then, employ it in his commentary on Isaias? Why play fast and loose? We, of course, do not for a moment think that Maldonatus would talk in that strain about purgatory; we are simply showing that, if he were consistent, he should do so. It is not the man, but the wrong method of interpretation, we find fault with. If the true system had been followed, there would have been no breakdown. It will be said in his defence, perhaps, that the fire of purgatory is miraculous. No doubt it is; but so, too, and far more certainly were the prophet's words of denunciation. This seems to have escaped Maldonatus' recollection, or to have been unknown to him. It is, however, clearly taught in Isaias xxix. 14: 'Therefore, behold, I will proceed to cause an admiration in this people by a great and wonderful miracle: for wisdom shall perish from their wise men, and the understanding of their prudent men shall be hid.' 'For the Lord hath mingled for you the spirit of a deep sleep; he will shut up your eyes, he will cover your prophets, and your princes that see visions.'¹

73. Unless Isaias had been the recipient of supernatural power, he would never be sent on such a mission. One might as reasonably imagine that God would command man to perceive a mystery without revealing it to him, or bid man

¹ *Ib.*, v. 10.

to write Scripture and not bestow inspiration on him. God never demands impossibilities. Even, though He should not raise man so high as to make him His own instrument, yet, whenever He commands His creature to perform an act surpassing the power of nature, His omnipotent word makes that act feasible. St. Peter could walk on the waves when Christ bade him come. *A fortiori*, Isaias was enabled to fulfil the divine behest. We do not, indeed, know for certain whether he was to take to the letter God's awful words:— 'Go and say to this people: *Seeing see ye, and perceive not,*' &c., and to deliver this sentence of condemnation in public, or whether those evils were to be the dire consequence of the prophet's unheeded warnings, such as we find them recorded in his book; but, in either case, the outcome is the same. It may be that vi. 9, contains the proscribed form of obduration, or it may only indicate that the eloquent exhortations to do penance, the prophetic denunciations, the predictions of deliverance, &c.; in one word, the contents of the inspired book as they remain to the present day would, by the decree of divine justice, result in the spiritual blindness of the Jews. Whichever explanation be the true one, the irresistible power of the inspired message remains undiminished. Part of the mission of Isaias was to curse the unbelieving; and the words of God's wrath lost nothing of their dread might, because they were uttered by the lips of His prophet. Theology shows that where there is a subject to work on, the Almighty can do by means of His creature as much as He can do alone. As the use of His creature does not help, so neither does it hinder the Creator. If He can produce spiritual blindness or obduracy of heart without an instrument, He can produce it with one. He revealed to Moses that He would be the *immediate* cause of the Pharaoh's obduracy, and He now gives Isaias to understand that He intended to be the *mediate* cause of the Jews' blindness.

As, however, in the blinding, God's part was indirect and negative, of course, Isaias could not be His instrument in the sense in which saints when working miracles or priests when conferring sacraments are so called. But the

words of Isaias were to be the cause of the fearful result which Divine Justice had decreed. The prophet was to proclaim the whole of that message which would be revealed to him, and he was shown what a fatal effect his preaching would have on his own people; yet, nevertheless, that effect as the minister of heaven's vengeance he was commanded to produce. Well might he tremble and draw back when the vision of Judea's woe opened on his prophetic sight; with good reason might he in anguish of spirit exclaim:—'How long, O Lord!' He knew well that once his inspired words of denunciation went forth, it would be impossible to recall them, or to prevent them taking effect. Whatever he would bind on earth was to be bound also in heaven. In this respect the words, 'Seeing see ye, but understand not,' are sacramental; *efficiunt quod significant*. Such was the mission of Isaias to the impenitent Jews.

We experience in our daily lives so many and so wonderful benefits bestowed on us by means of our fellow-men, that we are apt unconsciously to regard all God's messengers as ministers of mercy, and to forget that He has ministers of justice too. Isaias was such to the majority of his own people. It could not be otherwise. In God's plan for the salvation of the elect, as St. Paul shows, the rejection of the Jews was the admission of the Gentiles, hence the 'propheta vocationis et illuminationis Gentium' must also be the 'propheta reprobationis et excaecationis Judaeorum.' His predictions, so luminous and clear to the eye of faith, would, as regards the unbelieving Jews, be covered with impenetrable darkness. How many times in his inspired utterances did he foretell the captivity, yet how few of the people heeded him, or ceased to add sin to sin. In their obdurate blindness the people filled to overflowing the cup of divine vengeance, and brought down on themselves the most fearful of all maledictions. Their cry of mingled bewilderment and remorse shows that the fearful denunciation of God's minister at length took effect. 'Why hast Thou made us to err, O Lord, from Thy ways: why hast hardened our heart, that we should not fear Thee; or the sake of Thy servants, the tribes of Thy inheri-

tance. They have possessed Thy holy people as nothing, our enemies have trodden down Thy sanctuary. We are become as in the beginning when Thou didst not rule over us, and when we were not called by Thy name.'

The Jews were made to feel the difference between 'My people' and 'this people.' Calamity brought home to them the sad conviction that they no longer belonged to God. In all God's dealings with the sinful race of Adam; in all the many examples of His avenging justice which this world has witnessed, the rejection of what had once been His beloved and chosen people stands alone in its unsparing severity. It commenced with the captivity. Isaias, who received his prophetic vocation in the year Ozias died (A.D. 758), lived to see the inhabitants of the northern kingdom (Israel) led into captivity—first, in 734, and, finally, in 721. He, of course, did not behold the similar fate of Juda, but he foretold it. And from the words which form the subject of this article, we see that the immediate object of his mission was that the unbelieving might become obdurate or spiritually blind, and, in punishment thereof, be sent into captivity. This is evident from the immediate context of our passage.

It appears thus in our Douay version :—' And I said: How long, O Lord? And He said: Until the city be without inhabitants, and the houses without man, and the land shall be left desolate. And the Lord shall remove men far away, and she shall be multiplied that was left in the midst of the earth. And there shall be a tithing therein, and she shall turn, and shall be made a show, as a turpentine-tree and as an oak that spreadeth its branches: that which shall stand therein shall be a holy seed.'² We may remark that in the original the end of verse 12 means that there will be great solitude and desolation in the land. Verse 13 is thus translated in the Revised Version (Anglican):—' And if there should be yet a tenth in it, this shall again be consumed; yet as the terebinth and the oak, though cut down, have their stock remaining [*even so*], a

¹ Isaias lxiii. 17-19.

² vv. 11-13.

sacred seed shall be the stock thereof.' St. Jerome's version too, has '*et adhuc in ea erit decimatio et rursum erit in depredationem.*' The sense of this is evident. 'The tree, or stock of the Jewish people may again put forth its branches, but they will be lopped off. God will decimate the people repeatedly, and reduce it to the last extremity; nevertheless, the people shall not be destroyed.'

It was for this that the lips of *Isaias* were consecrated by the fiery symbol of God's all-consuming wrath. It was for this that the most solemn and impressive ordination-ceremony recorded in Scripture took place. It was for this that the prophet was privileged to behold the Most High—Father, Son, and Holy Ghost—seated on His throne, and arrayed in all His dread majesty as Judge.

Many centuries before Moses had declared to the people that disobedience would be punished by banishment from the Holy Land.¹ At length the threat was fulfilled. Spiritual darkness fell on them, and they were driven forth into exile. *Jeremias* testifies to it in words which sound as the echo of those spoken to *Isaias*:—'*Declare ye this to the house of Jacob, and publish it in Juda, saying: Hear, O foolish people and without understanding; who have eyes, and see not; and ears, and hear not . . . But the heart of this people is become hard of belief, and provoking.*'² These words, too, have direct reference to the captivity, and imply that it was the punishment of persistent unbelief and of obduracy.³ See also *Ezechiel* xii. 2, & ff., where the captivity is referred to, and *Zach.* vii. 11, 12, 14. On the other hand, the restoration of intelligence and the return from captivity are mentioned together in *Isaias* xliii. 6-8, and in *Baruch* ii. 31-34.

So much for the literal meaning of the words quoted by our Lord, in St. Matthew. It was necessary to treat of it at great length owing to its intrinsic difficulty and to the incorrect interpretations of it proposed by even some celebrated commentators, and to treat of it in the first place, because the mystical sense cannot be understood but by

¹ *Levit.* xxvi. 31-33.

² *Jeremias* v. 20, 21, 23.

³ *Ib.*, v. 19.

means of it. But the explanation of it in this article has taken up so much of the valuable space of the I. E. RECORD, that what remains to be said on the mystical sense of the words: 'Seeing see ye, but perceive not,' &c., must be reserved for a future number.

To be continued.

REGINALD WALSH, O.P.

A PROBABLE ADDITION TO THE WORKS OF ST. THOMAS AQUINAS

THE devotion and the study of Catholics in regard to St. Thomas Aquinas are so widespread and so intense, that an explanation should hardly be necessary in the case of an article such as this. It is written with the purpose of showing that according to a reasonable probability we possess works of that doctor which are still unpublished, and which, if published, would materially increase the stock of his writings in print. On the one hand, the study of the teaching of St. Thomas has been made of universal precept by Leo. XIII. in an act which must be counted among the most notable and characteristic acts of his reign; and devotion has moved apace with the progress of intellectual homage; while, on the other hand, there exists a multitude of reasons why every latter-day addition to the writings of the Angelical must be of singular, great, intrinsic, and also permanent interest and value. Not the least of these reasons is supplied by the innumerable moot-points to which the teaching of St. Thomas lies subject. Everyone who has studied his works knows how condensed is their style, and that in so terse a rendering of answers has been found the source of indefinite and interminable questioning anew. The meaning of phrases has to be understood, either absolutely or with the help of relative *criteria*; the reply may, or may not, connote or touch a controverted point; the existence on the part of the writer of the knowledge of a discussion will have to be settled by a purely chronological

examination ; the query whether the saint wrote early, and changed his opinion later, must always be kept in view. Whether an authority be final, or almost final, the nicest points of interpretation must necessarily arise. The authority of the Angelical is almost final in the Catholic schools of theology and philosophy.

Such weight and well-nigh compelling force of authority as belong to the Angelical are, indeed, unequalled in the intellectual spheres of the present age. Probably no parallel has been presented since the diffusion of printing widened the sphere of disciples possessed by every master of science. Possibly no intellectual influence was so compelling, even in the days when teachers taught by the living voice, inevitably enforcing reason with authority ; for though Plato and Aristotle swayed the minds of scholars in their lifetime, their works do not stand now as the accepted oracles of two hundred and fifty millions of listeners. Speaking of the liberty of discussion in the schools, Cardinal Newman said that 'the intellect had a licentious revel in the Middle Ages.' St. Thomas led in the revel. Dante has spoken of Aristotle as 'the master of those that know.' St. Thomas superseded Aristotle. To-day he still reigns in the schools, and the schoolmen, formed on his books, instruct Catholic Christendom.

An example of the jealousy with which is hoarded every crumb from his table is presented by the publication of his works in Rome. Here an *editio princeps* is being prepared by the saint's religious brethren, the Dominicans. A body of the most scholarly of these friars is totally engaged in publishing, after the most accurate examination and with the most critical elaboration, every portion and fragment of his extant writings. They have published only a few volumes in upwards of twenty years. These considerations form my justification for setting forth the grounds of probability that exist for the belief that the archives of the Abbey of Santa Scolastica, at Subiaco, contain unpublished and unknown writings on doctrinal and philosophical subjects from his pen.

Visiting the abbey in the month of May, 1897, I decided

to offer to the Catholic University of America ten volumes of photographic *fac-similes* of these manuscripts. A *fac-simile* of the famous *Bible of Viterbo* suggested and afforded a comparison between the credited penmanship of the saint at Viterbo and that of the Subiaco manuscripts.¹ The Press, both religious and secular, and in both continents, has published notices of these volumes, together with an index of their contents, which may be reprinted here for clearness of understanding :—

1, Prefixed is the *Vera Effigies* of St. Thomas from Viterbo ; 2, Also a Fac-simile of the Bible of Viterbo, with his annotations ; 3, Idem of idem ; 4, Fac-simile of the Subiaco Codex XXXVII, with his annotations ; 5, Idem of Codex LXXXIX, with Idem ; 6, Idem of Codex LXXXIX, with idem ; 7, Idem of Codex CXIV, with idem ; 8, Idem of Codex CCDXII, with idem ; 9, Idem of Codex XCIV, with idem ; 10, Idem of Codex XCIV, with idem (in part) ; 11, Idem of Codex XCIV, without annotations ; 12, Idem of Codex XCIV, with annotations ; 13, Idem of Codex CCXCIX, and four others, all in his hand ; 14, Fac-simile of Codex CCCXIII in his hand ; 15, Fac-simile of Codex of CLXIX, with his annotations ; 16, 17, and 18, Fac-simile of Codex CCCI, partly in his hand ; 19, Autograph from the same ; 20, Idem.

All the manuscripts at Subiaco which present any claim to be considered, wholly or partly, as autographs of the saint are reproduced by *fac-simile* in the photographic collection. The claims of the manuscripts are not equal, nor are the manuscripts of certain character or general recognition. They are unknown to the public. This is sufficient to show that they have not received general recognition as autographs. Such a specialist as Professor Uccelli declined to recognise the writing as the autograph of St. Thomas. This is sufficient to show that they do not present an easily recognisable intrinsic character as authentic autographs of the saint. As will appear, however, in the course of this article, they possess characteristics which give them a probable qualification as such, and in such a degree as to merit

¹ The *Bible of Viterbo* is regarded, with probability, as having been the property of the saint. See p. 64 *Guida della Città di Viterbo e Dintorni*. Viterbo, 1889.

for them the attentive examination of critics. This was the literary purpose of my presenting the *fac-similes* to the University, and it is also the purpose of this article. It is clear beyond a doubt that they are authentic mediæval manuscripts of, or of about, the period of St. Thomas Aquinas. They offer every palaeographic claim for this antiquity, nor is there discoverable in them any trace of fraud.¹ They are manuscripts written and used for purposes of study. Now, it is a matter outside of the limits of ordinary probability, one of the merest probability of conjecture, and unsupported by concrete argument, that scientific treatises of the kind should have been spuriously put together at that age, and with such a scope as these manuscripts reveal.

The archives known as those of Subiaco are composed of manuscripts belonging to the two monasteries of the Sacro Speco and of Santa Scolastica. There is, of course, no detailed history of their origin ; but the *lacuna*, if there is one, is filled by our knowledge of mediæval monastic life. There were no printing-presses, and books were necessary for the ordinary and extraordinary studies of the community. The books, if occasion arose, were expressly copied in other monasteries for, or by, the monks of that which had need of them. Hence it would not be surprising to discover autographs of St. Thomas in a place where he is not known to have been. The monks were often permitted to keep the books in their cells, and this was particularly the case with manuscripts which individual members had copied for private use. At the death of the possessor the manuscripts reverted to the common stock. Thus, and by the ordinary labour of transcription, were the archives formed. With this knowledge of the origin and destination of manuscripts, and of

¹ As an evidence of the uncertainty attaching to all simply caligraphic criticism of mediæval manuscripts, we have the fact that the famous letter at Monte Cassino, attributed to St. Thomas, is still under controversy. In the concluding portion of this article I submit that no expert testimony *à la Dreyfus* is necessary as a sole means of deciding the authorship of these manuscripts. I hold that geography has not received sufficient consideration in the studies of experts in mediæval caligraphy. There is even now a national style for Italy, as for France and for America. It is clear that a style generally ranged for a long period of years, or over a large tract of country, and then changed. For the rest, decision as to the personal and individual penmanship of mediæval writers and copyists is almost impossible.

the slight participation of monks in scholastic education,¹ it is not easy to divine a reason for deliberate falsification in the case of anonymous manuscripts such as are the Subiaco manuscripts attributed to the pen of St. Thomas Aquinas. The tendency to falsify or to forge might apply to the earlier centuries, to the East, and to the works of the primitive fathers and writers in every place; but, in the absence of positive reason to that effect, it should hardly be supposed to have extended to the works of a living master; in no case to one unborn. Such positive reason, or presumption, is not displayed here. The manuscripts in question are, apparently, contemporaneous in their making with St. Thomas Aquinas in some cases, and earlier in other instances. If a diploma, or imperial, or Papal deed of grant was needed, human and monastic insincerity might have tempted to its fabrication;² but inducement seems to be wanting in the case of the manuscripts under discussion. Though partially or totally attributed to St. Thomas Aquinas, they have always been neglected; they have formed no history, and they have enjoyed no public reputation.

In the absence of any historical testimony as to the origin of the manuscripts, and of any explanation of their presence in the archives of Subiaco, we must have recourse, in the first place, for any account of them to the probabilities which may attach to the coming of St. Thomas to the abbey. His devotion to St. Benedict is well known to all those who have studied his works, and at Subiaco were the cave of St. Benedict and the cradle of his magnificent legislation. The compulsion used on the Angelical in order to make him a Benedictine does not seem to have turned his equable mind against the order during his after-life; and, putting aside the question whether he was a Benedictine himself,³ there are evidences of his pleasant relations with the *Ordo*

¹ Especially in the Golden Age of Scholasticism.

² It is most probable, however, as Trombelli seems to believe, than these acts of falsification were done in perfectly good faith, after the devastation of a monastery, or other similar accidents.

³ See the question treated in his *Life and Times*, &c., by Mgr. Vaughan, the late Archbishop of Sydney. The Dominican editors of his works have treated the question in a serious biographical study prefixed to the first volume, as has also Abbot Tosti in his well-known life of St. Benedict.

Monasticus which received so large a place in his study. The great abbeys were the halting-places of friars on travel, and St. Thomas was a much-travelled friar. Subiaco was near the region where he is known to have travelled. His holidays were not infrequent, and he may have rested at Subiaco, as he rested with Cardinal Annibaldi at La Molar, where he passed his Christmas disputing with, confuting, and convincing two rabbis, whom he succeeded in converting. He closed his life at Fossanova Abbey.

Whether we admit, or reject, the probability of a sojourn of the saint at Subiaco,¹ the genuineness of the manuscripts as writings mediæval in date, of scientific character and enriched with explanatory marginal notes, necessitates their explanation as the products of study. The supposition that they are probably to be associated with the life-work of Aquinas is thus made possible.

First, about their former character. The mediæval books of study were manuscripts. The texts were freely used for the reception of comments. The comments were written on the spaces of the parchment, and the words : *quod est extra non scribatur* were set to deter future copyists from inserting the comments in the text. Were the teacher present, he would be consulted. A great authority, or an illustrious scholar, would be consulted about the difficulties in standard works. Had St. Thomas been at Subiaco, he would have been asked by studious monks to expound the difficulties in the *Morals* of St. Gregory or the *Sermons* of the fathers. His explanations would go to enrich the margins. Commentary was so much in the order of work that the commenting on the *Book of Sentences* of Peter Lombard was the basis of scholastic study. The enrichment of previously existing volumes by St. Thomas during his stay at Subiaco (which, once conjecturally admitted, would seem to have

¹ In the absence of direct and explicit evidence, only probability, and a vague probability, can attach to any such conjecture. Nor do I know that anyone has hitherto ventured to make the conjecture. But the similar claims for possession of his manuscripts by Monte Cassino should be remembered and put side by side with the claims of Viterbo and Naples. At Viterbo and Naples he certainly resided. Is not, then, the claim for a possession of his autograph works, especially in considerable numbers, to be associated, in every speculation, with the probability of his residence ?

been lengthy from the number of comments) would explain the care which, despite the mutilations of the Archives of Subiaco, has preserved these manuscripts until our day. But were his presence at Subiaco inadmissible, no difficulty would be created.

And now for the direct proofs of the claim made for the genuineness of one part of these manuscripts as the writings of St. Thomas Aquinas.¹ A very acceptable criterion of this would be found if what is wanting in the manuscripts were supplied or completed in the printed works of the saint, and *vice versa*. St. Thomas divides his sermons, just as his 'articles,' into three or four points. If it chances that one of these points has been previously explained, he makes a reference to his other works. Now some of the references in the manuscripts may be verified in his printed works, while others given in the latter are to be verified in the former.²

This argument would seem to be conclusive at first sight. If anything might be urged against it, this would be the practice of disciples of such a teacher. Availing themselves of notes taken at his lectures, they wrote works which, through fraud or ignorance, came to be accepted as his. But there would be a necessity for a concrete form to this objection, if it were to be put, and it is not easy to imagine where this circumstantial form might be found. The doubts affecting the works of St. Thomas Aquinas touch even his treatise, *De Regimine Principum*. While discreet criticism avoids discrediting a number of such writings passing under his name and conformed to his methods of work and principles of teaching, as may be seen by the inclusion of these compositions of assailed authenticity in every edition of his *Opera Omnia*, it bears in mind the fact that his use of amanuenses was so extensive that he is stated to have dictated to three or four of them simultaneously. Where, then, we may ask, are these works which he dictated so numerous? and if they are to be identified as included

¹ In conformity with what I have stated above (at pages 6 and 7), I exclude the necessity of attributing the manuscripts to the saint as autographs.

² I defer in this to the statement made to me by the learned Archivist of Subiaco, Don Leone Allodi, O.S.B., the editor of the *Chronicon Sublacense*.

amongst his writings, where is the reason for the exclusion of those existing at Subiaco.¹

Impressed with the conviction of one scholar, who has carried the results of his long and assiduous study to the grave,² I have wished to at least call the attention of other technical scholars and of all the students of the Angelical to the provableness of the claim which Subiaco can make to the possession of unpublished and unknown works of St. Thomas Aquinas, whereby it may be given them to find further fields of speculation, the solution of some doubts, the exposition of theories, and the presentment of new theses by the unequalled teacher.

WILLIAM J. D. CROKE, LL.D.

THE PEMBROKE TOMBS: WESTMINSTER ABBEY

II.

FROM an Irish point of view the Pembroke memorials in Westminster are, perhaps, of less interest than those monuments over which we have lingered in our description of the Temple Church. The tombs in the Abbey to which we refer in this paper are those of William de Valence and of Aymer, his son, the last representatives of the earldom of Pembroke in the ill-fated line of Marshall. These find places among the array of sepulchres that group round the shrine of Edward the Confessor. Their occupants were accorded that meed of *post mortem* glory—the greatest earthly ambition may covet or the nation can bestow—that of sepulture within those gilded thresholds of death, where the ashes of the subject are allowed to mingle with the dust of the king. Over those tombs of the Pembrokes in Westminster Abbey the casual visitor often lingers, but it is only

¹ I refer, of course, to the supposed entire autographs. The annotated manuscripts may be judged dependently on these.

² Don Paolino Manciana, O.S.B.

in the spell-bound admiration of the artist for the triumph of genius they illustrate, since they are considered the finest examples of memorials of the Edwardian period. About the lives or personalities of the last of the Pembrokes few trouble themselves now, they are figures grown faint and indistinct, far adown the shadowy bye-ways that lead off the main thoroughfare of mediæval history. However, from their connection with the half-Irish house of Pembroke there are some associations linked with their names which are interesting even still.

Between that April day in 1231 when the grave closed over the remains of William Marshall the Younger within his abbey of Kilkenny, and the year 1247, when his title devolved on William de Valence, disasters had fallen thick and fast on the house of Marshall. Within the brief space of sixteen years his four brothers—Richard, Walter, Gilbert, and Anselm had successively worn the dual coronet of Leinster and Pembroke. All had met untimely ends, and almost all violent deaths. They left no issue.

On the death of Anselm, in 1245, the palatinate of Leinster was divided among his five sisters. In the allotment of territory, Joane, the wife of Warren de Montchensi, received *Wexford*; Matilda, *Carlow*; Isabella, *Kilkenny*; Sibilla, *Kildare*; while to Eva fell the joint districts of *Donamense and Leix*, at present called the Queen's County.

William de Valence was half-brother of Henry III. After the death of King John, Isabella his queen retired to her native France, where after a brief widowhood she espoused her former lover, Hugh le Brune, Earl of Marches and Poitiers. Of the issue of this marriage were Aymer and William de Valence, so called from the place of their birth. On the death of their mother when the fortunes of their house declined both came to England and were prominent among the unwelcome crowd of 'hungry Poitevins,' as they were styled, who filled the court of Henry, and became eventually the source of so much discontent and civil strife in the kingdom. The Plantagenet king received his brothers with open arms. Both were clerics at the time. Aymer was quickly advanced to the important bishopric of

Winchester, much to the disgust of the English clergy and the displeasure of the people. He died, however, before his consecration took place. William, who had laid aside the breviary for the sword, was bethrothed through the connivance of his royal brother to Joane, the daughter and heiress of Joane de Monchensi, with whom on his subsequent marriage he attained the lordship of Wexford and the earldom and titles of Pembroke. Here we are again in touch with that strange thread of matrimonial connections that still ran on between the race of Dermot M'Murrough and the royal family of England, and which as we previously noted lends such a peculiar aspect to the Plantagenet conquest of Ireland.

If we go back a little and unravel the tangled web, we shall find the sister, the brother, and the half-brother of the English sovereign had now married respectively—the Younger Marshall (representative of Leinster's last king)—his sister, and his niece. No one can gainsay that this treble alliance will not have been an important factor in the destinies of Ireland, in so far as the English occupation of the country had yet been promoted.

The career of the Earl of Pembroke in whom for the present we are interested was shorn of much of the importance and extent of power enjoyed by his predecessors. The Irish territory he attained was but a fragment of the ancestral kingdom over which the Marshalls once held sway. The lordship of Wexford comprised little more than the area of the present county, being in reality, the older Celtic kingdom of Kinsellagh which included within its boundaries small portions of Wicklow and Carlow.

William de Valence left few congenial memories on the pages of English history. He shared alternately the love and hatred of the vacillating king, and was ever a thorn in the side of the barons and nobles of the kingdom. However, among the terse fragments of history and tradition left us relating to Wexford at the period, we find a grateful record of De Valence.

The capital of his little kingdom was still almost wholly a Danish settlement. After the defeat of the Danes

at Clontarf, and their expulsion from Ireland, Wexford was one of the seaports in which Norse colonies were suffered to remain, owing to the immense taxes they were able and willing to pay from their extensive maritime commerce. They were, however, debarred from certain civil rights and privileges enjoyed by the native race. In virtue of his power as Lord of Wexford, De Valence removed these disabilities, and freed, we are told, the Wexford Danes from many galling taxes that pressed upon them. He allotted to them a certain district between Wexford and the sea—another Ostmanstown, in fact—whither those who wished might withdraw and enjoy with impunity the customs and social rites of their migratory race.

To these wise provisions the after importance of the south-eastern seaport of Ireland was largely due. Industry and commerce were fostered under his rule—and the beneficent administration of William de Valence became a source of prosperity, not only to the sea-faring capital, but to the whole shire of Wexford for long after his day.

The military career of this Earl of Pembroke was a chequered one. After the victory of the English barons at Lewes (1264), De Valence, who fought on the Royalist side, fled to France. His estates were seized by the triumphant barons, and his wife, who was then residing at Windsor Castle, was forced to seek sanctuary in a monastery. The battle of Evesham in the following year again changed the fortunes of war, and the power of the king was restored. The Earl was at once recalled, and re-instated in his possessions, which were increased by large grants from the Crown. Subsequently, De Valence took part in the French wars, and was slain at Bayonne, in 1296. His remains were immediately conveyed to England, and interred in Westminster Abbey. He was Earl of Pembroke and Lord of Wexford for just fifty years.

The tomb of William de Valence may be seen in the Chapel of St. Edmund the Martyr, Westminster, a spot second only in its sacredness to the Chapel of the Confessor King. The effigy of the Earl rests on a marble sarcophagus. The figure is of wood, encased in copper,

beautifully inlaid with Limoges enamel. In its style and treatment the tomb is entirely French, and is an admirable instance of the adaptation of metal work in this department of art. The arms of Valence and other heraldic devices on the shield are wrought in the same exquisite blending of imperishable colour that pervades the entire work. Strange, an indulgence of one hundred days was granted by Boniface VIII. for the recital of certain prayers or suffrages at this tomb.

The monument of Aymer de Valence, the last of the Pembrokes, is one of the most impressive in the abbey. Its position at the left side of the sacrum, as we face the altar, and opposite the tomb of Anne of Cleves, reveals the splendour of its details to great advantage. The tomb of Aymer stands in line, between those of Edward of Lancaster (his uncle) and that of the Countess Aveline. The traceried canopy and the richly-sculptured sarcophagus on which the figure reclines, occupy an entire bay, of which the lofty pillars and acute-pointed arch form a lovely framework for the whole. It is difficult to conceive a finer example of sculpture of the period than this tomb affords. The Earl rests as if in the calm repose of death, while at his head a group of angels with wings outspread are represented bearing his soul heavenwards. In the niches below are figures representing the relatives of the deceased. The principal statue impresses one with the solemn stillness of death, while the attendant figures seem full of life and emotion.

Here we can touch but briefly on the life-story of the last Earl of Pembroke. Aymer, so called from his grandfather the Duke of Angoulême, was third son of William de Valence, and, having survived his elder brothers, succeeded to the ill-starred title of Pembroke on his father's death. He fought in the Scottish wars under Edward I. and Edward II. Being one of those who sat in judgment upon Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, and condemned that prince (who was deemed a saint) to death, he earned the execration of posterity.

As Lord of Wexford it was Aymer de Valence who granted the Norman Charter associated with his name to his Irish capital in 1317. He also built, for a second time, the bridge connecting the counties of Wexford and Kilkenny

at the seaport town of New Ross in 1313. For this latter undertaking, we learn from the Rolls of Edward II., he was awarded the *pontaye*¹ of the bridge for twenty years.

Once again the course of our sketch leads our pen to the Temple Church. On the suppression of the Templars, in 1312, their church with other common property of the knights was conferred on Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, cousin of the King and first prince of blood. On the memorable attainder and execution of that unfortunate prince his estates reverted to the Crown, when the King bestowed the Temple and its belongings on the Earl of Pembroke. Aymer did not long enjoy his gifts.

Soon afterwards, on the occasion of his marriage with Mary, daughter of Guy de Chatillon, Earl of St. Paul, he was killed in a tournament at Paris, on his wedding day (1323). His wife, who acquired the tragic fame of having 'been maid, wife, and widow in a day,' built the Pembroke College, Cambridge, in his memory. About a mile from Cambridge may be seen the ruins of Denney Abbey, founded also by her for the nuns of St. Clare. Here, within a tomb erected in her lifetime, were laid the remains of the widowed bride of Aymer de Valence, last Earl of Pembroke and Lord of Wexford, with whom the title in the line of Marshall became extinct.²

In this side-sketch of Anglo-Irish history, the characters who have passed before us afford striking illustrations of the philosophy of the poet who tells us :—

The evil that men do, lives after them ;
The good is often interred with their bones.

With the narrative of the life-close of the seven earls of Pembroke, whose careers we have touched upon, comes successively the melancholy refrain telling of their untimely deaths. This, one of the saddest and most serious of human disasters, is attributed in their case to the curse and excom-

¹ Ferry tolls.

² The title was afterwards revived in the Herbert family, but was exchanged in the reign of Edward IV. for that of Huntingdon, when the King conferred it on his son, Edward. The present earldom is a creation of Edward VI., who gave the title to William Herbert, brother-in-law of Queen Catherine Parr.

munication pronounced by Albinus O'Molloy, Bishop of Ferns, against William Marshall the Elder. The sequence of events, no doubt, goes far to sustain the statement of the chronicler of St. Albans, on whose authority the fact, with all its details, is founded. But in the light of collateral history, can the excommunication have ever taken place?

Assuming that we were to take exception to the narrative of Matthew of Paris, would there not be some reasonable grounds to go on? Even at the risk of repeating ourselves, let us take, for the sake of defensive argument, the constitutions of the Templars as a point, and then examine the action of the sons of the Earl Marshall with regard to the Church; and, finally, let us understand something of the Bishop of Ferns, the prominent figure in the episode.

The Elder Marshall and his five sons were members of the Order of the Knights of the Temple, otherwise their graves or monuments could never have had the places they occupy in the Round of the Temple Church. As we have previously remarked, the Knights Templar were an independent religious Order—independent in the widest sense the Church would admit of. Their rule was drawn up by St. Bernard, and based on an absolute system of self-government. The whole spirit of their discipline implied that the Templars were the military bodyguard of the Church, and as such were subject to the Pope, and to the Pope alone. Their constitutions, which embodied most extensive privileges, were hedged round by securities and immunities of the most potent kinds. No ecclesiastic, save the Pope, could interfere with them. When on one or two occasions bishops sought to bring their authority to bear on individual Templars, the Pope issued a more stringent Bull the better to protect the privileges of the Order.

In the matter of excommunication, or the event of interdict, their position was made most exceptional. It is recorded that when a Templar passing on business from one place to another, happened to rest or stay in a town or district which lay under the ban of interdict, the spiritual penalties were for the time suspended, the bells rang out,

the Divine mysteries were celebrated, the sacraments administered, and the dead interred with the rites of Christian burial. When he departed and passed on his journey, the dread prohibitions of the Church again prevailed with all their appalling sadness. In a word, it was the fact of the Templars owing allegiance to no power, spiritual or secular, save that of the Sovereign Pontiff, that primarily excited the jealousies and revengeful intrigues that culminated in their overthrow. This being so, is it probable that the Bishop of Ferns would have taken the step with which he is credited in the case of the Elder Marshall?

Then, in the attitude of successive earls of Pembroke towards the Church, we can trace nothing resentful, or any subsequent want of fervour or enthusiasm in its cause. On the contrary, the proofs of their continued devotedness may be found on every side. Besides the Dominican Abbey of Kilkenny, that city owed its not less beautiful Franciscan Priory to Richard Marshall, who was laid to rest within its walls in 1234. Walter, his successor, built the collegiate church of St. Mary's,¹ New Ross, confirmed the existing grants of Dunbrody Abbey, and defined the disputed boundaries of Tintern Abbey by an encircling system of roadways, which exist to this day. The Charter of Glendalough, originally granted by Eva and Strongbow to their cousin, the Abbot Thomas, nephew of St. Laurence O'Toole, were ratified by the same Pembroke whose name is not unfamiliar in many of the monastic charters of the Church of Leinster. Therefore, we must conclude that the Marshalls, whatever else may have been their faults and follies, were ever generous in bestowing their patronage on the Church, and forwarding its interests and welfare by their influence and power.

However, the chief question which we are anxious to solve is the part stated by the chronicler to have been acted by the aggrieved prelate—the Bishop of Ferns. From the

¹ The beautiful ruins of this church of the canons regular still remains. It was used as a cathedral during the episcopacy of Patrick Barrett, who resided in the parish of New Ross.

materials of his life which are available, it is evident that Albinus O'Molloy was one of the ablest churchmen of his time. Although the roll of the episcopacy of Ferns contains the names of many learned bishops, and counts a Lord Chancellor¹ of Ireland among the rest, it is doubtful if any can be pointed to so distinguished as the last Celtic bishop of that see. Albinus O'Molloy presided over Ferns for thirty-seven years. His diocese was full of Templars. None better than he had reason to be acquainted with the exact relations that existed between the bishops of the Church and the Order of the Temple. His experience as an ecclesiastic was of the vastest kind. This Irish bishop mingled much in the affairs of England as well as of Ireland in his time, and he was in constant communication with Rome during the Pontificates of Innocent III. and Honorius III.

For our purpose it is necessary to touch on the outline of his life. Previous to the appointment of Albinus to the bishopric of Ferns, he was Abbot of the Royal Abbey of Baltinglass, founded by Dermot M'Murrough for the Cistercians, in 1151. The sermon, or rather the invective, pronounced by him in Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, in Lent, 1185, in reply to the charges made against the Irish clergy by Giraldus Cambrensis, is a well-known fact of history. On the death of his predecessor, Joseph O'Heth, an effort was made through Norman influence to have the see of Ferns conferred on Giraldus. The opposition of the native clergy, however, prevailed, and the Abbot of Baltinglass was appointed. Cambrensis subsequently became bishop of St. David's, Wales.

If the life of Albinus O'Molloy ever comes to be written, an impartial biographer would probably say he temporized, or, perhaps, better said, would describe him as a unionist prelate, according to modern ideas. As bishop he took part in many important functions and ceremonies of the English Church, and as well in the royal pageants of the Plantagenet court. He assisted at the coronation of Richard I., and shared in the deliberations of the first council of that

¹ Patrick Barrett, Bishop of Ferns, 1400-1415.

monarch. When the Abbey of Waverley, the parent house of the English Cistercians, was founded, Albinus was chosen to consecrate its first chapel in the year 1201. Again, we find him at Waverley at the close the same year, when he came to bless the cemetery where those had been buried who died during the interdict under which England had been laid by Innocent III., in the reign of King John. And when the great Church of the Abbey was completed, in 1214, it was the same distinguished prelate who was selected to consecrate its five altars in presence of the famous Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester, who was Regent of the kingdom of England during the minority of Henry III.

At home in Ireland the career of Albinus O'Molloy was not less remarkable. Many letters are extant addressed to him by the Holy See on the affairs of the Irish Church. In 1208 he was entrusted with a commission of negotiation between the Court of England and the King of Connaught. Previous to the appointment of Donagh O'Lonergan (1206) he was recommended by the King to the Chapter of Cashel for the vacant archbishopric. And among the Irish bishops who attended the fourth Lateran Council, in 1215, the last act of the pontificate of Innocent III., the name of Albinus of Ferns appears. He travelled thither at the expense, and under the protection of the Crown. In the following year we find by royal grant the Bishop of Ferns received the custody (*i.e.*, revenues) of the bishopric of Killaloe 'for his better support.'

We have summed up, perhaps lengthily for these pages, yet briefly as we could, those few prominent events of the episcopate of Albinus O'Molloy that our readers may better understand the manner of man he was and the circumstances that surrounded his life. With the impression they give it is difficult to reconcile the penal action ascribed him in regard to the first Earl Marshall, who was, doubtless, the noblest benefactor at his diocesan church and the bosom friend of the English king. That there was a difference, and

¹ Bishop O'Molloy died 1288, and is interred in the ruined chancel of Selskar Abbey, Wexford.

a grave one, between the Bishop and the Earl we can have no doubt, since we find that in April of the year 1218 Honorius III. wrote to Albinus directing him not to 'persist in his plea against William Marshall;' and in the June of the same year the Pope directed Henry de Loundres, Archbishop of Dublin and Legate of the Holy See, to effect a reconciliation between the contending parties.

It remains only to emphasize the conclusion this aggregate of circumstances forces upon us. It is necessarily not a very doubtful one, since we find it hard to conceive that a bishop of Albinus O'Molloy's experience would have become a party to inflicting a spiritual sentence which in the light of history would seem so inopportune, not to say wholly inoperative.

A distinguished English ecclesiastic when recently alluding to the benefit being conferred on the student-world by the publication of the State papers in the Rolls Series, concludes that from many facts now brought to light the history of England must needs be written over again. In his estimation too the chronicles of Matthew of Paris can no longer be considered altogether safe to rely on. We entirely concur in the opinion of the English Jesuit, adding that the history of mediæval Ireland even more than that of the sister country sadly needs to be revised.

For much of the material on which we have drawn for this sketch we are indebted to the courtesy of the Dean of Westminster, who, on the occasion of our last visit to London, enabled us to visit the Abbey, its tombs and treasures, at any hour we wished, and as often and for as long as it pleased us to remain.

JOHN B. CULLEN.

TWO HISTORICAL FICTIONS

OUR allusion¹ to Gibbon's hypothesis of a wholesale apostasy in Africa, imposes on us a certain obligation to lay before our readers a summary of the real facts, many of which have come to light since Gibbon's time. He often alludes to the subject, but his views are fully given in the following passage² :—

The northern coast of Africa is the only land in which the light of the Gospel, after a long and perfect establishment, has been totally extinguished. The arts which had been taught by Carthage and Rome were involved in a cloud of ignorance ; the doctrine of Cyprian and Augustine was no longer studied. Five hundred episcopal churches were overturned by the hostile fury of the Donatists, the Vandals, and the Moors. The Zealand numbers of the clergy declined ; and the people, without discipline or knowledge or hope, submissively sunk under the yoke of the Arabian prophet. Within fifty years after the expulsion of the Greeks, a lieutenant of Africa informed the Caliph that the tribute of the infidels was abolished by their conversion ; and though he sought to disguise his fraud and rebellion, his specious pretence was drawn from the rapid and extensive progress of the Mahomedan faith.

The Caliph here alluded to was the usurper Abbas ; the lieutenant was Abdulrahman, whose letter was written A.D. 750. The Hegira begins A.D. 622 ; Mahomet died in 632 ; the Medina or ' orthodox ' Caliphs reigned from 632 to 661 ; the Ommiade Caliphs reigned at Damascus from 661 to 750 ; the Abbasside Caliphs reigned at Bagdad from 750 to 1258. Arabia was subdued by Mahomet ; Syria, Palestine, and Egypt had submitted to the Caliphs before 640 ; Africa was invaded in 647, but not completely subdued before 710 ; Spain was subdued in 711. Attention to these dates will greatly facilitate our inquiries. The Ommiade empire reached from the Indus to the Atlantic and the Pyrenees.

¹ I. E. RECORD, Aug., 1898.

² Ch. li.

³ I. E. RECORD, June, July, 1898.

Our readers have already seen how gloriously the African Church emerged from the Donatist and the Vandal periods ; we may, therefore, confine our inquiries altogether to the Moorish period.¹ Gibbon, as we have seen, very properly rejects the evidence of Abdulrahman ; but this is the only positive evidence that was ever quoted for the apostasy ; and against it we have positive evidence of the existence of numerous Christian congregations at that very time and long after. Barbary was an unknown land until the conquest of Algiers, in 1830 ; but since that period its internal history has been diligently explored. Two learned bishops of Algiers, Monseigneur Pavy (1846-1866) and Cardinal Lavigerie (1866-1892), made a special study of our present subject. They both came to the same conclusion, which is thus stated by the Cardinal in a special pastoral² :—‘ Christianity did not disappear all at once from Africa after the Moslem invasion ; though the Roman cities were for the most part destroyed and the inhabitants slain or sold into slavery in Egypt and Arabia ; the Church, according to the most probable accounts, stood its ground for six centuries.’ He then says that the contrary error arose from the almost complete absence of records relating to that period, the complete isolation of the country even as regards commerce until about the twelfth century, and its distance from all the pilgrim routes to the Holy Land. Quoting the Arab historian, Ibn-Khaldoun, he says :—‘ Driven fourteen times to apostasy, the Christians returned to Christianity each time.’ To appreciate the force of this statement we must bear in mind that by Moslem law these Christians incurred the penalty of death, no matter how imaginary the compliance may have been. M. Pavy³ says :—

It would be a great error to suppose that the African Church perished by apostasy. A great number of Christians suffered martyrdom during a struggle of half a century *pro aris et focis*, against eight Moslem invasions ; and hundreds of thousands,

¹ Until the Turkish domination Moslems were called indifferently Arabs, Saracens, or Moors, and *Islam* meant Moslem doctrine or the Moslem people according to the context.

² *Œuvres choisies*, vol. i.

³ Vol. i.

according to Arab historians, were led captives to the East for having rejected the Moslem religion. The emigration of the Roman population had also diminished the number of Christians.'

He then goes on to say how, after all this, numerous Christian congregations were to be found in the country. He quotes El-Becri for the fact that Christians had churches at the great city of Tlemcen in the tenth century.

But it is from the letters of the Popes both writers derive their most authentic information. In 892, Pope Formosus had to regulate a dispute between African bishops of different provinces. In 1053 Pope Leo IX. had to decide between the Bishop of Carthage and four of his suffragans. All this supposes the existence of considerable bodies of Christians three hundred years after the celebrated letter of Abdulrahman. Gibbon quotes these letters of the Popes, but fails to see their import.

From three letters written by Pope Gregory VII. in 1076, we learn that the Bishop of Carthage, Cyriacus, had no suffragan—at least in his own province; and that Servandus, bishop-elect of Hippo Zarytus (Biserta), had to be sent to Rome for consecration. The Pope requests that another priest be sent to Rome for consecration in order to perpetuate the hierarchy; Ebn-Zeir, the Moslem prince of that region, was quite willing; but whether any attempt was made to carry out the suggestion we know not. Just at this time the country was disturbed by the arrival of a fresh horde of Arabs who took possession of the great plains from Egypt to the Atlantic, driving the Berbers to the mountain fastnesses where they remain to this day. At this time the country was divided among a number of petty princes at war with each other, and having no common policy.

All these letters of the Popes are given under their proper dates by Baronius, Rohrbacher, and Darras. Carthage was a mere village at this time, and yet all these Popes insist upon the ancient privileges of its bishop; an object lesson for our Anglican friends, who are never tired of reminding their followers that the Popes were always opposed to 'the original constitution of the Church.'

The African Church consisted of six ecclesiastical provinces, covering seven civil provinces; Tingitana, the present Morocco, having so few sees—only six—that it was included in the ecclesiastical province of Mauritania Cosariensis. The extreme eastern province, Tripolitana, had only five bishops: so that nearly the whole Christian population was confined to the five central provinces now occupied by Algeria and Tunisia; for there were at least five hundred episcopal sees in the six provinces, and we must assume that they were distributed in proportion to the Christian population. Had the Christians accepted the Koran, as Gibbon pretends, the Moslems of Algeria and Tunisia ought to be at least forty millions at present; well, according to the last census, they number exactly four million, five hundred and ninety-one thousand, six hundred.

What, then, became of the vast Christian population of Roman times? Well, strange to say, Gibbon himself furnishes a sufficient answer, without perceiving it; the emigrations, deportations, and massacres, which he records, fully account for the disappearance of the Christians. To understand this we must keep in mind the rules followed in Moslem conquests. They pretended to have an order from Allah to subject the world to Islam, giving pagans the option of the Koran or the sword; and to Christians, the Koran, the sword, or the tribute. They gave terms more or less favourable, called *capitulations*, to Christian cities or countries that submitted to tribute without a contest; but where resistance was encountered, no mercy was shown; the men were slaughtered or sent off to the slave markets; the women and children formed part of the booty to be divided between the Caliph and the army, and had no liberty of conscience. Thus, Gibbon tells us, that after the siege of Amorium, in 838, thirty thousand Christians were slaughtered, and as many more carried into captivity; and that after the conquest of Sicily, fifteen thousand Christian

¹ Ch. lii.

boys were circumcised on the same day as the Caliph's son. He also tells us¹—

That in a field of battle, the forfeit-lives of the prisoners were redeemed by the profession of *Islam* . . . By the repetition of a sentence, the subject or the slave, the captive or the criminal, arose in a moment the free and equal companion of the victorious Moslems.

To understand the conquest of Africa we must form some idea of the state of things before the arrival of the Arabs. The Africo-Romans lived in walled cities, and cultivated their lands by means of slaves or native tenants. Each city had its own municipal guard, but there was no such thing as a national militia; they paid their taxes to the Emperor, and relied on him for protection. The Berbers (Moors, Getulians, &c.) were a constant danger on the southern frontier; they had never embraced the Gospel;² they had been greatly favoured by the Vandals, and allowed to occupy immense tracts of Roman territory, which they refused to give up to the Greeks; hence the constant state of civil war during the whole Greek period (534-665). Gibbon, quoting Procopius, tells us³ that between 535 and 560, five millions of the population disappeared in the ravages caused by these civil wars. The Christian population had greatly diminished by emigration under the Vandals; but at the end of this Greek period, it was probably reduced to a third of what it had been. In a synod held in 646, we find⁴ that there were only forty-three bishops in the province of Byzacene, instead of one hundred and twenty even in Vandal times. Still there was no welcome for the Arabs in Africa, such as they had met in Syria and Egypt from the Nestorians and the Monophysites, as Gibbon tells us.⁵ He says the Monophysites were ten to one in Egypt, and called the Catholics Melchites (Royalists) in derision. They gave up their country without a struggle, and got most liberal *capitulations*; but they soon tired of

¹ Ch. li.

² August, Ep. 199, n. 46.

³ Ch. xliii.

⁴ Rohrbacher, vol. x.

⁵ Chaps. xlvii-li,

the tribute, and generally accepted the Koran, thus reducing the Christian Copts to what Gibbon calls 'a handfull of illiterate beggars.' These Syrian and Egyptian renegades swelled the Moslem armies in all their subsequent wars of conquest. Egypt was the base of operations for all the invasions of Africa.

The first of these invasions took place in 647, in the reign of the wretched Emperor Constant II. (641-668), his Exarch Gregorius, being then in open rebellion with the aid of the Berbers. The Arabs came with an army of forty thousand men, defeated and slew the Exarch, returned to Egypt with immense booty, and left the country in a state of complete anarchy, and at the mercy of the Berbers.

The next invasion took place in 665, and this time the Arabs came to stay and built their celebrated capital, Cairouan, about fifty miles south of Carthage, all the maritime and most of the strong inland cities being still held by the Greeks. Terrified by the defeat of the Greek army of thirty thousand men, and the seizure of eighty thousand captives, the Christians offered tribute, and the Berbers accepted the Koran. Unable to protect his Christian subjects, the Emperor imposed on them a tax equal to that promised to the Arabs.¹ This persistence of the Greeks rendered the *capitulations* null and void in the eyes of the Arabs, and deprived the Christians of all protection. In a series of invasions city after city was taken, plundered, and demolished; Carthage was sacked and burned in 698, but its inhabitants escaped by sea to Sicily and Spain. Before 710 all the cities were destroyed, and the country is still covered with their ruins; with only our *Murray's Hand-Book* we can see that their number was enormous,² and that many of them

¹ Gibbon says (ch. li) that the Bishop of Carthage by extorting this fine 'provoked the sectaries and even the Catholics to abjure the religion as well as the authority of their tyrants.' He quotes no authority for this—a sure sign that he had none—for he prided himself above all things on his references. Rohrbacher (vol. x., p. 296) mentioned this fine, but not a word about the Bishop. Constant was a Monothelite, the persecutor and murderer of Pope Martin, and so detested by his subjects that he was at this very time a fugitive from his capital. Is it credible that a great Catholic bishop would make himself the tool of such a man?

² The Vandals, in the invasion of 430, spared the cities of the eastern provinces where they intended to establish their empire. The Greeks and Romans rebuilt most of the ruined cities of the western provinces.

were scarcely inferior to Carthage itself. Arab historians attribute this Vandalism chiefly to the Berbers; but it is certain that the Arabs themselves were the Vandals of at least the great maritime cities.

The Berbers, though nominal Moslems, had no idea of relinquishing their lands or their tribal independence; the Emirs of Cairouan had to put down revolts in 682, 689, 692, 698, 710; but the most serious of all was the one carried on by the prophetess-queen, Cahina, who united the Berber tribes into one great confederacy, drove back the Arabs towards Egypt for five years, and laid waste not only the cities, but even the cultivated land, as a measure of warfare and defence. Musa became governor in 702, and before the end of 710 the rebellion was put down and Cahina slain. Musa had also to contend all this time with the Greeks, and so great was his success, that in 710 the Greek territory was reduced to the single fortress of Septem (Ceuta).¹ The captives numbered three hundred thousand—all, of course, Christians; and Gibbon tells us² ‘that thirty thousand of the barbarian youth were enlisted in the troops; and the pious labours of Musa to inculcate the knowledge and practice of the Koran, accustomed the Africans to obey the apostle of God and the commander of the faithful.’ The Berbers are to this day among the most fanatical Moslems in the world. Such confidence had Musa now in his pious Berbers, that he sent them to conquer Spain in 711, under their own General Tarik.

These facts, related by Gibbon himself, occurred within the first half century of Arab rule, and to any unprejudiced reader must seem quite sufficient to account for the ruin of the African Church without the gratuitous fiction of a wholesale apostasy. No imagination could exaggerate the sufferings of the Christians during this short period from Greeks, Arabs, and Berbers. The few that survived the massacres and deportations, or were unable to emigrate, probably enjoyed some sort of peace during the remainder of the eighth century; but after that the authority of the Caliphs ceased,

¹ Though garrisoned by Spanish Goths, it still belonged nominally to the Greeks.

² Ch. li.

and the country never more enjoyed the blessings of stable government ; it fell into the hands of a series of usurpers, founders of new dynasties, Fatimites, Aglabites, Edrisides, Ifrenides, Zirides, Hammadites, Almoravides, Almohades, &c. ; some of these founded their claims expressly on their hatred of Christians. No revival, no permanent survival of Christianity, was possible in such a country.

*Quis cognovit sensum Domini ?*¹ What would have been the ultimate fate of the African Church had the country remained subject to the Greeks ? Would she have been able to resist the corrupting influence, the schismatical fury, the erastian tyranny of Constantinople ? These are questions which God alone could answer.

We now come to the second fiction—viz., that from the eighth to the eleventh century, ‘the dark ages,’ Christians were buried in ignorance and barbarism, from which they were only rescued by the Saracens.

Maitland, the learned librarian at Lambeth, did much to expose the fiction of Christian ignorance ;² but his complaint (p 48) about ‘the way in which the errors of popular writers are copied and dribbled down in minor publications’ is still almost as true as ever in England. In the daily and weekly press, in periodicals, in novels and popular manuals, the same fiction is repeated.

The author of the *Moors in Spain*³ tells us that :—

In the two-thirds of the peninsula the Moors organized that wonderful Kingdom of Cordova which was the marvel of the Middle Ages, and which, when all Europe was plunged in barbaric ignorance and strife, alone held the torch of learning and civilization bright and shining before the Western world.

What wonder that minor publications should disseminate the fable, when it is thus repeated by learned writers like the above. In these countries we have not yet arrived at the state of opinion thus described by Montalembert :—⁴

These outcries now come only from that lowest stratum of the mob where error and falsehood survive long after they have

¹ Rom. xi.

² *The Dark Ages*, 2nd Ed., 1845.

³ ‘The Story of the Nations’ series, 4th Ed., 1890, p. 48.

⁴ *Monks of the West*, Book xviii., ch. iv.

been abandoned by those who at first believed in them. Men capable of judging—even those most superficially versed in historic knowledge—are aware by this time that to speak of monkish ignorance would be only to proclaim their own . . . And then say whether these productions of tenth century monasteries do not show a development of mental culture entirely incompatible with the idea which modern ignorance has rendered popular of the night of the middle ages.

Maitland exposed the dishonesty of those who had invented the catchword of the 'dark ages'; but Montalembert demonstrated their ignorance in these six volumes of authentic history.¹ As the monks were the chief teachers from the eighth to the eleventh century, their history is inseparable from the literary history of their time.

No one has ever accused Mahomet or the 'orthodox' Caliphs of having done anything to encourage learning or culture; the great Omar would turn in his grave if accused of any such weakness. The Ommiades reigned over an empire which reached from the Indus to the Atlantic, and yet here is what Gibbon has to say about their encouragement of learning²:—

Under the reign of the Ommiades the studies of the Moslems were confined to the interpretation of the Koran, and the eloquence and poetry of their native tongue . . . After their civil and domestic wars, the subjects of the Abassides, awakening from this mental lethargy, found leisure and felt curiosity for the acquisition of profane science. This spirit was first encouraged by the Caliph Almansor (754-775) who, besides his knowledge of the Mahometan law, had applied himself with success to the study of astronomy. But when the sceptre devolved to Almamoun, the seventh of the Abassides, he completed (A.D. 813-

¹ No epitome could give an idea of the overwhelming array of facts contained even in the single chapter from which the above extract has been taken. He names (p. 105) nine great monasteries, 'which were homes of enlightenment, centres of intellectual life, such as have never since been seen in the world:' and this without counting St. Gall, Monte Casino, Lerins, Wearmouth, St. Albans, or a single Irish monastery, although we had in some of them as many scholars as Fleury, with its five thousand. He enumerates (p. 133) thirty-eight of these great monasteries which were the 'universities of Christian Europe.' After enumerating the authors, taught and copied for their libraries, he says (p. 147), 'that perhaps classic writers were more generally known and admired in France then than they are now.' The reader should see for himself his list of learned monastic teachers and historians in those 'dark ages.'

Ch. lii.

833) the designs of his grandfather, and invited the Muses from their ancient seats. His ambassadors at Constantinople, his agents in Armenia, Syria, and Egypt, collected the volumes of Grecian science ; at his command they were translated into the Arabic language, and his subjects were exhorted assiduously to peruse these instructive writings.

But we must not forget that all this took place only at the end of the second century of the Hegira, and that the Arabs had been nearly all that time in possession of the most learned and civilized regions on earth. Their contributions to learning during the whole time consisted in the destruction of Christian schools and libraries, and the conversion of learned men into camel-drivers and cowherds. Only for the numerous monasteries that survived the general wreck, the learning of those regions should have completely perished. Monasteries with no treasure but their books, were beneath the notice of these Arabs ; and Gibbon tells us¹ that even in the Greek empire at this period ' the studies of the Greeks insensibly retired to some regular monasteries.'² His estimate regarding the ignorance of the Arabs at this time has been confirmed by all subsequent writers. Even the sympathetic author of *The Saracens* in the ' Story of the Nations ' series, can claim for them nothing but poetry. Rohrbacher³ tells us that Caliph Walid (705-715) endeavoured to get rid of the Christians who kept the public accounts, but could find no Arabs with sufficient knowledge of arithmetic to replace them. He adds⁴ that the same attempt was repeated at Bagdad in 759, but failed for the very same reason. This occurred under Almansor. Would it be too much to suspect that it had something to do with the *awakening* mentioned by Gibbon? One thing is certain, the Christian schools were closed, and Arab schools henceforth encouraged. This movement continued under the next five Caliphs, until the golden age of Moslem learning

¹ Ch. liii.

² This was under the reign of the Iconoclasts—720-840—who were nearly as hostile to learning as to sacred images. There was a *renaissance* after their time.

³ *Hist.*, 2 Ed., vol. xi., p. 51.

⁴ Page 120.

was reached under Almamoun, near the middle of the ninth century. Soon after this time the power of the Caliphs and the patronage of learning began to wane, but to the end Bagdad remained the chief centre of learning in the East.

Cordova was the great centre of Moslem learning in the West, and the origin of the *awakening* there is better known. Spain was conquered in 711, and Cordova made the centre of government, the residence of the Emir appointed by the Caliph at Damascus. The Ommiade dynasty came to an end in 750, when the Abassides made Bagdad the capital, and sentenced to death every member of the Ommiade family. Only one male, Abder-Rahman, escaped; he made his way to Spain, where the Emir and the other officials appointed by his family were still in power. He was young, handsome, intelligent, pious, athletic, brave—everything that captivates the Moslem imagination. In a few months, and with only slight opposition, he found himself seated on the throne of Cordova, in 756, where he reigned thirty-two years, and established an independent dynasty which lasted nearly three hundred years. Spain had been in the full and undisturbed possession of the Moors during the forty-five preceding years, but there was not the slightest official move in favour of learning or culture; everything of this kind dates from the advent of Abder-Rahman. How the taste had got into his family is thus related by Rohrbacher¹ :—

The father of St. John Damascene was Councillor of State to the Caliph of Damascus, and spent much of his wealth in redeeming Christian captives. Among those exposed for sale he found one named Cosmas, an Italian monk, whom he immediately obtained from the Caliph, and made tutor to his son, John. He turned out to be a most learned man, and from him John learned grammar, dialectics, the arithmetic of Diophantus (algebra), geometry, music, poetry, astronomy, and theology. On the death of his father, John occupied his position under the Caliph. How remarkable! It is a poor Italian monk, a captive condemned to death, that introduces the sciences of Greece and Rome to the court of Damascus, and through the son of the Visir succeeds in naturalizing them among those Moslems who had despised them.

I have abridged somewhat, but the next quotation is so

¹ Vol. x., p. 503.

important that it must be given in full ; the Lenormant here quoted by Rohrbacher was a man of European reputation, the colleague of Guizot in the Chair of History at the College de France :—

This fact, one of the most curious in history, has been recently established by French *savants*. With whom, asks Lenormant, commences the list of those leading spirits who have inspired the Arab genius? With a father of the Church. It was St. John Damascene that initiated the Arabs into Greek philosophy . . . In alleging here the influence of St. John Damascene on the first developments of philosophy among the Arabs, I do not speak from myself ; I have for me the sure and incontestable evidence of my learned colleague, M. Reinaud, from whose unpublished researches we have the certain proof that this illustrious father who enjoyed such consideration at the Court of the Ommiade Caliphs, who left it to embrace the religious life, and who was certainly the most distinguished man of his time in the East, was the initiator of the Arabs into the domain of the Aristotelian philosophy . . . As regards the influence of the West on the East at the time of the Crusades, I will merely affirm on the same authority and that of all the Orientalists and Arabists of our time, that there is a fundamental difference in genius, information, and critical ability, between those who preceded and those who followed these famous expeditions. All that is most exact and critical in Arab literature is posterior to the Crusades. I need only mention Aboulfeda, Ibn-Alatir, Ibn-Kaldoun, Abdallattif ; and the earliest of all, Edrisi, who found an asylum with Roger, King of Sicily.

Rohrbacher says in conclusion :—

According to these remarkable facts, it was the Christians that imparted the human sciences to the Moslems, not the Moslems to the Christians, as some gentlemen pretend.

Apart altogether from the testimony of these learned experts, the mere dates and facts already mentioned would force any unprejudiced reader to the same conclusion.¹

The reader will naturally ask, if the Ommiade Caliph's had this taste for learning, why did they not try to establish schools at Damascus? Well, all these Caliphs were absolute rulers, with unlimited wealth and power, and yet they could not always safely indulge their tastes in opposition to

Reinaud was a great Orientalist ; he published in 1829 his *Extraits des Historiens Arabes*.

the zealots. Gibbon tells us¹ 'that these were alarmed by the introduction even of the abstract sciences; and the more rigid doctors of the law condemned the rash and pernicious curiosity of Almamoun.'

Almamoun was a strong Caliph who could defy the Zealots; he set a Christian over a college at Damascus, and merely answered that 'he had selected him for his learning, not for his religion.' And yet he was far from being a friend of the Christians. The Ommiades at Damascus were neither strong nor popular, and yet they encouraged learning in various indirect ways, and never interfered with the Christian schools. We may remark that the Abassides came from Syria, and must have brought with them to Bagdad some traces of that literary taste which had reached the upper classes of Moslems.²

To return to Spain. Abder-Rahman was soon attacked by an Abasside army, and during most of his reign the Arabs and Berbers gave him trouble; he had, therefore, little leisure to promote learning; but he surrounded his son with learned men; schools were opened; books were collected; a vast library was furnished; Emir after Emir poured out his wealth in the cause, until at last under the Great Caliph (911-961) Cordova rivalled, if it did not eclipse, Bagdad.³

It is admitted on all hands that Cordova and Bagdad were the richest and most celebrated centres of learning in their time; and that similar centres, though on a smaller scale, arose in various provinces of the Moslem Empire. Let us now see what was taught in these schools. Gibbon tells us:—⁴

The works of speculative science may be reduced to the four classes of philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, and physics . . . The science of Algebra is ascribed to the Grecian Diophantus by the modest testimony of the Arabs themselves . . .

¹ Ch. lii.

² The author of *The Moors in Spain* tells us that under Hakam, the second successor of Abder Rahman, there were revolts of the Zealots in 806 and 815; and that later on another revolt was averted by the simple expedient of burning publicly all the philosophical books objected to by the Zealots.

³ In 923 the Emirs of Cordova assumed the higher title of Caliph.

⁴ Ch. lii.

But the Moslems deprived themselves of the principal benefits of a familiar intercourse with Greece and Rome, the knowledge of antiquity, the purity of taste, and the freedom of thought . . . The Greek interpreters were chosen from their Christian subjects . . . There is no example of a poet, an orator, or even an historian, being made to speak the language of the Saracens. The mythology of Homer would have provoked the abhorrence of these stern fanatics . . . The history of the world before Mahomet was reduced to a short legend of the patriarchs, the prophets, and the Persian kings . . . The heroes of Plutarch and Livy were buried in oblivion.

This is the testimony of a sincere friend, and no one has been ever since able to add anything to it, although we have had plenty of vague declamation like the following :—¹

Every branch of science was seriously studied there [Cordova] . . . Music, oratory, as well as the severer pursuits of science seemed to come naturally to this brilliant people; and they possessed in a high degree that quality of critical perception and appreciation of the finer shades of expression which in the present day we associate with the French nation.

This writer informs us that the library of Hakam II.—960-974—contained four hundred thousand volumes; and other writers tell us of six hundred thousand volumes at Bagdad; but Gibbon, who examined the catalogues, tells us the books were for the most part mere rubbish, commentaries on the Koran, local chronicles, amatory poems, traditions, and tales, &c.

The Arabs do not claim the credit of the notation now called Arabic; they say it came to them from India. As to astronomy, they valued it chiefly for its supposed connection with astrology, as Gibbon admits.² We have already seen how they were driven to learn arithmetic. And thus we come at last to the two subjects on which their undoubted superiority must rest—the philosophy of Aristotle, and medicine, with its subsidiary sciences of botany and chemistry. In these sciences they were as far ahead of the Christians of the West as these were ahead of them in every other science, human and divine. We have seen how recklessly Arab learning has been exaggerated; we need

¹ *The Moors in Spain*, pp. 144-190.

² Ch. lii.

only read the fifth volume of Montalembert's great work to see how shamelessly the Christian schools and scholars of those times have been calumniated.

The author of *The Moors in Spain* states two or three facts very much to our purpose. He says¹ that in the kingdom of Cordova the Spaniards formed the bulk of the population; and² that they were better off under the Moors than they had been before, and just as free to practise their religion. I may observe that this state of things lasted only to the end of the Ommiade dynasty, A.D. 1028. Now, this same writer tells us³:—

The Arabs, rough tribesmen as they had been at their first arrival, had softened by contact with the Andalusians, and by their natural disposition to enjoyment and luxury, into a highly civilized people, delighting in poetry and literature, &c.

And yet we are constantly reminded of Moorish *light* and Christian *darkness*!

The intellectual, moral, and religious state of Spain at the time of the conquest, has been grossly misrepresented by English writers. No province of the empire had been more thoroughly Romanised and studded with great cities. The Vandal domination lasted only twenty years—410-430—and produced no permanent effect. Under the Goths—430-711—the change amounted—for the mass of the people—to only a change of masters; their condition was no worse than it had been under the Romans, and the Catholic Church was very little molested by the Arian kings. After their conversion, in 587, they assisted regularly at the great national synods of Toledo, and gave the full weight of their authority to the disciplinary decrees there enacted. Sixteen of these great synods were held between 589 and 701, with an average attendance of forty bishops, to say nothing of the annual synods in each of the six provinces.⁴ And what men some of these bishops were! St. Leander, St. Isidore, St. Martin of Dume, St. Fructuosus, St. Ildefonsus, St. Julian,

¹ Page 169.

² Page 44.

³ Page 189.

⁴ See Rohrbacher, vol. x.; Hefele, *Councils*, vols. iii., iv. Even Gibbon (ch. xxxviii) has to admit the high-class character and great influence of these Spanish bishops.

St. Eugene of Toledo, &c. And as to the Catholic kings, most of them stand out in striking contrast to the Greek emperors, and the Moslem Caliphs of the time. St. Isidore of Seville died in 636, having been bishop of that see for nearly forty years. St. Braulio of Saragossa (626-646) regarded him as a man raised up by God to adorn the Church of Spain. His *Etymologies*, in twenty books, are a veritable encyclopedia of all the learning of his time; grammar, history, rhetoric, dialectics, arithmetic, geometry, music, astronomy, medicine, chronology, geography, natural history, &c., to say nothing of his voluminous writings on ecclesiastical and sacred subjects.¹ The second synod of Toledo, in 531, ordered the establishment of cathedral schools; there were also numerous monastic schools; and yet, in spite of kings, bishops, synods, and schools, the Arabs found Spain 'buried in moral and intellectual darkness!'

Balmez² says:—

The archives of Spain contain, in documents relating to the dominion of the Saracens, riches, the examination of which may be said not yet to be commenced; perhaps they will throw some light on this point (their indebtedness to the monasteries).

Perhaps some reader of the I. E. RECORD may be in a position to tell us how far this hope has been realised.

Christian students were not ashamed to cross the Pyrenees to study Galen and Aristotle;³ but no Moor ever crossed them to study Tacitus or Livy, Horace or Virgil, or the other classics so diligently read in the Christian schools. Christians have always advanced, while Moslems have relapsed into their original ignorance. In Islam, learning was an exotic forced by wealthy and ambitious rulers; the wealth has vanished, and with it the learning and culture. It never was so in Christian countries.

¹ See Rohrbacher, vol. x., p. 102.

² *European Civilization*, ch. xli.

³ Many English writers tell us that the celebrated Gerbert (Sylvester II.) and Peter the venerable, studied at Cordova; they are quite mistaken; for Gerbert studied under Hatton, Bishop of Vich in Catalonia—a fact which proves that Spanish learning was not confined to the Arabs: Peter went to Spain, but not at all as a student; got the Koran translated into Latin, and composed a most solid refutation of it, which we still possess in great part. (See Rohrbacher, vol. xiii., p. 229; vol. xv., p. 483.)

In describing Moorish culture, English writers look only at the surface, forgetting its hideous moral conditions. For instance, Moslem women were condemned by law and custom to perpetual ignorance, loss of personal liberty, and to all the degradation resulting from polygamy and arbitrary divorce. A learned, or even an educated woman, was so rare in Islam, that we scarcely ever hear of one, even during the golden age of Moorish learning and culture. But, during all that period, the Christian wife was the equal, not the slave, of her husband; Christian girls were educated in convents; and learned nuns taught not only sacred but profane literature, as Montalembert has fully proved.¹ The nuns had their *scriptoria*, too; and some of the most beautiful MSS. still in existence are from their hands.²

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¹ Vol. v., ch. 4.

² The monks and nuns regarded transcribing as a pious work; their *scriptoria* were regularly blessed in the following formula: 'Benedicere digneris, Domine, hoc scriptorium famulorum tuorum, ut quicquid scriptum fuerit, sensu capiant, opere perficiant.'

HOW TO BUILD OUR CHURCHES

ARCHITECTURE is the fine art by which ideas are expressed in a structure; and if that structure is erected to accommodate a number of persons who congregate in it, not for the purpose of gratifying physical needs only, but *in obedience to an idea*, such a structure is called a *monument* of that idea. Therefore Christian architecture must be expressive of Christian ideas; and monuments to deserve the name of Christian must express the doctrine and discipline of the Christian Church. The full exposition of this principle of Church building would lead us into a lengthy but most interesting disquisition opening out large vistas where the natural and supernatural intertwine and mutually reflect the light; and if shadows there be imperious to human sight, this but enhances and in a sense perfects the finished picture. The result of such an inquiry, as far as it bears upon our present subject, could be expressed in these few words 'Christian architecture is the symbolical language of the Church as expressed in her material fabrics.' Before one had examined the actual structures one could premise by an *a priori* argument that they will express theological, doctrinal, Catholic and exclusive ideas; aiming not only at accommodating a congregation but at elevating their devotions and informing their minds; attaching them to the spiritual Church, of which the earthly building is the symbol, and leading them on to that heavenly Jerusalem of which the material fabric is, as it were, the vestibule.

A meeting-house containing nothing but closely-packed sittings, wherein men and women are stowed with economy of space to listen to a discourse from a pulpit crowded against a wall is not a work of fine art; for the position of the audience does not indicate an emotion, say the worship of God. Structures of this class, indeed, perform an act of sheltering men from the inclemencies of the weather, but do not express an act which is the result of an idea. On

the contrary, such a structure is merely the result of a physical necessity; for the meeting-house, like the bar-room, is constructed for the mere purpose of human storage, without reference to any possible act of the audience beyond mere existence, and is strictly prohibitory in form and expression of any demonstration which is the result of an emotion. When the men who feed and drink and listen to the discourse make any motion it must be to leave the building. The limits of the structure forbid any method of grouping other than that of a series of equal human quantities which have but one desire, viz., to be accommodated without being crowded, and to be protected from the sun and rain. But when, on the other hand, we see a structure providing for a combination of groupings various in magnitude, elegance, dignity—which combination, in part or as a whole, represents certain acts of these groups—say, prayer, praise, confession of sins, exhortation, the partaking of Communion, baptism, marriages, funerals, processions of various kinds, such as we find embodied in the nave, aisle, choir, cloisters, chapel, chapter-house and baptistery of a mediæval cathedral—we may then say that such a structure denotes acts which are the result of ideas, and that it assists the congregation within it in the performance of these acts, and is therefore architecture, *i. e.*, the expression of ideas in a structure.¹

This primary, true principle of ecclesiastical building, viz., 'symbolism,' is that which has been followed in the construction of the grand mediæval specimens of *pointed* architecture. When fitness is found with this symbolism there arises an expression which is the true cause of all artistic effect: and, inasmuch as works of art deviate from these principles of symbolism, fitness, and expression, in the same proportion do they depart from excellence. Then by an easy deduction we can assert that inasmuch as we are ignorant of these principles, in the same ratio are we incapable of understanding or of appreciating the works which are based upon them.

¹ *Nature and Function of Art.* Leopold Eidlitz. London: Simpson, Low. 1881

Christianity presents a religious system which brings forward the exaltation of God and the humiliation of man. To exalt God, to humble ourselves, become almost controvertible terms. God is all in all, man nothing. Man's virtue *ut sic* is not now an element of acceptance in the eyes of God, not even his faith, excepting in the sense of mercy, not of desert. To encourage us in the effort to attain virtue, to nerve us with hope when we have long neglected our duty, to ascetically mortify ourselves that we may obtain mercy, is the faith of those who built the cathedrals of the Middle Ages; and this because Christ was poor and lowly as His Apostles and those who followed in their path. This Christianity was architecturally expressed in the structures of the ages of faith; and that it was executed in a sublime manner, superior to all efforts in art creation, no man who fully understands architecture will doubt; and, moreover, that the development of doctrine found true and adequate expression in those monuments, no one needs to be convinced. All this was the result of a religion based on the grandeur and omnipotence of the Deity and the humility and nothingness of man. If we were asked to point out a noble theological poem we should not instance the *Divina Commedia*, much as we admire the poetry of Dante, but rather the sublime Cathedrals of Chartres, Amiens, or Notre Dame. These are noble hymns of praise continually ascending to the Most High. A Gothic cathedral does, as it were, and scarce by a metaphor, praise God. It is not merely a place wherein, but with which, the Church worships the Almighty.

On entering a Gothic cathedral [says Coleridge] I am filled with devotion, and with awe; I am lost to the actualities which surround me, and my whole being expands into the infinite; earth and air, and nature and art, all swell up into eternity, and the only sensible impression left is, that I am nothing.

The revival of Greek and Roman pagan literature and art by men who frequently had but little sympathy with Christianity, inaugurated a period when even those who did not doubt of the truth of Christianity in the least, but whose minds were full of the ideas of the ante-Christian world—it

philosophy and its physical beauty, all of which contrast with the gloom of an ascetic church—contemplated cathedrals, and came to the conclusion that this sort of art would never do in the light of classic conceptions. Look at a mediæval church, and it suggests more than many years of historical study would impart. The mere sight of a work of art excites feelings which cannot be translated into words. In this way mediæval Christian architecture did not please the men of the *renaissance*. Had you asked these men the question, they would have told you faithfully that they did not doubt the system of Christianity in the least, only they disliked the forms of its monuments as found in the cathedrals of the thirteenth century.¹ The pagan ideas, imbued from a too-absorbing study of antique art and literature, tainted men's minds, and this found expression in the structures of the period. This debased architecture continued until the Gothic revival, which strongly influenced for good the general current of art and architecture (using that word in its most general sense) remotely. We say remotely, because though Gothic odds and ends were copied from ancient buildings, modern works are not founded upon old and true principles which we can plainly perceive consciously or unconsciously guided our forefathers in all their works, and which are as clearly to be discerned in the manor-house or the village church as in the highest efforts of their genius. But in ecclesiastical art the Gothic revival has obtained a firm hold. There is no doubt that in this branch ecclesiastics distance all competitors, and can show some few works which are eminently satisfactory, not as a mere revival of old forms and details—that is a secondary matter—but as genuine works of good art; they show us that there is not merely a copying of mediæval churches, but a revival of the art of mediæval times.

I see Rome writes [Archbishop Ulathorne] in altogether a new light from my former visits; it seems to me completely saturated with the blood of the martyrs and the prayers of the saints, at every step. But its fine things, even its finest churches, except the very old ones, do not penetrate the soul like our own Gothic churches.

¹ *Ibid.*

Making a tour in Belgium, His Grace was delighted with the church architecture, and indignant with the modern ornaments added in French and Roman style to their mediæval Gothic. 'How I should like,' he says, 'to grind the noses of the faces of the men who are changing so many of the fine old Gothic fronts of the houses into modern flat ones.' In his delightful *Autobiography* he writes of the Coventry church :—

After the church was completed it drew numbers of people of all classes to see it when unoccupied. It was a new thing to see a Catholic church, with all its Catholic appointments, just like the old churches as they were furnished in the Middle Ages, and I had a person there to let me know when there were several visitors. I then went in and explained to them both the church and all its symbolism, with which the congregation was made thoroughly acquainted. This sometimes led to interesting conversations on the Catholic religion, and catechisms were accepted.

We have seen that in a general point of view ecclesiastical art is a symbolical language. This has not happened by chance, but is the effect of that solicitude which the Church has ever shown to press everything into her service which could give visible form to the ideas she wished to convey, her mission being that of teacher of mankind. In which course she does not do violence to, but follows the nature of man, whose perceptions begin with the senses. At one time the language of her structures was more generally understood than at present. Hence we will call attention to some examples which have reference to our subject, and in which this language is easily intelligible. We shall find that the works of the ancients more graphically expressed the ideas of the Church, and more and more perfectly, as it were, incorporated her genius than those of the moderns; that in the simplest and smallest church the true principles of Christian architecture were as perfectly set forth as in the most magnificent cathedral, in proportion to its nature and extent.

From the earliest ages of the Christian Church it was deemed necessary for the due solemnity of religious worship that there should be a marked distinction between the place for the celebration of the sacred mysteries and the place for

the congregation of the worshippers. This feeling gradually produced the *chancel* for the celebration of the sacred mysteries, which was so called from the *cancelli* or *cancellæ*, or rood-screen, which divided it from the nave, or place for the laity. Thus the chancel and nave became the two essential parts of a church, without which the idea of a church cannot be maintained. To show the peculiar sanctity of the *chancel*, and its exclusive appropriation to the solemn services of religion, and the ministers of the altar, the following admonitory text, or some other of the same meaning, was frequently written over the chancel arch or upon the *cancelli* or rood-screen: '*Intra cancellos laicus ne quisque moretur.*' In the cathedral and large conventual churches the chancel received the name of choir, from the circumstance of the *chorus cantorum* who sang the Divine Office, being placed there. A general error hence has arisen from not distinguishing the three great divisions in the church; or, as we usually say, the nave, or body of the church, the choir, and the sanctuary.

It has been the general custom to place the choir between the sanctuary and the nave. In some continental churches, and frequently in the churches of religious Orders, the choir is behind the altar. Reverence requires that the sanctuary should be fenced off from the public part of the church; it was a usual and convenient arrangement that the choir should be included within the rood-screen (*cancelli*) forming the enclosure. This division of the church into nave and chancel may either be marked structurally, or it may be made solely (when necessity demands it) by the dispositions of the fittings without reference to the design of the building. This latter plan is extremely simple. Given a large undivided area of any regular form, whether founded on the circle or the parallelogram, or a combination of the two, we have but to raise the *cancelli* at the eastern part, enclosing sufficient space for the altar and for the choir.

In planning the portion of the church set apart for the people, the problem which is presented to us is, how first we may best provide for a congregation worshipping towards one altar; and how, secondly, may they be so placed that all may hear the words of the preacher. The first point

mainly depends on the arrangement of the *cancelli*; for it is not necessary that everyone present should be able to see the whole of the chancel. The altar, indeed, should be the markedly principal object in the building, and all interest should gravitate towards it. But this effect is brought about not so much by striving to make the altar visible from every corner, as by giving it a dignified appearance when it is seen. If the whole *feeling* of a building leads up to one point, it matters not whether that point is always visible or not. Unless this be allowed it must follow that for centuries and through the ages of faith and of perfect ecclesiastical architecture that our churches were planned on an entirely wrong system. We must give up the placing of the whole congregation on the ground-floor, and even the last century fashion of an oblong room with galleries round three sides will but imperfectly serve our turn. If it be insisted that every member of the congregation should be able to see the altar from his place, architects must look for instruction not to mediæval churches, but to modern theatres, where they will find a similar requirement successfully met.

For the second problem: although ecclesiastics do not hold that instruction from the pulpit is the sole or chief object of churches, there is no property more essential to many of our Irish churches than that they should be well-adapted structures for public teaching. In a sermon it is necessary that every syllable should reach the ears of the auditors. Moreover, the preacher is unable to make use of musical recitation as a help to his voice. One chief aim, therefore, in planning the people's part of the church must be to bring the whole well within the range of the pulpit. Yet the exigencies of the present age and the existing system of preaching may prevent a deeper insight into the meaning and uses of our churches.

It is evident [says a writer in the *Dublin Review*] that the Catholic and Protestant religions have two essentially different principles of worship, and two different standards of proportions, both of which must necessarily influence the form and characteristics of their religious edifices. The worship of the Catholic Church is based upon the belief in rites and practices, endowed

with essential holiness, and capable of communicating that quality to external objects ; that of the Protestant, entirely on the uncertain influence of a human agency. Take the clergyman out of his pulpit and reading desk, and there is nothing in the parish church which warns or invites the members of his flock to kneel and pray. But the Catholic peasant goes not past the door of his church without an act of reverence ; the traveller, who enters it through curiosity, kneels for a brief space to pray, before proceeding to examine its paintings or tombs ; and this at a time when no service is actually performing. And why ? because the belief in a sacrament wherein our Blessed Redeemer is ever present, inspires a reverence for the entire temple in which it reposes ; the very celebration of its solemn mysteries leaves a savour of holiness throughout the building, which renders it, through the day and night a holy place. In like manner, if we suppose the Protestant preacher to be indeed in his desk, but one of the congregation placed at such a distance as not to hear a syllable of what he says—for example, just entering at the western door of a cathedral while service is going on beyond the screen—there is no common tie between the two, and the stranger can no more be a partaker of the worship than if he were outside the church-yard. On the other hand, if the Catholic have passed the threshold of the vastest cathedral, and see the Holy Sacrifice offered upon its most distant altar, he will kneel in adoration, sensible that he has come into the presence chamber of the King of kings. Hence it follows that to places of Protestant worship it is the limited faculty of hearing that must suggest proportions ; while the sight almost boundless and quite insatiable, the boldest and divinest of the senses, gives the standard of measure and proportion to the Catholic temple. When our ancestors knelt on the battle-field during the celebration of Mass, there was a sublimity in the simultaneous act of adoration directed by thousands towards one object, which their eye could reach ; whereas were it desired that a modern Protestant army should be made to pray before risking their lives in battle, it would be necessary for each regimental chaplain to read the service separately to his corps, if, indeed, it would not be necessary for each company to have prayers by itself. Wherever Protestants have to build churches or meeting houses, the first object in view has necessarily been that the preacher should be audible in every part. This rule is incompatible with grandeur of dimensions or proportions ; it imposes the necessity of introducing galleries, which destroy the unbroken loftiness of a building, and, what is worse, makes the clergyman instead of the altar the principal object of attention. Where they have overlooked their proper standard, as when they built St. Paul's, or adopted our old cathedrals, they have necessarily reduced the body of the edifice to the degraded condition of a vestibule to the chancel, wherein

alone are performed acts of public worship. But in Catholic countries, as once in our own, every foot of the building, from wall to wall, and from pavement to ceiling, belongs to God, and is consecrated to His worship. The threshold is as secure from profanation as the sanctuary; the sister arts are engaged to decorate the walls which architecture has raised from the door to the altar, though with due subordination of parts; and the eye finds all that it desires—not only grandeur of design, but corresponding magnificence of execution.¹

The position of the chancel or choir seems invariably to have been towards the East. The most ancient churches in Ireland preserve the distinction of parts and *orientation* faithfully. Some of our very small churches, indeed, consist of a simple parallelogram, but these can be considered only as oratories or places of private devotion. That these arrangements of separation and orientation in the ancient churches contained symbolical meaning we have the testimony of many liturgical writers of antiquity, by whom we are informed that the distinction of chancel and nave, besides the self-evident and natural symbolism of the distinction between the sacrifice, priests and people, was also typical of the Church spiritual—the triumphant and militant; that the chancel arch with the representation of the Last Judgment over it, commonly called the ‘doom,’ typified death, by which the triumphant was entered from the militant state.²

The reasons for the orientation of churches, with some remarks upon the beautiful natural effects produced by this position, are thus given by A. W. Pugin:—

A church should be so placed that the faithful face the East while at prayer. Such has been the practice of the Church from the earliest period, and very few are the examples of any deviation from this rule. The chancel should, consequently, be turned towards the East, and all the altars of the church should be so placed that the celebrant while officiating looks towards the same quarter.

Independent of all Christians turning towards the same point being a beautiful figure of the unity of the Church, those learned writers—Durandus, Gaventus, and Cardinal

¹ *Dublin Review*, August, 18 7.

² *Catholic Magazine*, Duffy, Dublin, 1847.

Bona, adduced many mystical and pious reasons. But, moreover, the ancient and canonical position is the most judicious that could have been chosen. How beautiful do the rays of the rising sun, streaming through the brilliant eastern windows of the choir or chancel, darting their warm and cheerful light to the very extremity of the nave, correspond to the hymn to be sung at Prime: *Jam lucis orto sidere!* Then, as the day advances, from the whole southern side a flood of light is poured into the building, gradually passing off towards evening, until all the glories of a setting sun, immediately opposite the western window, light up the nave with glowing tints, the rich effects being much increased by the partial obscurity of the choir end at the time.

No [continues Mr. Pugin], this beautiful passage of light from sunrise to sunset, with all its striking and sublime effects, is utterly lost in a church placed in any other than an ancient position. In short, there are both mystical and natural reasons for adhering to antiquity, a departure from which can only be justified under the most urgent necessity.

In the more advanced ages we find the necessity of larger churches producing new efforts in art, guided by the old principles and harmoniously blending symbolism, fitness and expression, with sublime and beautiful effects. Churches were then built in the cruciform and tripartite arrangement, which were symbolical of the great dogmas of the Christian faith—the Redemption of mankind and the Trinity in Unity. Confining ourselves to these principal features, we think few will deny that they were symbolical in spirit and appropriate, inasmuch as they were apt adaptations of the means to the end required—the reception of the faithful within a material fabric to witness the solemn rites of religion, and the elevation of their souls to spiritual things by material agencies. Who can enter one of our primitive Irish churches and not participate in the feelings so eloquently expressed by Dr. Petrie, in reference to their former state:—

Yet in their symmetrical simplicity their dimly-lighted nave, entered by its central west door-way, and terminated on the other side by its chancel arch, affording to the devout worshipper an unimpeded view of the brighter sanctuary in which were celebrated the divine mysteries which afforded him consolation in this life,

and hope in the next—in the total absence of everything that could distract his attention—there is an expression of fitness to their purpose too often wanting in temples of higher pretensions.

Now, an admiration for the sacred architecture of one style must not lay us open to the accusation of condemning every other. Many are unable or unwilling to afford room in their minds for a twofold admiration of objects, each perfect in its kind, because the perfection of principles essentially just, and brought by ages of experience, to a full maturity. As the same writer says, referring to Pugin, 'to our ears the wish that St. Peter's at Rome, or the Cathedral of Pisa had been built in the pointed style, sounds as harsh and absurd, as a regret, were such expressed, that York Cathedral or Westminster Abbey was not erected of the Corinthian order.' The arts of a country are a part of its social growth—they follow step by step the progress of a nation in its advance and decline.

This subject of ecclesiastical architecture recommends itself to all Catholics or Irishmen, but especially to the clergy. It is a subject of both religious and national importance, if we are desirous to prove that we are anxious to show our respect for the solemnities of Divine worship, and to make our churches something more characteristic of their destination than of secular buildings or of conventicles. Let us remember that good taste is a prerogative of our religion, and that architectural knowledge and taste do not come spontaneously; they must be cultivated. And, surely, it is not unreasonable to expect that buildings directed by ignorant men must of necessity be abortions. We cannot be expected to compete with the ages of faith in splendour of dimension or of decoration, but we may imitate them in good taste. Let no individual follow his own caprice in buildings consecrated to God, and belonging to His religion.

In this paper, which is on a subject of great magnitude, and involves many details and accessories, it has not been our intention to criticise, or even peremptorily to assert how we are to build our churches, but rather to call attention to the duty of earnest study how we ought to build them.

JEROME O'CONNELL, O.D.C.

IRISH MONASTERIES IN GERMANY

HONAU

HONAU or Hohenaugia is an island in the Rhine, not far from Strasburg in which a monastery was established in the year 724. The site of the monastery was granted by the Ethicos, Dukes of Alsace. Adalbert, who is sometimes, though incorrectly, mentioned as its founder, richly endowed it. It was further enriched by grants and privileges from the sons of Adalbert, Luitfrid and Eberhard.¹ The importance of the establishment can be judged from the charters granted to it at various times which are happily preserved by Mabillon.² One of these charters, drawn up by the Abbot Beatus, is signed by eight Irish bishops. It makes over and bequeaths to the monastery and to the 'pauperes et peregrinos gentis Scottorum,' not only the buildings, lands, chattels, and appurtenances of Honau itself, but also the right and title to eight churches that had been erected in different parts of the German Empire by the zeal of those 'Pilgrim fathers.'

The first abbot of the monastery was Benedict, also called Tubanus.³ He dedicated his establishment to St. Michael the Archangel. Unfortunately, we know nothing about his personal history beyond the fact that he was a Scot, and the first abbot of this 'Schottenkloster.' He was succeeded as abbot by Dubanus, Dubanus by Thomas, Thomas by Stephen, Stephen by Beatus. Beatus was the most remarkable of the Abbots of Honau. According to the learned German historian, Friederich, he is the same who evangelized a good part of Switzerland, founded the

¹ Schöflpin, *Alsatia Illustrata*, i., p. 737

² *Annales Ord. S. Benedicti*, tom ii., p. 59.

³ Primus Benedictus constructor ejus, cujus nomen hibernicum fuit Tubanus (hodie Tubha-Calanus) secundus Dubanus (hib-Duban-Nigellus). Zeuss, *Grammatica Celtica*, p. xiv.

monastery of Beromünster, near Lucerne, of Yberg in the Canton of Schwitz, and built up several other establishments in Unterwalden and over the Brünig in the Bernese Oberland, where his name is still commemorated in the famous Beatenhöhle,¹ and in the town of St. Beatenberg, over the Lake of Thun.

Most valuable privileges were granted to Honau by various princes; but the most remarkable of them was the charter of Charlemagne,² which confirmed to the monastery all donations previously made 'by kings or queens or other servants of God,' and exempted it from tolls and several other imposts then in force amongst the people. It further declares that these pilgrim monks are not to be molested or interfered with in any way, and that all these lands and possessions are to belong to them and to their countrymen, to the exclusion of all others: 'an interesting record,' as Dr. Todd remarks, 'of the high esteem and favour in which the Irish of the Continent were held at that time by the greatest monarch of the west.'³

But the most important document that has come down to us in connection with the history of this institution, is the charter, or, rather, the will of the Abbot Beatus.¹ This document, besides the intrinsic value of its contents, is attested and authenticated by the signatures of the abbot (in the first place), and of eight bishops whose names, as

¹ *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, von D. J. Friederich, vol. i., p. 182.

² Si quis unum hoc non fecerit recognoscat se regis praeceptum non obaudire: quia reges Francorum libertatem dederunt omnibus peregrinis Scottorum ut nullus rapiat aliquid de rebus eorum nec ulla generatio praeter eorum generationem possideat ecclesias eorum. Mabillon, *Annales*, tom ii., Append., p. 698.

³ *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, 1853-57, vol. vi., p. 546.

⁴ Ego itaque Beatus, etsi indignus Abbas, dono pro animae meae remedio totum et integrum quantumcumque acquisivi aut collaboravi; dono hoc totum et integrum ad illum locum praedictum et ad illos sanctos, in quorum honore constructus est et ad pauperes et peregrinos gentis Scottorum. Dono autem primum ecclesiam quam ego construi in Moguntina civitate: et alteram ecclesiam quae est constructa in Sylva in Marchlicio et etiam ecclesiam Lognan, in curte nuncupata Wisicna; et quartam quae est in Hawenbach, et quintam quae est in Burenheim, et sextam quae est in Rhodanheim, et septimam quae est in Hurmusa, et octavam quae est in Buchonia. *Annales Ord. S. Benedicti*, tom ii., p. 59.

Zeuss has shown,¹ clearly indicate their nationality. The signatures are:—

- ✠ Signum BEATI ABBATIS, qui hanc chartam fieri rogavit.
- ✠ Signum COMGANI Episcopi.
- ✠ Signum ECHOCH Episcopi.
- ✠ Signum SUATHAR Episcopi.
- ✠ Signum MANCUNIGIB Episcopi.
- ✠ Signum CAINCOMRIHC Episcopi.
- ✠ Signum DOILGUSO Episcopi.
- ✠ Signum ERDOMNACH Episcopi.
- ✠ Signum HEMENI Episcopi.

Dr. Todd endeavoured to make capital out of these signatures, in favour of his contention that there was no such thing as diocesan jurisdiction in Ireland before the twelfth century, and no canonical restriction whatever to the consecration of bishops. According to him the abbot who was not a bishop at all, simply consecrated whomsoever he pleased; and the bishops thus consecrated looked up to the abbot, as the head of a sept, according to the Brehon code, looked up to a chieftain. This theory was developed and formally put forward by Dr. Todd in his *Life of St. Patrick*.² No doubt the early organization of the Celtic Church outside the monasteries is involved in great obscurity. This arises evidently from the fact that the records have perished. Those of the monasteries alone have come down to us, and they deal naturally with the organization of monastic rather than of secular life. The great, and indeed, predominating, part which the monasteries played in the religious life of Ireland may be readily conceded; yet Mgr. Gargan, now happily ruling as President of Maynooth College,³ had little difficulty in showing that the bishops who lived and laboured in the monasteries, under the rule of the abbot, were merely 'Chorepiscopi' subject to the external jurisdiction of the ordinaries who ruled and governed then as they do now. There is no proof worth the least consideration that

¹ *Grammatica Celtica*, p. xviii.

² *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland: A Memoir of His Life and Missions*. By James Henthorn Todd, D.D., pp. 3-30.

³ *The Ancient Church of Ireland*. By Denis Gargan, D.D., pp. 11-44.

such bishops were consecrated by one who was merely an abbot, but not a bishop. The case mentioned by Wasserscheleben,¹ of Gregory of Utrecht, is by no means clearly established.

This learned German shows, moreover, in his own work, that the privilege of having resident bishops in the monasteries, ready at any moment to administer the Sacraments of Confirmation and Orders, was derived directly from the Holy See, and was much availed of in countries far distant from the seat of authority, at a time when direct communication with Rome was difficult and uncertain. As an instance he quotes the privilege granted by Pope Adrian I. to the monastery of St. Denis in France, in the year 771.²

The fact that eight different churches are mentioned as having been erected by the monks in different localities in Germany would, on this principle, readily account for the eight bishops who signed the charter. One of these churches was in the city of Mayence, one at Hawenback, one at Bubenheim, one at Rodesheim, one at Bochenn, one at Lognau, one at Hurmusa, and one at what is called Sylvia in Marchlichio.³

Grandidier,⁴ and after him Rettberg,⁵ mention a monastery of Luttenbach to which Abbot Beatus sent eighteen Irish monks, and which subsequently became a flourishing establishment. In some of the Codices of the Charter of Beatus, Luttenbach is mentioned as merely another name for 'Silvia in Marchlichio.'⁶ All these churches founded from Honau were situated according to some in the Palatinate of the Rhine. Others identify Beronia with

¹ *Irische Kannonensammlung*, p. xlii.

² Quapropter auctoritate Beati Petri . . . fulti in jam dicto monasterio statuentes promulgamus ut penitus liceat ibidem habere episcopum sicut a priscis temporibus et usque hactenus fuit, &c., &c. See Wasserscheleben, *Irische Kononensammlung*, p. xli.

³ See Mabillon, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Grandidier, *Histoire de l'Eglise de Strasbourg*, tom. i, p. 404, and fol.

⁵ Abt. Beatus schenkt dem Kloster 810 eine menge von ihm erbauter Kirchen, darunter auch eine in Mainz, eine andre in Luttenbach, die nach einer alter notiz von ihm in ein Kloster umgeformt und mit achtzehn Schottenmöncher besetzt ist. Sie ward später ein blühendes Collegiatstift. Rettberg. *Kirchengechichte Deutschlands*, vol. ii., p. 80.

⁶ See Neugart, C.D., ii. 487.

Beromünster, in the diocese of Constance,¹ and find traces of a monastery of Lautenbach in the ancient diocese of Basle. This has led them to the conclusion that Abbot Beatus of Hohenau is the same who is venerated as the Apostle of Switzerland. The dates, however, will scarcely admit such an inference. The question is discussed at great length by Lutolf, the Swiss historian, who regards the Swiss Beatus as an Irishman, no doubt, but advances solid evidence to show that he could not have been the same as Beatus of Honau.

The successor of Beatus as abbot was Egidanus. He was probably the last of the abbots of Honau; in the reign of Charles the Gross the whole establishment was transferred to Rheinau, and afterwards to the Canons Regular of Old St. Peter's in Strasburg, where the Irish abbots of Honau were venerated as saints.² It was a canon of this establishment, named Jean le Laboureur, who communicated to Mabillon the important documents relating to the history of Honau, which have been preserved in the *Annals of the Benedictine Order*.³

J. F. HOGAN.

¹ *Die Glaubensboten der Schweiz: vor St. Gallus*, Von Alois Lutolf, pp. 27, and fol.

² Les cinq premiers abbés sont qualifiés de saints dans le calendrier de St. Pierre le Vieux qui prétend même en conserver les reliques. Leurs os furent retrouvés en 1646 par Gabriel Hauk, évêque de Tripoli. *Candidae Casae* 46.

³ *Annales O.S.B.*, tom ii., p. 59; also Appendix, pp. 69^{scripta}.

DOCUMENTS

ENCYCLICAL OF HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII TO THE
BISHOPS OF SCOTLAND

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPA XIII.

EPISTOLA ENCYCLICA AD EPISCOPOS SCOTIAE

VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS ARCHIEPISCOPI ET EPISCOPI SCOTIAE

LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILES FRATRES SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM

Caritatis studium, quod Nos habet de salute dissidentium fratrum sollicitos, nequaquam cessare Nos patitur, si quos ab unico Christi ovili error varius segregatos tenet, ad complexum Pastoris boni revocare possimus. Vehementius quotidie miseram dolemus vicem hominum tanto numero, quibus christianae fide abest integritas. Itaque et sanctissimi conscientia officii, et amantissimi hominum Hospitatoris, cuius personam nullo merito Nostro gerimus, tamquam suasu et instinctu permoti, contendere ab iis omni ope insistimus, ut instaurare nobiscum unius eiusdemque communionem fidei aliquando velint. Magnum opus, ac de humanis operibus longe difficillimum exitu: quod quidem perficere non nisi eius est, qui omnia potest, Dei. Sed hac ipsa de causa non despondemus animum, nec deterriti a proposito sumus ob magnitudinem difficultatum, quas humana virtus perrumpere sola non potest. 'Nos autem praedicamus Christum crucifixum . . . Et quod infirmum est Dei, fortius est hominibus.'¹ In tanto opinionum errore, in tot malis quae vel premunt vel imminet, monstrare velut digito conamur, unde sit petenda salus, cohortando, monendo universitatem gentium, ut levent 'oculus in montes, unde veniet auxilium. Quod enim Isaias praedixerat futurum, id comprobavit eventus: scilicet Ecclesia Dei ortu divino divinaque dignitate sic eminet, ut se intuentium oculis plane conspiciendam praebeat: 'Et erit in novissimis diebus praeparatus mons domus Domini in vertice montium, et elevabitur super colles.'²

„Hingegen in curis consiliisque Nostris suum obtinet Scotia
mon. lxx besetzt ist. Apostolicae huic Sedi diu multumque dilectam, Nos
Kirchengechichte Deutschla

¹ See Neugart, C.D.,
Or. i. 23, 25.² Is. ii. 2.

ipsi proprio quodam nomine caram habemus. Ante annos viginti, libet enim commemorare, Apostolici ministerii in Scotis dedicavimus primitias, cum altero ab inito Pontificatus die ecclesiasticam apud ipsos hierarchiam restituendam curavimus. Quo ex tempore praeclare vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, vestroque adnidente clero, numquam non bono studuimus istius gentis, quam quidem sua indoles amplectendae veritati peridoneam facit. Nunc vero quoniam id aetatis sumus, ut propius iam absit humanus exitus, etiam visum est alloqui vos, Venerabiles Fratres, populoque vestro novum Apostolicae providentiae documentum impertire.

Turbulentissima illa tempestas, quae in Ecclesiam saeculo decimo sexto incubuit, sicut alios nimium multos per Europam, ita Scotos maximam partem abstraxit a fide catholica, quam plus mille annis cum gloria retinuerant. Gratum Nobis est cogitatione repetere majorum vestrorum in rem catholicam non exigua promerita : itemque libet eos recordari, nec sane paucos, quorum virtute rebusque gestis Scotiae nomen inclaruit. At vero num hodie cives vestri abnuant meminisse vicissim, quid Ecclesiae catholicae, quid Apostolicae Sedi debeant? Cognita vobis planeque explorata commemoramus. Est in vetustis annalibus vestris, Ninianum, hominem Scotum, cum ipsum legendis sacris litteris acrius cepisset studium in spiritu proficiendi, dixisse : ‘Surgam, circuibō mare et aridam, quaeram veritatem, quam diligit anima mea. Itane tantis opus est? Nonne Petro dictum est : ‘Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram aedificabo Ecclesiam meam, et portae inferi non praevalēbunt adversus eam?’ Igitur in fide Petri nihil minus est, nihil obscurum nihil imperfectum, nihil adversum quod doctrinae nequam sententiaeque perversae, quasi portae inferi, praevalere sufficiant. Et ubi fides Petri nisi in sede Petri? Illuc certe, illuc mihi eundum est, ut exiens de terra mea et de cognatione mea et de domo patris mei merear in terra visionis videre voluntatem Domini et protegi a templo eius.’¹ Itaque Romam venerabundus properavit; cumque ad sepulcra Apostolorum de ipso fonte et capite catholicae veritatis large accepisset, iussu mandatuque Pontificis maximi domum reversus, romanae fidei documentis cives imbuīt, Ecclesiamque Gallovidiensem condidit, duobus ante saeculis, quam beatus Augustinus ad Anglos appulit. Hanc fidem S. Columba, hanc ipsam veteres

¹ Excerpta ex historia vitae S. Niniani, Episcopi Candidae Casae seu Gallovidiae, in Scotia, a S. Aelredo abbate Rievallensi conscripta.

monachi, quorum est Ioensis sedes tam claris nobilitata virtutibus, et ipsi summo servarunt obsequio et alios diligentissime edocuerunt. Quid Margaritam reginam memoremus, non Scotiae tantummodo, sed christiani nominis universi lumen et decus? quae in rerum mortalium collocata fastigio, cum nihil tamen nisi immortale ac divinum in omni vita spectavisset, suarum splendore virtutum orbem terrarum implevit. Iamvero si tantam excellentiam sanctitatis attigit, catholicae fidei afflatu impulsuque attigit. Wallace[m] vero Bruce[m]que, lumina vestri generis, nonne constantia catholicae fidei fortissimos patriae propugnatores praestitit? Mittimus innumerabiles alios utilissimos reipublicae cives, quos Ecclesia parens educere numquam destitit. Mittimus adiuumenta cetera per ipsam vobis publice importata; eius certe providentia et auctoritate, celeberrima studiis optimis domicilia S. Andreae, Glascae, Aberdoniae patuerunt, ipsaque est exercendorum iudiciorum civilium constituta ratio. Quamobrem intelligimus satis fuisse causae cur honestissimum nomen 'sanctae Sedis specialis filia' genti Scotorum adhaeserit.

Verum magna ex eo tempore conversio rerum consecuta est, fide avita apud plurimos extincta. Numquamne excitatum iri censebimus? Imo vero certa quaedam apparent indicia rerum, quae spem bonam de Scotis, adiuvante Deo, inchoare iubeant. Videmus enim lenius quotidie benigniusque haberi catholicos; dogmatis catholicae sapientiae iam non, ut fortasse antea, contemptum vulgo adhiberi, sed favorem a multis, obsequium a non paucis; perversitates opinionum, quae nimium quantum impediunt iudicium veri, sensim obsolescere. Atque utinam vigeat latius pervestigatio veritatis; neque enim dubitandum, quin auctior notitia religionis catholicae, germana nimirum suisque e fontibus, non ex alienis petita, praeiudicatas eiusmodi opiniones penitus ex animis abstergat.

Scotis universis ea quidem tribuenda laus non mediocris, quod divinas litteras colere et revereri assiduo consueverunt. Sinant igitur, nonnihil Nos de hoc argumento ad suam ipsorum salutem amanter attingere. Videlicet in ea, quam diximus, veracundia sacrarum litterarum inest velut quaedam cum Ecclesia catholica consensus: quidni queat redintegrandae unitatis initium aliquando existere? Ne recusent meminisse utriusque Testamenti libros se ab Ecclesia catholica, non aliunde, accepisse: cuius vigilantiae perpetuisque curis acceptum referendum, quod sacrae litterae maximas temporum ac rerum procellas integrae evasere.

Historia testatur iam inde antequitis de Scripturarum incolumitate Synodum Carthaginensem III atque Innocentium I romanum pontificem immortaliter meruisse. Recentiore vero memoria cogniti sunt tum Eugenii IV., tum Concilii Tridentini vigiles in eodem genere labores. Nos autem ipsi, haud ignari temporum, datis non ita pridem litteris encyclicis, Episcopos catholici orbis gravissime appellavimus, diligenterque monuimus quid opus esset facto, ut integritas ac divina auctoritas sacrarum litterarum salva consisteret.

Nam, in hoc praecipiti ingeniorum cursu, sunt plures quos libido fastidiosius quaelibet disquirendi, contemptioque vetustatis ita agat transversos, ut fidem sacro volumini vel elevare omnem, vel certe minuere non dubitent. Nimirum homines opinione scientiae inflati, iudicioque praefidentes suo, non intelligunt quam sit improbae temeritatis plenum, humano prorsus modulo metiri quae Dei sunt opera; eoque minus audiunt Augustinum alte clamantem: 'Honora Scripturam Dei, honora verbum Dei etiam non apertum, differ pietate intelligentiam.' 'Admonendi sunt studiosi venerabilium litterarum . . . orent ut intelligant.'¹ 'Ne aliquid temere et incognitum pro cognito asserant . . . nihil temere esse affirmandum, seu caute omnia modesteque tractanda.'²

Verumtamen cum Ecclesiam perpetuo mansuram esse oportet, non solis ea Scripturis, sed alio quodam praesidio instrui debuit. Scilicet divini auctoris fuit illud cavere, nequando caelestium doctrinarum thesaurus in Ecclesia dissipatus deficeret; id quod necessitate futurum erat, si eum singulorum hominum arbitrio permisisset. Opus igitur fuisse apparet ab initio Ecclesiae magisterium aliquod vivum et perenne, cui ex Christi auctoritate demandata esset cum salutifera ceterarum rerum doctrina, tum interpretatio certa Scripturarum; quodque, assiduo Christi ipsius auxilio munitum ac septum, nullo modo delabi in errorum docendo posset. Cui rei sapientissime Deus cumulateque providit, idque per unigenitum Filium suum Iesum Christum: qui scilicet germanam Scripturarum interpretationem tum in tuto posuit cum Apostolos suos in primis et maxime iussit. nequaquam dare scriptioni operam, neque vulgo diribere veterum Scripturam, sine discrimine, sine lege, volumini, sed omnino

¹ In Ps. 146, n. 12.

² Doctr. Chr. lib. III., c. 37, n. 56.

³ In Gen. Op. Imp,

edocere gentes viva voce universas, et ad cognitionem professionemque doctrinae caelestis, alloquendo, perducere : 'Euntes in mundum universum praedicate Evangelium omni creaturae.'¹ Principatam autem docendi contulit uni, quo tamquam fundamento universitatem Ecclesiae docentis niti oporteret. Christus enim cum claves regni caelorum Petro traderet, una simul ei dedit ceteros regere qui 'ministerio verbi' fungerentur : 'Confirma fratres tuos.'² Hoc itaque magisterio cum discere fideles debeant quaecumque ad salutem pertinent, ipsam petant divinorum librorum intelligentiam necesse est.

Facile autem apparet quam incerta sit et manca et inepta proposito eorum ratio, qui Scripturarum sensum unice ipsarum Scripturarum ope vestigari posse existimant, Nam, eo dato, suprema lex interpretandi in iudicio denique consistet singulorum. Iamvero, quod supra attigimus, prout quisque comparatus animo, ingenio, studiis, moribus, ad legendum accesserit, ita divinorum sententiam eloquiorum iisdem de rebus interpretabitur. Hinc discrepantia interpretandi dissimilitudinem sentiendi contentionesque gignat necesse est, converso in materiam mali, quod unitati concordiaeque bono datum erat.

Quae quidem quam vere dicamus, res loquitur ipsa. Nam omnes catholicae fidei expertes atque inter se dissidentes de religione sectae, id sibi singulae sumunt ut omnino placitis institutisque suis suffragari sacras litteras contendant. Adeo nullum est tam sanctum Dei donum, quo non abuti ad perniciem suam homo queat, quandoquidem divinas ipsas Litteras, quod gravi sententia monuit beatus Petrus, 'indocti et instabiles depravant . . . ad suam ipsorum perditionem.'³ His de causis, Irenaeus, recens ab aetate Apostolorum idemque fidus eorum interpretes, inculcare hominum mentibus numquam destitit, non aliunde accipi notitiam veritatis, quam ex viva Ecclesiae institutione oportere : 'Ubi enim Ecclesia, ibi et Spiritus Dei, et ubi Spiritus Dei illic Ecclesia et omnis gratia ; Spiritus autem veritas . . .'⁴ Ubi igitur charismata Domini posita sunt, ibi discere oportet veritatem apud quos est ea quae est ab Apostolis Ecclesiae successio.'⁵ Quod si catholici, quamvis in genere civilium rerum, non ita coniuncti, connexi tamen aptique inter se unitate fidei

¹ Marc. xvi. 15.

² Luc. xxii. 32.

³ II. Petr. iii. 16.

⁴ Adv. Haer. lib. iii.

⁵ Adv. Haer. lib. iv.

mirabili tenentur, minime est dubium quin huius praecipue magisterii virtute et ope teneantur.

Scotorum nobiscum de fide dissidentium complures quidem Christi nomen ex animo diligunt, eiusque et disciplinam assequi et exempla sanctissima persequi imitando nituntur. At qui mente qui animo unquam adipisci poterunt quod laborant, nisi erudiri sese atque ali ad caelestia eâ ratione et via patiantur, qua Christus ipse constituit? nisi dicto audientes Ecclesiae sint, cui praecipienti ipse auctor fidei perinde obtemperari homines iussit ac sibi: 'Qui vos audit, me audit; qui vos spernit, me spernit?' nisi requirant alimenta pietatis virtutumque omnium ex eo, cui Pastor summus animarum vicario dedit esse sui muneris, universi gregis curâ concredita? Interea certum Nobis est Nostris non deesse partibus; imprimisque supplices contendere a Deo, ut inclinatis ad bonum mentibus velit potiora gratiae suae incitamenta adiicere. Atque utinam divina Nobis exorata benignitas hoc Ecclesiae matri solatium optatissimum largiatur, ut Scotus universos ad fidem avitam 'in spiritu et veritate' restitutos complecti leleriter queat. Quid non ipsis sperandum, reconciliata nobiscum concordia? Confestim effulgeret undique perfecta et absoluta veritas cum possessione bonorum maximorum, quae secessionem interierant. Quibus in bonis longe excellit unum, quo misserrimum est carere: sacrificium sanctissimum dicimus, in quo Iesus Christus, sacerdos idem et victima, Patri suo se offert ipse quotidie, ministerio suorum in terris sacerdotum. Cuius virtute sacrificii infinita nobis Christi applicantur merita nimirum divino cruore parta, quem actus in crucem pro salute hominum semel effudit. Harum fides rerum florebat integra apud Scotos, quo tempore S. Columba mortale agebat aevum: itemque postea cum templa maxima passim excitarentur, quae maiorum vestrorum excellentiam et artis et pictatis posteritati testantur.

Necessitatem vero sacrificii vis ipsa et natura religionis continet. In hoc enim est summa divina cultus, agnoscere et revereri Deum ut supremum dominatorem rerum, cuius in potestate et nos et omnia nostra sunt. Iamvero non alia est ratio et causa sacrificii, quae propterea 'res divina' proprie nominatur: remotisque sacrificiis, nulla nec esse nec cogitari religio potest. Lege veteri non est lex inferior Evangelii: imo multo praestantior, quia id cumultate perfecit, quod illa inchoarat. Iamvero sacrificium in Cruce factum praesignificabant sacrificia in Testamento veteri usitata, multo ante quam Christus nas

ceretur : post eius ascensum in caelum, idem illud sacrificium sacrificio eucharistico continuatur. Itaque vehementer errant, qui hoc perinde respuunt, ac si veritatem virtutemque sacrificii deminuat, quod Christus, cruci suffixus, fecit ; ‘ semel oblatus ad multorum exhaurienda peccata.’¹ Omnino perfecta atque absoluta illa expiatio mortalium fuit nec ullo modo : altera, sed ipsa illa in sacrificio eucharistico inest. Quoniam enim sacrificalem ritum comitari in omne tempus religioni oportebat, divinissimum fuit Redemptoris consilium ut sacrificium semel in Cruce consummatum perpetuum et perenne fieret. Huius autem ratio perpetuitatis inest in sacratissima Eucharistia, quae non similitudinem inanem memoriamve tantum rei affert, sed veritatem ipsam, quamquam specie dissimili : proptereaque huius sacrificii efficientia sive ad impetrandum, sive ad expiandum, ex morte Christi tota fluit : ‘ Ab ortu enim solis usque ad occasum, magnum est nomen meum in gentibus : et in omne loco sacrificatur, et offertur nomini meo oblatio munda : quia magnum est nomen meum in gentibus.’²

Iam, quod reliquum est, ad eos qui catholicum nomen profitentur Nostra propius spectat oratio : idque ob eam causam, ut proposito Nostro prodesse aliquid opera sua velint. Studere, quoad quisque potest, proximorum saluti christiana caritas iubet. Quamobrem ab eis primum omnium petimus, ut huius rei gratia orare atque obsecrare Deum ne desinant, qui lumen efficax mentibus affundere, voluntatesque impellere quo velit, solus potest. Deinde, quia ac flectendos animos plurimum exempla possunt, dignos se ipsi praestent veritate, cuius divino munere sunt compotes ; ac bene moratae instituto vitae adiciant commendationem fidei, quam profitentur : ‘ Luceat lux vestra coram hominibus, ut videant opera vestra bona’ :³ unaque simul civilium exercitatione virtutum efficiant, ut illud quotidie magis appareat, religionem catholicam inimicam civitati, nisi per calumniam, traduci non posse : quin imo alia in re nulla plus reperiri ad dignitatem commodumque publicum praesidii.

Illud etiam magnopere expedit, tueri religiosissime, imo etiam stabilire firmiter, septamque omnibus praesidiis tenere catholicam adolescentis aetatis institutionem. Haud sane latet Nos, cupidae discendi iuventuti suppetere apud vos publice ludos probe instructos, in quibus certe optimam studiorum rationem non

¹ Hebr. ix. 28.² Mal. i. 11.³ Matth. v. 16.

requiras. Sed eniti atque efficere necesse est, ut domicilia litterarum catholica nulla in re concedant ceteris: neque enim est committendum, ut adolescentes nostri minus parati existant a litterarum scientia, ab elegantia doctrinae, quas res fides christiana honestissimas sibi comites ad tutelam et ornamentum exposcit. Postulat igitur religionis amor et patriae caritas, ut quaecumque catholici apte instituta habent vel primordiis litterisque, vel gravioribus disciplinis tradendis, ea constabilienda et augenda pro suis quisque facultatibus curent. Aequum est aut autem adiuvari praecipue eruditionem cultumque Cleri, qui non aliter suum hodie locum digne utiliterque tenere potest, quam si omni fere humanitatis et doctrinae laude floruerit. Quo in genere beneficentiae catholicorum studiosissime ad optulandum proponimus Collegium Blairsense. Opus saluberrimum, magno studio ac liberalitate inchoatum a pientissimo cive, ne patiantur intermissione collabi et interire, sed aemula munificentia in maius etiam provehant, ad fastigiumque celeriter perducant. Tanti enim id est, quanti providere ut ferme in Scotia sacer ordo rite congruenterque temporibus educi possit.

Haec omnia, Venerabiles Fratres, quae propensissimus in Scotos animus Nobis expressit, sic habete ut sollertiae potissimum caritativae vestrae commendata putetis. Porro eam navitatem, quam Nobis luculenter probastis adhuc, probare pergite, ut ista efficiantur quae non parum videntur proposito conducibilia. Perdifficilis sane sane causa est in manibus, ut professi saepe sumus, humanisque viribus ad expediendum maior; sed longe sanctissima, conciliisque divinae bonitatis opprime congruens. Quare non tam difficultas rei Nos commovet, quam recreat ea cogitatio, vobis ad praescripta Nostra elaborantibus, Dei miserentis opem numquam ab futuram.

Auspiciem caelestium munerum, et paternae Nostrae benevolentiae testem, vobis omnibus, Venerabiles Fratres, clero populoque vestro Apostolicam benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die xxv. Iulii, MDCCCXVIII., Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo primo.

LEO PP. XIII.

THE CHURCH OF ST. JOACHIM ENTRUSTED TO THE
REDEMPTORISTS

LEO PP. XIII.

AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM MOTU PROPRIO

Quum nonnullorum pietati placuisset, templum in Urbe Ioaehimo patrono caelesti in oculis prope Nostris excitari, quod quinquagenariam cum sacerdotii tum etiam episcopatus Nostri memoriam posteritati proderet, consilium quidem hac de caussa volentes probavimus, quod pulchrum videbatur divinorum in Nos beneficiorum recordationem perenni monumento consecrari. Cui quidem consilio catholici homines tam prompto animo tamque alacri assensere, ut magnam pecuniae vim undique in eam rem, nulla interposita mora, contulerint. Luculentum istud amoris et obsequii testimonium eo libentiori voluntate complexi sumus, quod exstructum iri sciebamus opus in regione urbana ubi frequentior multitudo, sed pauciora in animorum salutem adiumenta. Admota igitur aedificationi manus; eaque animose adeo promota, ut spes inderetur fore brevi perficiendam. At, quod est omnibus cognitum, secus admodum ac speratum cessit, totiusque rei procuratio perperam perturbateque habita. Eapropter, ne catholicorum voluntas frustraretur, procurandi operis provinciam Venerabili Fratri Iosepho Mariae Costantini Archiepiscopo Patrensi interim demandavimus, atque Hippolytum Onesti sacerdotem templo regundo praefecimus; absolutionemque operis, unaque aes alienum quo premebatur, ad Nosmetipsos traduximus. Quia vero nunc placet rem stabili firmaque ratione constituere, ad Sodales a Sanctissimo Redemptore consilia convertimus. Novimus enim quae illi ab Alphonso patre legifero proposita acceperint; ut videlicet id solemne habeant sibiue proprium, studium omne in plebem intendere christianis moribus ac pietate excolendam. Hos igitur Sodales ad administrationem rectionemque Aedis Ioaehimianae supra dictae designamus, ut in ea munia pietatis ac religionis omnia, ut moris est, exequantur. Sed id edicimus profitemurque, ipsam Ioaehimianam Aedem, et quaecumque adiacent opera, iuris Nostri proprii et perpetui esse, ac Nostrorum in pontificatu Successorum. Quum autem in Ioaehimiano templo, tamquam in sede principe, constitutum sodalitium sit Sacramento augusto perpetua adoratione colendo, ad inlatas praesertim Numini iniurias adprecando redimendas, illud his litteris Nostris, sicuti alias probavimus, ita confirmamus. Quocirca

rata esse volumus quae iam decrevimus per litteras in forma Brevis datas die VI mensis Martii anno MDCCCLXXXIII sacram indulgentiarum munera iis omnibus, qui ordini sodalium supra dicto dederint nomen. Quidquid autem potestatis Antonio Brugidou, dioecesis Lugdunensis sacerdoti, eiusdem sodalitatii gratia, concessum fuit per litteras Apostolicas tum die VI mensis Martii anno MDCCCLXXXIII, tum die XXVII mensis Septembris anno MDCCCXC, tum die XXII mensis Septembris anno MDCCCXIII, prorsus abrogamus et in Alphonsianum Institutum transferimus. Erit vero auctoritatis Nostrae ex eiusdem Instituti religiosi viri unum legere, cui totius rei curam committamus ad normam legum, quas opportune Nos perlaturos iampridem professi fuimus in litteris supra dictis. Haec statuimus et iubemus, contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die XX Iulii MDCCCXCVIII, Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo primo.

LEO PP. XIII.

ST. SABINUS, BISHOP AND MARTYR

CONFIRMATIONIS CULTUS AB IMMORABILI TEMPORE PRAESTITI
SERVO DEI SABINO EPISCOPO ET MARTYRI ET QUORUNDAM
PAROECIARUM PATRONO.

Eo temporis spatio, quo Saraceni, Abderamano Duce, Aquitaniam vastabant, ab anno nempe 728 ad annum 732, quantum conicere licet, Sabinus Episcopus pro Christo vitam oppetiit. De eius ortu ac vitae gestis vix extat memoria, plurima tamen monumenta collecta reperiuntur sive antiqua sive recentiora constanti traditione firmata, quae Servi Dei episcopalem dignitatem, pontificiam missionem, gloriosum martyrium, sanctitatis famam ac praecipue publicum ecclesiasticum cultum eidem ab obitu ad haec usque tempora exhibitum ostendunt. Ex his constat Sabinum prorsus diversum ab aliis eiusdem nominis sive Laveticano, sive Pictaviensi, sive Spoletano ceterisque quorum elogia leguntur in Martyrologio Romano, italum Episcopum apostolicis virtutibus ornatum a Romano Pontifice electum et missum fuisse in Hispaniam et Galliam ut Saracenis per ea loca degentibus Christi fidem nuntiaret. Eiectus ab Auscis penes quos munus apostolicum multo animarum lucro persolvebat, per Péquilha, trajecto rivo, ad sylvam Scande-Caprae pervenit, ibique in ipso primo pro religione certamine ab eth-

niciis in odium fidei interfectus fuit. Memoriae proditum est, S. Sabini nomine statim dedicata fuisse ea loca : atque etiam pristinum martyrii loco proximum. Corpus vero Servi Dei ab eum comitantibus susceptum ac in sepulcro marmoreo humi infosso clam repositum tandiu delituit quandiu, saracenis ab illa regione expulsis, mirifice detectum fuit. Namque taurus fugitivus, tintinnabulis eius collo appensis sonantibus, repertus est mugiens et cruribus complicatis terram lambens ubi idem corpus quiescebat. Eo in loco statim exstructum fuit in honorem Servi Dei sacellum exiguum cui deinceps alterum maius substitutum est cum aedificio pro sacerdotibus in sacrum ipsius sacelli ministerium commorantibus. Documenta longe anteriora aevo Urbaniano S. Sabini nomen territorio sacello sive ecclesiae, et confraternitati inditum commemorant, atque etiam referunt ipsius Festum die 10 Iunii quotannis recolendum, statutis ea ipsa die tum nundinis ad maiorem celebritatem et populi frequentiam, tum oblationibus fidelium ad cultum S. Sabino sacerdotum ministerio servandum. Recentiora vero documenta docent indulgentias a sa. me. Paulo V concessas confratribus aliisque visitantibus sacellum eiusdem Sancti et solemnem supplicationem, ex voto pro gratiarum actione, singulis annis peragendam in civitate Cazères in honorem ipsius Servi Dei cui omnium ordinum cives a contagiosa lue liberationem, sicut S. Rocho et S. Francisco Assisiensi, tribuebant. Praedictum sacellum seu ecclesiam S. Sabini nomine ac reliquiis decoratam nefarii homines in commotione gallica anno 1792 polluerunt ac destruxerunt, hisce tamen sacris pignoribus pepercerunt quae sub ruderibus tecta iacuerunt donec anno 1796 effossa, inventa sunt in parva capsula, e quercu, sera obserata sigillisque obsignata cum recognitione rite facta anno 1780 a Patre Raymundo. Eadem statim cuidam christianae familiae custodienda tradita sunt et septem post annos, rogantibus incolis Scande-Caprae, iussu et auctoritate Archiepiscopi Tolosani, die 15 Augusti in Festo Assumptionis B. M. Virginis, e domo privata in ecclesiam parochialem translata fuere. Ibi prope altare maius collocata et fidelium venerationi proposita per quinquaginta annos permanserunt. Nam vertente anno 1853, aedes S. Sabino sacra fidelium pietate ac sumptibus rursus erecta et rite benedicta venerandas exuvias festiva solemnitate recepit, adstante clero et populo ; et mane, sacro peracto et communione pluribus centenis fidelium distributa ; post meridiem celebratis vespers et

sermone habito in laudem Servi Dei. Supradictus cultus immemorialis Sabino Episcopo et Martyri praestitus atque e dioecesi Convenarum, anno 1801 suppressa, ad alias quoque dioeceses, annuentibus Episcopis, propagatus, nondum ab Apostolica Sede per decretum Sacrae Rituum Congregationis recognitus ac probatus fuerat. Hoc tamen erat in votis omnium S. Sabini cultorum, quibus libenter obsecundans Cardinalis Florianus Desprez Archiepiscopus Tolosanus, per iudicem delegatum, inquisitione ordinaria absoluta, super praedicto cultu immemoriali sententiam protulit affirmativam. Causa vero ad Sacram Rituum Congregationem delata, instante Rmo. P. Vincentio Ligiez Ordinis Praedicatorum, ipsius causae Postulatore, nomine etiam hodierni Rmi Dni Archiepiscopi Tolosani, attentisque Litteris Postulatoriis Emi Card. Archiepiscopi Burdigalensis et plurium sacrorum Antistitum, Emus et Rmus Dnus Cardinalis Caietanus Aloisi Masella, eiusdem Causae Relator, in ordinario Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis conventu, subsignata die, ad Vaticanum habito, sequens dubium discutiendum proposuit: 'An sententia iudicis delegati ab Emo et Rmo Dno Card. Archiepiscopo Tolosano super cultu praefato Servo Dei ab immemorabili tempore praestito, seu super casu excepto a Decretis sa. me. Urbani Papae VIII sit confirmanda in casu et ad effectum de quo agitur?' Porro Emi et Rmi Patres Sacris tuendis Ritibus praeposita, post relationem ipsius Emi Ponentis, audito etiam R. P. D. Ioanne Baptista Lugari Sanctae Fidei Promotore, omnibusque accurate perpensis, rescribendum censuerunt: 'Affirmative seu sententiam esse confirmandam.' Die 7 Decembris 1897.

Quibus omnibus Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leoni Papae XIII per infrascriptum Cardinalem Sacrae Rituum Congregationi Praefectum relatis, Sanctitas Sua Rescriptum Sacrae ipsius Congregationis ratum habuit et confirmavit die undecima iisdem mense et anno.

CAMILLUS CARD. MAZELLA, *S. R. C., Praef.*

L. ✕. S.

DIOMEDES PANICI, *S. B. C. Secret.*

QUESTION OF BINATION

EX SC. CONCILII DUBIA QUOAD MISSAE BINATIONEM

Emi Patres : Post Benedictinam Constitutionem *Declarasti Nobis*, communis esse videtur theologorum sententia, qua necessitatis casus ad Missam eodem die iterandam is in praxi reputetur, quo presbyter duas parochias habet in alterutram nequeat populus convenire, nec alius praesto sit sacerdos, praeter parochum, qui Missam valeat celebrare.

Nec absimilis ad hunc effectum reputatur etiam casus, quo parochus, etsi minime praesit duabus parochiis, vel duos regat populos adeo inter se dissitos, ut alter ipsorum parochus celebranti nullatenus adstare valeat ob maximam locorum distantiam, vel tametsi una tantum sit ecclesia in qua Missa a parochus iteranda sit, universus, tamen populus in ea simul adesse non possit.

Nunc autem, cum ad Malacitanam sedem nuper translatus fuisset, consuetudinem inveni, vi cuius aliqui sacerdotes diebus festis bis Sacrum conficiunt : semel in ecclesia cuiusdam civitatis, ubi et alii adsunt sacerdotes, et diversa sacra templa, parochiae, et sanctimonialium monasteria erecta inveniuntur ; et iterum in oratorio suburbano vel rurali.

Item, aliquis sacerdos rem divinam iterato facit vel in eadem civitate, et fortasse in ipsamet ecclesia in qua etiam alter celebrat sacerdos.

Pro huius binationis causa adducitur paucitas sacerdotum ; convenientia distinctae celebrationis horis distinctis, ut commoditati fidelium fiat satis ; nec non et necessitas celebrandi Missam parochialem in parochiis, et conventualem in monasteriis.

Cum igitur de huius agendi rationis liceitate dubitem, ad hanc Sacram Congregationem confugio, dubiaeque meae et postulationes admodum reverenter exponam :

I. An liceat Episcopo licentiam binandi concedere presbytero unam Missam celebranti in oratorio suburbano vel rurali, aliam vero in civitate vel loco ubi etiam adsint alii sacerdotes Sacrum facientes ?

II. An liceat huiusmodi licentiam concedere presbytero ambas Missas celebraturo in diversis ecclesiis eiusdem civitatis vel loci, in quo et alii sacerdotes celebrant et hoc etiam si una ex missis celebranda sit in ipsa ecclesia in qua et alius sacerdos sacrosanctum Sacrificium eadem die litat ?

III. An expediat Episcopo Oratori ob expositas rationes et allatas caucas huiusmodi licentiam et agendi rationem confirmare : et etiam ad similes casus, in aliis locis et civitatibus suae dioecesis, prout necessitas expostulet, extendere ?

Haec dum ab hac S. C. cum debita reverentia expostulo, et quaero, Emiis VV. cuncta fausta et prospera in Domino apprecor
Malacae, die 25 Aprilis anni 1897.

IOANNES, EPISCOPUS MALACITANUS.

Responsio S. Congregationis. Rme Dne. Relatis in S. C. Concilii postulatis a te propositis in litteris die in 25 Aprilis p. p. circa facultatem binandi, Emi Patres rescribendum censurunt :
‘ Ad 1, 2, et 3 : Non licere ; et Ordinarius, quatenus in aliquo ex enunciatis casibus necessarium iudicet ut Sacrum iteretur, recurrat ad Apostolicam Sedem. Idque notificari mandarunt, prout per praesentes exequor Amplitudini Tuae, cui me profiteor.

Romae, 10 Maii 1897.

Uti fratrem :

A. CARD. DI PIETRO, *Praefectus*.

B. ARCHIEP. NAZIANZEN, *Pro-Secretarius*.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

MEDITATIONS ON THE SACRED PASSION OF OUR LORD.

By Cardinal Wiseman. London: Burns & Oates, Ltd.;
New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

THE authorship of these meditations carries with it the mark and seal of their genuine worth. In the wide and varied range of subjects which his wonderfully versatile genius touched Cardinal Wiseman embellished everything that bore the impress of his hands. To say anything, then, of a critical nature, about the neat volume before us, would be a work of supererogation.

The Sacred Passion has ever supplied the saints with the staple food for their daily meditations, and with the most potent incentives to the practice of the highest forms of holiness. It was in this school that the seraphic Francis penetrated the depths of God's love, and the devout Bernard learned with raptures of the immensity of the priceless benefits of Redemption. Here, too, where the very spirit of the place is love without measure, we may grow reconciled to the yoke of the Lord, and realize what these sufferings teach us: how really light after all is the burden of the cross when compared with the reward that will crown the labours of the well-spent day. Pious souls love to tread the *Via Dolorosa*. But the joy and consolation which such ordinarily derive from lingering over the cruel loneliness of Gethsemani, and the utter abandonment of Calvary, will be here intensified and enhanced a hundred-fold by the charming freshness of the author's style, and the attractive beauty of his thoughts.

Some of these meditations were published before, but most of them are now brought out for the first time, and we cannot but feel that the publication of them all in the present shape is very opportune at a time when we have been just favoured with a brilliantly written biography of the great Cardinal.

As indicated at the head of this notice the volume is published by Burns & Oates. It has also a preface from the pen of Cardinal Vaughan.

P. M.

ILLUSTRATED EXPLANATION OF THE PRAYERS AND CEREMONIES OF THE MASS. By Rev. D. J. Lanslots, O.S.B. With a Preface, by Most Rev. F. Janssens, D.D., Archbishop of New Orleans. New York, Cincinnati, and Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

A book like the present has a wide province of usefulness. It would aid considerably the devotion with which the faithful assist at the celebration of the Divine Mysteries if they understood the meaning and symbolical significance of the different prayers, vestments, ceremonies, and other things employed around the altar, while it would teach both those within the Church and those without it, what useful and even necessary function the external rites of the Church fulfil in the administration of the Sacraments, and in the solemnities of public worship. Sensible things enable us to realize the inward beauty, and grandeur, and sublimity of the august and hallowed Majesty of God. '*Invisibilia enim Ipsius, per ea quæ facta sunt intellecta, conspiciuntur.*' Now this is what the book under notice purports to effect, and what, to a great extent, it has succeeded in effecting.

In a homely way Father Lanslots explains to us the import of the altar and its decorations, the vestments and their different colours, the liturgical language of the Mass itself, and its various parts, from the beginning by the initial psalm to the final thanksgiving. We are confident this carefully prepared volume will tend to enkindle in those who read it an intense depth of devotion to the great Sacrifice of the New Law; make clear to them many things which before, perhaps, they did not fully understand in connection with this important branch of the Church's ceremonial, and render more and more praiseworthy before God their efforts at devoutly assisting at the oblation at the altar of the Immaculate Lamb.

P. J. B.

COMPLETE BENEDICTION MANUAL. Edited by A. E. Tozer. London: W. C. Cary, and Co., 231 Oxford-street.

WE are always glad to welcome anything that will promote the desire for music which shall be at once musical, the best of its kind, and suitable for its purpose. These conditions are fulfilled in the book now under notice in a manner, as far as we

are aware, never before attempted. Selections for the *O Salutaris*, *Tantum Ergo*, *Adoremus*, and the Litany of Loretto have been made from the liturgical plain chant melodies (harmonized with excellent taste in a true ecclesiastical spirit), and from various composers who have written since figured music began to be used down to the present day. Varying degrees of difficulty are to be met with, as are varying styles in composition, but this eclecticism rather than being a drawback is an advantage in a work which is intended for all classes of persons. Space prevents us from giving any details from the book; they are best ascertained by personal inspection of it. Where so very much that is excellent, and where such care in arrangement, selection, and presentation have been exercised both by editor and publishers it is ungracious to be captious; we therefore confine ourselves to the hope that the few and unimportant 'slips' which we have noticed and which are evidently due to hurried proof-reading may be amended in a future edition. We think that the book would be improved by the insertion of a few other things such as the *Te Deum*, which is from time to time ordered to be sung during Exposition. The Manual is admirably brought out in every particular, and is a credit to the enterprising publishers who have made so spirited a venture. We cordially commend it to our readers.

LIFE OF DON BOSCO. Founder of the Salesian Society,
Translated from the French of J. M. Villefranche, by
Lady Martin. Third Edition. London: Burns & Oates,
1898.

THIS is the third edition of a most instructive and useful biographical sketch of Don Bosco. The first edition was duly noticed in the I. E. RECORD some years ago and we now gladly welcome this third edition. Unquestionably, problems relating to the education and material support of the very poor present themselves for solution to the Irish clergy in every town and district throughout the country, and whilst the conditions of climate, habits and surroundings differ according to different countries every priest amongst us is sure to find suggestive information, and most helpful encouragement in this little volume. Organized charity is the most fruitful and characteristic outcome of Christian philanthropy, and its most prominent apostles in recent times have

been Adolf Kolping in Germany, Don Bosco and the Venerable Cottolengo in Italy. These are days of combination and of organized effort in every serious movement in the world, and those whose profession it is to help the poor and the afflicted will be glad to study the methods that have been pursued by the most successful apostles of charity in other countries. In Lady Martin's excellent translation of the *Life of Don Bosco* they will find much to instruct them and spur them on to greater efforts.

J. F. H.

DE DEO UNO, DE DEO CREATORE, DE GRATIA. Auctore J. McGuinness, C.M., In Collegio Hibernorum Parisiensi Theologiæ Professore. Parisiis—5, Via dicta des Irlandais 5 ; Dublini—M. H. Gill and Son.

LAST year we had the pleasure of introducing to our readers another volume of this admirable course of theology. The author did not then attach his name to his work. Now, however, that success has crowned his efforts, Fr. McGuinness has thought it well to give his name to the public in this new volume. In this he is wise, because, good and useful as the other volume was, the present volume surpasses it in many ways. It would be a pity that such an excellent work should go forth on the world without the protection of its author's name.

As the title indicates, the tracts, *De Deo Uno*, *De Deo Creatore*, and *De Gratia* find a place in the volume before us. No doubt it was necessity, arising from class-work, that compelled Fr. McGuinness to give *De Gratia* the position which it now holds. When the whole course will be published we hope he will remove this tract from a place where it necessarily will separate *De Deo Uno* and *De Deo Creatore* from *De Deo Trino* and *De Verbo Incarnato*, and place it in its natural position before sacramental theology, to the elucidation of which it gives so much assistance.

Though this change in the order of tracts would be an improvement the order observed in the individual tracts, and in the particular questions of the tract in themselves we deem worthy of praise. The clearness of language which pervades the whole book added to this excellent order must render the work very valuable for the hard-worked student of theology who has frequently, unfortunately, to devote more labour to find out what his author means than the limited time at his disposal allows.

the history of the Jewish race. Mary, 'the prophetess,' the sister of Moses and Aaron, appears in the narration of the events which befell the chosen people, in connection with the most stupendous occurrence which that history has to relate. The scene in which she appears as one of the most prominent figures is one of thrilling interest.

The stretch of white sands on the eastern shore of that arm of the Red Sea which moderns call the Gulf of Suez, is crowded by the thousands upon thousands of Israelites whom Moses has led out from a long enduring slavery under Egyptian tyrants. Behind them is a wide extent of sandy and rocky plain, stretching as far as the eye can reach, bounded by distant mountains which rise gaunt and bare from the horizon. Over the wide gulf of intense blue water, lofty peaks of gleaming limestone shine silvery in the light of dawning day. Beyond them, hidden from view, lies Egypt with its giant temples, fair cities, and luxuriant plains. The dark waters which almost wash the base of those mountains, are dashing in tumultuous fury upon the shore, and on those tempestuous waves are being tossed in air and flung upon the strand—as though they were but so many flakes of foam—the bodies of men and horses and the wreckage of war-chariots. The proud warriors of the proud Pharaoh—the monarch himself at their head—like autumn leaves driven before the wind have been swept into the depths and tossed up again upon the shore, as examples for all time of the victims of the anger of an outraged God.

Jehovah has rescued His people from captivity, and by His mighty arm has overthrown their enemies; He has made for His chosen ones a path through the mighty waters, and overwhelmed the strength of Egypt in the depths of the sea. As they realize the immensity of the favour they have received, the warriors of Israel, led by Moses, lift up their voices in a magnificent canticle of praise and thanksgiving. 'Let us sing to the Lord,' they cry, 'for He is gloriously magnified; the horse and his rider He hath thrown into the sea.'¹

¹ Exodus xv. 1.

Then, as if in emulation, rises a chorus of women's voices chanting the like refrain. The clashing music of the timbrels¹ wakes the echoes of the rocky shore, as Mary, the sister of Aaron, leads the song of praise: 'Let us sing to the Lord, for He is gloriously magnified,' again rises upon the morning breeze.²

Who, then, is this 'prophetess' who leads the choir of her sisters as though by right of office? Scripture tells us but little of the circumstances of her life; but still we are able to gather enough for our purpose. She first appears in the form of youthful guardian to her brother, the new-born Moses. The decree has gone forth from the jealous Pharaoh that these alien Hebrews must be weakened, lest they prove too strong for him; their male children are to be systematically destroyed. Moses is saved through his sister's watchful care, and Pharaoh's own daughter, who has discovered the infant hidden in the sedges, adopts him for her own.³ Nothing more is heard of Mary until she is mentioned in connection with the scene above described. It is a remarkable fact that she is spoken of as the 'sister of Aaron,' and never designated in Holy Scripture as the wife of any man. St. Gregory of Nyssa argues from this that she remained unmarried to the end of her life—unlike the generality of Jewish women.⁴ St. Ambrose shares in this opinion, for he says of this renowned woman: 'Mary, seizing her timbrel, with virginal modesty led the choirs.'⁵ It must be borne in mind that this holy woman was senior to her brother Moses. This is clear from the fact that she was his guardian in infancy; for although her name is not mentioned in the account given of the child's rescue, yet from the genealogical table in Numbers xxvi. 59, we gather that she was the only

¹ The timbrel, now known as *deff*, still lends its accompaniment to the songs of the women of Palestine. It is a small hoop covered with parchment, which is beaten by the hand. Round the hoop are plates of metal which give forth a ringing sound. It somewhat resembles the modern tambourine.

² Exodus xv. 21.

³ Exodus ii. 10.

⁴ *De Virginitate*, cap. xix.

⁵ *Exhort. ad Virg.*, lib. i.

of the women of her people in the offering of praise to God; meriting by her action the encomium of Holy Writ, which links her with her illustrious brothers in the work of the liberation of God's people. 'For I brought thee up out of the land of Egypt, and delivered thee out of the house of slaves; and I sent before thy face Moses and Aaron and Mary.'¹ We are free, moreover, to believe that she was also their exemplar in a life wholly consecrated to God and to His service. It is under these two aspects that she shines out so vividly as the type of that far greater Mary who was to come after her.

Two thousand years have rolled by, and another scene opens before us. It is the Temple of Jerusalem—that renowned third Temple whose glory was foretold by the prophet as greater than that of Solomon's. A magnificent work of art it is. Its vast square of 750 feet is surrounded by splendid colonnades of marble pillars, and its pavement is of many-coloured marbles. Approached by twelve marble steps is the principal entrance to the first of the inner courts—that of the women; it is filled by massive gates of dazzling brass, splendidly wrought, which have gained for it the title of the 'Beautiful Gate.'² Those gates stand wide open all the day, for it needs the united strength of at least twenty Levites to roll them on their huge hinges.

It is a day in late autumn. The courts are crowded, as they ever are, with worshippers from the length and breadth of the land. Among the throng, unnoticed by any, enter a group of travellers from the north. Foremost among them is an aged man of gracious mien; his wife, also advanced in years, yet still beautiful, walks by his side. In her arms that aged matron bears a lovely child of three years. They pass through the court of the women and come to the foot of the fifteen steps leading to the brazen gates, beyond which, in the court of the priests, stands the great altar of holocausts. Here they pause.

Lowly as these worshippers appear, they are of no mean account. Joachim and Anna have come from Nazareth to

¹ Micah vi. 4.

² Acts, iii. 2.

give back into God's keeping their hearts' treasure, their little daughter, that she may grow up to maidenhood, as so many before her have done, in the shadow of the sanctuary. Not one among that crowd recognises the dignity of that babe. She is the holiest being ever yet seen within the Temple precincts—that Temple destined to be honoured in a few more years by the presence of its Lord, who will be borne there in the arms of the Virgin Mother, who now enters it for the first time, herself an infant.

What joy must needs fill the hearts of those happy parents as they stand once more in the 'courts of the Lord's house,' while the throng of worshippers press round them, and the smoke of never-ceasing sacrifices ascends to heaven. The time has come to make their offering. They prepare to ascend with their companions to the great gate of Nicanor, where Joachim is to present his oblation for sacrifice. The little maiden has been clinging in modest shyness to her mother's robe, when lo! to the amazement of her parents, she gravely advances, and, without help, climbs the wide steps to where the priest stands in the open gateway, voluntarily offering the fully complete sacrifice of herself which Joachim and Anna had but initiated.

The type portrayed by the sister of Moses is here fulfilled. This little child, like the first Mary, has passed through the sea dry-shod. The dark waves of original sin, which engulfed every other child of Adam, rolled back from the soul of Mary the daughter of Joachim and Anna. 'Hitherto thou shalt come and shalt go no further, and here thou shalt break thy swelling waves,'¹ said the divine decree; Mary alone, of all God's creatures, was preserved immaculate in her conception, because of her destined office. The Creator of the universe, the God who made the sea and the dry land, who holds in His hand the life of every breathing thing, was to be born of her, to be hushed to sleep upon her bosom, to be nourished and tended with all a mother's loving care.

The song of joy and praise which Moses intoned for the

¹ Job iv. xxxvii.

men of Israel, on the Red Sea shore, was continued through the ages that followed in the worship of the Tabernacle and Temple. Morning and evening after the solemn sacrifice of incense the voices of the Levites were raised in melodious song in the words of the special psalm appointed for each day. That tribute of praise from the men of the sanctuary had already been made on that Autumn morning; our Lady was presented to God through His representative; and now, like Mary of old, the tender little maiden is about to lift up, in her turn, the song of thanksgiving for God's great mercies. No human ear can catch the melody, but angels rejoice as its tones reach to heaven. Deep down in the heart of that little child it rings. The mystic hymn which only the 'hundred and forty-four thousand' are permitted to sing; 'for they are virgins,' and 'follow the Lamb.'¹ As the tradition of the Church teaches, Mary at that sublime moment of her presentation consecrated herself irrevocably to God by a vow of virginity. Thus does she lead, like the sister of Moses, the choirs of virgins; for since that day chastity has flourished with new life.

'After her shall virgins be brought to the king.'² The Church applies the words to our Lady on her feasts. Ever since the day when Mary intoned that 'new canticle' on the steps of the Temple it has been ringing throughout the world; wherever cloistered nuns devote themselves to the celebration of the daily solemn praise of God in the Divine office, or active orders of religious women, 'making melody in their hearts,' sacrifice themselves for their neighbour by the exercise of the corporal and spiritual works of mercy, its notes resound. It is the same song in the hearts of all, a canticle of joy and triumph that they have been led out from Egyptian bondage to follow the guidance of the pillar of fire, which manifests to each soul its divine vocation, towards the Promised Land which awaits them beyond the desert of this earthly life.

The presentation of Mary has been made; Joachim and Anna take leave of their beloved one, and set out on their

¹ Apoc. xiv. 4.

² Psalm xliv. 15.

return journey to Nazareth. The little maiden is given in charge to one of the holy women who, dwelling near the Temple precincts, make it their sacred duty to take care of the *almas*, or virgins who are being educated under the shadow of the sanctuary. Like the Hebrew women of old, perhaps too like her namesake Mary, whose delight it was to watch 'at the door of the Tabernacle,' she also will spend many years of her life close to the house of God, and will, in a manner, dedicate herself to its service. She will assist at the celebrations in the Temple from the special part of the court of the women reserved for the *almas*; she will study the Sacred Scriptures under priestly guidance, and will join her companions in embroidering the vestments of the priests, and in the preparation of other adornments befitting the sacred courts.

Thus in prayer and contemplation, in constant communion with God and His angels, in active work for the glory of her Maker, does Mary fulfil the types of the ancient dispensation; while she becomes, in her turn, the exemplar of the consecrated virgins of Christian ages, as she portrays in her earthly life every perfection which their exalted state demands.

MICHAEL BARRETT, O.S.B.

CHARACTERISTICS OF GERALD GRIFFIN

Knowing that nature never doth betray
The heart that loves her.

P. B. SHELLEY.

THE following reflections on some characteristics of Gerald Griffin's writings, were suggested by a view of the scenery and localities so vividly described in *The Collegians*, and occurred to the writer during appointed intervals of relaxation from more serious thoughts and occupations, and whilst enjoying the privilege of a few days' retirement in a holy abode in 'the city of the violated treaty.' From the windows overlooking the spacious grounds and gardens, some acres in extent, surrounding a magnificent church and monastery in Limerick, there are fine views of the neighbouring County Clare, of the hills of Cratloe, of upland, wood, and meadow, sloping lawn, and cultured lea, thickly dotted with manor and villa, cottage and farmstead, peeping from the midst of groves of elm and ash, and oak and fir, in whose sheltering arms they nestle cozily along the banks of the lordly Shannon, that—

River of billows to whose mighty heart
The tide-wave rushes of the Atlantic's sea.¹

The scenery around his own home and his native hills and plains was, indeed, the best and purest inspiration of *The Colleen Bawn* and of *Mat Hyland*; the many beauties of hill and dale, of copse and woodland, through which his own majestic river winds its devious course to ocean, being well calculated to foster and intensify his true and ardent love for the mighty mother. To this innate love of nature are due the reality and unexaggerated tone of his sketches, and his faithful portrayal of her workings, whether in scenes of calm or storm, of sunshine or gloom, on her own bosom, or in the dark, conflicting passions of the human heart.

In the charming *Life of Gerald Griffin*, by his brother,

¹ Aubrey de Vere.

we read the following, under the heading of 'Gerald's love of nature and reality:—

Let me warn you [he says to a young writer, who had placed some of his productions before him], let me warn you of one carelessness. You jump over a description by saying: 'Such a thing was very picturesque.' You should not say that at all. Describe the picture, landscape, or whatever it is; tell how it was, and combine the parts, so as to leave it to the readers to say: 'That must have been very picturesque.'

And he goes on to say:—

As to his own [Gerald's] writings, there was an unexaggerated tone of colouring in all his sketches whether of place or character, that made them come home to the reader's mind with the full authority of truth; and his thorough mastery of all the keys of human nature in a more obscure and secluded walk—that of the affections and emotions of the heart and spirit—has rarely, I think, been surpassed. A remarkable instance of this is given in *The Collegians*, where he is describing the effect upon Hardress Cregan's mind of the first ball he has ever been at, and where he mentions a number of little circumstances which had a tendency to exact and strengthen every impression on it. 'The perfumed air of the room, the loftiness of the ceiling, the festooning of the draperies above the windows; the occasional pauses and changes in the music; all contributed to raise his mind into a condition of peculiar, and exquisite enthusiasm, which made it susceptible of deep, dangerous, and indelible impressions.' A passage of a remarkably similar character occurs in Dante, where he is first ascending the mountain:—

So that with joyous hope
All things conspired to fill me—the gay skin
Of that swift animal, the matin dawn,
And the sweet season.

The view before us proves the truth of what his brother says about the natural, unexaggerated tone of Gerald's landscape sketches. It recalls, almost in each detail, the scene so vividly sketched in the third chapter of *The Collegians*, that on which the Daly family looked from the windows of their breakfast room:—

The windows of the room (in which the family group were assembled for breakfast) which were thrown up for the purpose of admitting the fresh morning air, opened upon a trim and sloping meadow, that looked sunny and cheerful with the bright green after-grass of the season. The broad and sheety river

washed the very margin of the little field, and bore upon its quiet bosom (which was only ruffled by the circling eddies that encountered the advancing tide) a variety of craft such as might be supposed to indicate the approach to a large commercial city. Majestic vessels floating idly on the basined flood, with sails half furled, in keeping with the languid beauty of the scene ;—lighters burdened to the water's edge with bricks or sand ; large rafts of timber, borne onward towards the neighbouring quays under the guidance of a shipman's boathook, pleasure boats with gaudy pennons hanging from peak and topmast, or turf-boats with their unpicturesque and ungraceful lading, moving sluggishly forward, while their black sails seemed gasping for a breath of air to fill them ; such were the incidents that gave a gentle animation to the prospect immediately before the eyes of the cottage dwellers. On the farther side of the river arose the Cratloe Hills, shadowed in various places by a broken cloud, and rendered beautiful by the chequered appearance of the ripening tillage, and the variety of hues that were observable along their wooded sides. At intervals, the front of a handsome mansion brightened up in a passing gleam of sunshine, while the wreaths of blue smoke ascending at various distances from amongst the trees, tended to relieve the idea of extreme solitude which it would otherwise have presented.

The counterpart of this exquisite sketch is found in the last chapter of the same novel, and is equally fine. The reflections which he makes in the closing sentences are true, profound, and well expressed, proving his intimate knowledge of the association of inanimate nature with human feelings and emotions ; he is always opportunely mindful of the effects of scenery, especially of old familiar scenery on these emotions and feelings, according as they touch at the moment the chords of grief or gladness.

The scene described in the closing chapter meets the eyes of the unhappy Hardress, whilst he is waiting to set foot on the convict ship, which, in mercy to the wretched culprit, is to be his death-bed :—

He looked to the misty hills of Cratloe, to the yet silent and inactive city, and over the face of the gently-agitated waters. The fresh, cool light of the morning only partially revealed the scene ; but the veil that rested on the face of Nature became more attenuated every instant, and the aerial perspective acquired by rapid, yet imperceptible degrees, a greater scope and clearness. Groups of bathers appeared at various distances on both sides of the river, some plunging in headlong from the lofty quays, some

playing various antics in the water, and some floating quietly on the surface of the tide in the centre of the stream ; while others, half dressed and shivering at the brink of the sloping strands, put in hand or foot to ascertain the temperature of the refreshing element, before venturing to fling off their remaining habiliments, and share in the salutary recreation. In other respects the scene was nearly the same in appearance as it has been described in the third chapter of this volume.

To anybody who has read *The Collegians*, the truth and beauty of these two descriptions are brought home on a view of the scenery which suggested them. The reflections which the author makes in connection with the latter sketch profound, as they are true and vivid, proves Gerald Griffin's consummate skill in bringing surroundings to bear on a present state of feeling, as we see in his felicitous application of them to the melancholy condition of the unhappy exile. Every winding of the majestic river, each creek and nook, bluff and headland, with wood and grove, hill and glen in the background, all were familiar and beloved objects to the wretched Hardress since his childhood. They were the theatre of his innocent sports and pastimes, from boyhood and early youth up to the well-remembered morning when he steered the saucy 'Nora Creina' under the windows of the Daly cottage, before the admiring eyes of the onlookers in the breakfast-room, bearing the ill-fated Colleen Bawn—then a happy bride—to the cottage in Killarney, where she was to pass her honeymoon ; how much had happened since that joyous morning. There was the sad ending of that same honeymoon, with all its fearful consequences, Eily's love despised, and the trusting guileless heart broken by unrequited love and heartless desertion ere she was foully murdered. Anne Chute's affections trifled with ; Kyrle Daly's manly friendship betrayed ; 'mean fear' (to use Hardress Cregan's own words of agonizing remorse) 'and selfish pride, the coarser half of love, worthless inconstancy, black falsehood, and red-handed murder'—all these had swept over his soul and engulfed it since that joyous morning ; yet—

Nature, always the same calm and provident benefactress, had preserved her mighty heart unchanged throughout the interval

and the same joyous serenity was still visible on her countenance. The passions of men may convulse the frame of society; the duration of human prosperity may be uncertain as that of human woe; and centuries of ignorance, of poverty and of civil strife may suddenly succeed to years of science and thrift and peace; but still the mighty mother holds her course unchanged. Spring succeeds winter, and summer spring, and all the harmonies of her system move on through countless ages with the same unvarying serenity of purpose. The scene of his happy childhood evinced no sympathy with the condition of the altered Hardress.

With what force and vividness the *then and now, the what might have been with what is*, are contrasted in the description and reflection here quoted. In Willis's beautiful poem, 'On David's Lament for Absalom,' there occurs a similar reflection, at the close of his exquisite picture of the moonlit beauties of the River Jordan, an application of well-known scenery to the sad feelings of the fond father mourning for his wayward rebellious son—'his proud boy Absalom.'

The waters slept, Night's silvery veil hung low
On Jordan's bosom, and the eddies curled
Their glassy rings beneath it, like the still
Unbroken beating of the sleeper's pulse.
The reeds bent down the stream; the willow leaves,
With a soft cheek upon the lulling tide,
Forgot the lifting winds, and the long stems
Whose flowers the water, like a gentle nurse,
Bears on its bosom, quietly gave away,
And leaned in graceful attitudes to rest.
How strikingly the course of Nature tells,
By its light need of human suffering,
That it was fashioned for a happier world!

How, many a night before had the shepherd king gone forth to meditate on the power and majesty, the love and mercy, of the Almighty, his heart overflowing with gratitude to his Maker; how often had he gazed with feelings of awe and rapture on the same starlit firmament, and the same beauties of land and river sleeping in the silver moonlight, his soul in peace with God and man. But there are moments in most men's lives, as in that of the king after God's own heart, when, if thought could shape itself into words, it would be to utter the plaintive reflection in the poem above At

such a time nature seems cruel and heartless ; its music should be hushed, and its garish light shaded until we buried our dead ; its breezes should not play so wantonly and callously round the withered flowers of our perished hopes and joys ; the music of its streams and small birds should not break in so discordantly on the sad burden of our heart's dirge. But—'Nature was fashioned for a happier world,' and therefore 'evinces no sympathy with the condition of her altered Hardresses.'

There is a passage in *The Betrothed* of Manzoni resembling the above descriptions, showing the similarity of thought in great novelists and poets. It is where Renzo and Lucy are bidding adieu to their native hills, having to fly from the persecutions of Don Rodrigo :—

The boatmen made silently for the opposite shore. There was not a breath of wind ; the lake lay polished and smooth in the moonlight, agitated only by the dipping of the oars, which quivered in its gleam. The waves, breaking on the sands of the shore, were heard, deady and slowly, at a distance, mingled with the rippling of the waters between the pillars of the bridge. The silent passengers cast a melancholy look behind at the mountains and landscape, illumined by the moon, and varied by multitudes of shadows. They discerned villages, houses, and cottages ; the palace of Don Roderick raised above the huts that crowded the base of the promontory, looking down like some gigantic and evil being, standing over his prostrate victims. Lucy beheld it and shuddered ; then cast a glance beyond the declivity, towards her own little home, and beheld the top of the fig-tree which towered in the courtyard : moved at the sight, she buried her face in her hands, and wept in silence.

The artistic talents of a great novelist enables him, in depicting the intensity of human emotions and feelings, to dispense with their every-day, and, as may be said, their vulgar manifestations. A synopsis of antecedents, an opportune allusion to a mere circumstance of time or place, sometimes the bare notice of an attitude, or gesture or silence, gives, in his skilful hands, a more vivid picture of the depth of the passion he wishes to portray, than the groans and weepings, the writhings and contortions, the tears or laughter, or extravagant gestures to which less skilful delineators would have recourse. In Scott's *Bride*

of *Lammermoor*—the greatest, perhaps, in his series of great romances—there is an illustration of what may be defined a skilful writer's art of condensation. He can depict the intensity of passion or emotion by the very absence of all direct description. He can do so by merely noticing in connection with it an act or circumstance in itself ordinary or trivial. Thus, the deep anguish and despair of the Lord of Ravenswood are not intruded upon. We are not allowed to break in on the sacred privacy of his grief. We can only hear him, with his faithful servant Caleb, pacing his lonely chambers during the long weary hours of night. In Dante's *Divine Comedy* there occurs a similar example of this same skilful art of condensation, in which much is implied in a remark not very important or striking by itself; it relates to the fatal reading of a book—

Galeotto was the book; and he who wrote it.
That day no farther in the book we read.

One more illustration of the similarity of thought in great novel-writers as to the effect of familiar scenery and objects on the various emotions and feelings of human nature. The master pen of Charles Dickens, in describing the grief of the 'old man' on the death of 'Little Nell,' tells us how—

He repaired to her chamber, straight. Not finding what he had left there, he returned with distracted looks to the room in which they were assembled. From that he rushed into the schoolmaster's cottage, calling her name. They followed close upon him, and when he had vainly searched it, brought him home . . . If there be any who have never known the blank that follows death—the weary void—the sense of desolation that will come upon the strongest minds, when something familiar and beloved is missed at every turn—the connection between inanimate and senseless things and the object of recollection; when every household god becomes a monument, and every room a grave—if there be any who have not known this, and proved it by their own experience, they can never faintly guess, how, for days, the old man pined, and moped away the time, and wandered here and there as if seeking something, and had no comfort.

This 'connection between inanimate and senseless things and the object of recollection' recalls what is

mentioned in the *Life of Gerald Griffin*, of his alluding to certain things, apparently not calculated to affect deeply the mind of Hardress Cregan, on the occasion of his being at a ball for the first time, 'yet which contributed to raise his mind to a condition of peculiar and exquisite enthusiasm, and made it susceptible of deep, dangerous, and indelible impressions.' It may be thought that the festooning of the draperies above the windows, the loftiness of the ceiling, &c., in the case of Hardress, and the gay skin of a swift animal in that of Dante, were causes totally inadequate to the production of deep impressions in the one, or to the contributing to inspire the other with joyous hope. It is a fact, nevertheless, although inexplicable, that 'trifles light as air' may sometimes exert a powerful influence on the human mind, either from actual association or from memory or contrast. It is certainly a mystery to us how every image or impression, once received into and stamped, as it were, on the few ounces of grey matter which we call the brain, remains indelible : it is never totally lost or obliterated :—

The images [says Dr. Johnson] which memory presents are of a stubborn and untractable nature. The objects of remembrance have already existed, and left their signature behind them impressed upon the mind so as to defy all attempts at erasure or change. Whatever we have once deposited, as Dryden expresses it, in the sacred treasures of the past, it is out of the reach of accident or violence, nor can it be lost either by our own weakness or another's malice.

This is true even in cases of physical lesion of the brain, although such lesion may cause temporary loss of memory. The image or impression once photographed and registered is there in some corner, although from organic weakness or deterioration, external injury, or other cause, it may be, for the time, only like the proverbial needle in a bundle of hay. It is never wholly blotted out, but exists somewhere, deep and indelible—all the deeper, in a sense, from the present entanglement and topsy-turvy condition of the brain. As certainly as no motion transmitted by natural causes or human agency ever wholly ceases in its effects, so surely no

image or perception once received and clasped by the mind is ever totally lost. It may elude our grasp for the moment, however eager and straining, and our very efforts to recall it may only have the effect of driving it into a darker corner farther than ever from our embrace, but it is there indestructible. When, perhaps, we have given up the search in despair, it may, unbidden, all at once stand out before our mental vision, clear, entire, and vivid. The odour of a rose, the air of an old song or tune, the sound of a voice, the warbling of a bird, a casual remark, a word, a gesture, a smile, may suddenly revive it in all its distinctness of detail, as to time, place, circumstance. Hence such writers as Dickens and Gerald Griffin never forgot 'the connection between inanimate and senseless things and the object of recollection.' Thus, when Danny Mann hands Eily Hardress Cregan's cruel letter, which tells her that his love for her is dead, and that her brief dream of happiness is at an end—'Eily, as if yielding to a mechanical impulse, glided into the little room, which during the honeymoon had been fitted up and decorated for her own use. *She restrained her eyes from wandering* as much as possible, and commenced, with hurried and trembling hands, her preparations for departure.'

Thus also :—

When he [Hardress] recovered from the shock [which the news of the death of Eily's father had caused him] he found himself seated on the deck of the convict ship, her canvass wings outspread, and the shores of his native soil fleeting rapidly away on either side. He looked, as the vessel sped on, towards the cottage of the Dalys. Two or three of the children, in deep mourning, were playing on the lawn ; Lowry Looby was turning the cows into the new-mown meadow, and Mr. Daly himself, also in deep black, was standing, cane in hand, upon the steps of the hall-door. The vessel still swept on, but Hardress *dared not turn his eyes in the direction of Castle Chute*. The land of his nativity faded rapidly on the sight ; but before the vessel came within sight of that of his exile, Hardress had rendered up the life which the law forebore to take.

Passing from these few remarks, which the scenery described in *The Collegians* has suggested, to an opinion of

the work as a whole, it may be safely asserted that, as a novel, it is entitled to an eminent place amongst works of fiction ; and this, for felicity of conception, naturalness, and probability of incident and dialogue, consistent and timely development of plot, distinctness and individuality of character, and delicacy of treatment. Banim, who of all others approaches nearest to Gerald Griffin in his pictures of Irish life and character, thinks that the latter leans too much towards the dark and gloomy side of Celtic nature. Whilst admitting this, as far as the groundwork of his literary structures go, the sombre and the terrible in his writings do not overshadow or obscure the many bright and beautiful tints scattered throughout his works, especially in that in which his literary fame chiefly rests—*The Collegians*. Through his tales, notably through the last-named, there runs a brilliant play of wit and humour, the lightsome and joyous sufficiently relieving the effects of the tragic and pathetic, standing out all the more clearly by contrast.

Such is the picture of the Daly family group, Myles Murphy's ingenious defence of his trespassing ponies, the description of the *personnel* of Lowry Looby, and the stories with which he whiles away the time whilst accompanying Kyrle Daly on his wooing journey ; the examination of Poll Naughten and her husband ; the scene in the drawingroom, where Hardress Cregan is discovered by Anne Chute in jovial conviviality with his servant, Danny Mann. This latter sketch is unsurpassed as a specimen of the gruesome-ludicrous, arising from the sorry plight of the unfortunate boatman, who has been 'pricked by the half-drunken huntsmen,' and as a sample of maudlin pedantry and ridiculous application of his classical lore and rules of logic by a tipsy student. The dark and tragical are relieved also by the beautiful and good ; in the guileless confiding love and trust of the gentle-natured Eily, the unselfish devotion of Myles Murphy, the uncompromising principles and high-souled honour of Kyrle Daly, &c. Even in the lowest type of human nature introduced—that of the hunchback—there are some redeeming traits. Danny Mann is not naturally a bloodthirsty villain. His moral obliquity and unscrupulous

conscience are certainly congenial soil for the growth of a crime such as that he commits ; but the motives which impel him to the conception of the deed and its committal are not amongst the worst by which men are actuated in the perpetration of crime. They are not innately sanguinary, selfish, or mercenary. A mistaken sense of loyalty and duty to his master, his fanatical attachment to Hardress, and consequent readiness to do anything to serve him ; with him these are paramount and so all-absorbing as to exclude every other consideration, even that of personal safety.

Apart, however, from this, Danny would, probably, have passed through life amongst his neighbours and acquaintances as, at worst, an unamiable, shrewd, cynical, uncongenial being, but not loathsome or dangerous. His natural sourness of disposition, the effect, perhaps—in great part, at least—of his physical malformation, from which there generally arises irritability of temper, moroseness, and discontent, might never vent itself beyond biting sarcasm on men and things, and general misanthropy. With all his moral obtuseness, he might, under other circumstances, have lived and died free from those crimes which outrage society, or render men amenable to justice. The hunchback, however, is by no means a phenomenon or improbable character. On the contrary, Danny Mann is a type of human nature by no means rare, his prototypes turning up in everyday life. They may be quite inoffensive persons, of outwardly well-ordered lives, neither dishonest nor immoral, as far as society has reason to judge them, yet withal destitute of moral sense or conscientious feeling ; given, however, an exciting cause they may become criminals of the blackest dye, not from any inborn propensity, but from the mere absence of all conscience or horror of acts as crime. You can appeal effectively to other feelings in them, to restrain them from the commission of criminal deeds—vanity, self-interest, a sort of honour, the fear of detection ; but you would appeal in vain to moral principle or conscience as a deterrent from even the worst crimes, in the boatman's prototypes, and they are by no means few. Thus, in the interview between Hardress and Danny, whilst the latter is

under arrest for the fearful crime, at which the former, perhaps, connived, at least, the murderer's first emotions on recognising his young master are not those of terror or remorse, or loathing of an accomplice in, or because of, his guilt. Even the concluding words, where he alludes to his crime being written in the recording book of heaven, are uttered, not so much through feelings of sorrow or remorse, as to show that Hardress is equally guilty as himself. His attempt at self-justification shows that genuine remorse is by no means his predominant thought, and that the conscience of which the author speaks, was only galvanized for the moment, giving place immediately to the prevailing sentiment of anxiety for his master's peace of mind, and the desire to justify himself for having committed the deed.

Every successful novelist [says Sir Walter Scott]¹ must be, more or less, a poet, even though he may never have written a line of verse. The quality of imagination is indispensable to him ; his accurate power of examining and embodying human character, and human passion, as well as the external face of nature, is not less essential, and the talent of describing well what he feels with acuteness, added to the above requisites, goes far to complete the poetic character.

If poetry, according to Wordsworth, is the breath and finer spirit of all knowledge, the impassioned expression which is in the countenance of all science, it is, consequently, an essential requisite in the analysis of sensations, in sounding the depths, and comprehending the intensity of human passions, and discovering the secret springs and workings of that complex piece of machinery—the heart of man, with its many promptings and motives. To this poetic talent, and more particularly to test dramatic powers, may be attributed Gerald Griffin's wonderful gift of depicting the darker passions of the human heart which enables him to bring to his aid in the picture, all those incidents and adjuncts which lend such peculiar vividness to his sketches, circumstances which escape the eye of a non-poetical novelist. Such are the temptations of Hardress Cregan, when alone on the mountain with his servant, the hunchback proves

¹ *Lives of Eminent Novelists and Dramatists.*

himself to be, for the first time, his evil genius in the horrible suggestion of the murder of Eily O'Connor. His soliloquy in the cottage of the Naughtons, where he arrives too late to save her after her departure under the guidance of Danny Mann: his fitful slumbers, broken by frightful visions: his mutterings, indicating that the gnawing passion of remorse haunted him even in sleep: the nature of the conversation, and remarks of Poll Naughton and her husband about the death and burial, the grave and funeral of poor M'Donagh: the fury of the elements, in keeping with the fearful tragedy, probably at that moment being enacted, and the vision of which presents itself to the sleeper in all its ghastliness: the circumstances attending the discovery of the corpse of Eily; the chopping and yelling of the hounds, and the efforts of the affrighted onlookers to keep off the pack from devouring their human prey: the brutal inhuman remarks, meant for a good joke, on the nature of the 'fox' run to earth: the horror of the guilty husband at such a sight; and the subsequent scene between mother and son, during which he apostrophizes the vision of his murdered bride; they are all painted with a dramatic power worthy of the master-hand of Shakespeare.

'Isn't it extraordinary,' he says himself, 'how impossible it seems to write a perfect novel, one which shall be read with deep interest, and yet be perfect as moral work.' *The Collegians* proves that, difficult as the task may be, it is not impossible, and that the writer has achieved what Fielding, Smollet, Richardson, and even the author of *The Vicar of Wakefield* have failed to do. Perhaps it is not altogether fair to use the word 'failed' in speaking of the last-named admirable poet and novelist—Oliver Goldsmith. There are some inconsistencies in the work, and the reader is led to advertence of indelicate situations and of the characters allowing themselves to be placed and to remain in dangerous occasions which might have been removed by the author on revision. Revision, however, much more recasting, were works uncongenial to the nature of the author. Besides, it would not pay; and his pen, although by no means a venal

or mercenary one in the more objectionable sense of the term, was too busily employed in discharging obligations contracted with publishers, and in keeping the wolf from the door, to allow him the necessary time for such work. Of *The Vicar of Wakefield*, however, may be said what Wordsworth said of a volume of poems submitted for his criticism: 'I like the volume so much that, if I were the author, I think I should never rest until I had nearly rewritten it.' With regard to the three first named, whilst quoting the apology which Cumberland makes for the characters and situations in his own works, the excuse must be deemed utterly insufficient to justify the scenes of vice and immorality presented in revolting nakedness. Their zeal, like Cumberland's, to exhibit virtue triumphant over the most tempting allurements, may have been their reason for painting these allurements in too vivid colours; but, giving them every credit for such zealous motives, it must still be said that the moral of their tales does not heal the mischief in them. The antidote is, indeed, presented with the poison, but, the remedy may be forgotten in the insidious pleasure of the poison which is quaffed.

No such apologies are needed for *The Collegians*. As a picture of Irish life and character it is a master-piece; and as Sir Walter Scott says of *The Vicar of Wakefield*, the work as a novel is one of the most delicious morsels of fictitious compositions on which the human mind was ever employed. But it has something better than even *The Vicar of Wakefield* and it is this, that the humour and pathos, the joy and sorrow, the sports and pastimes, the love and friendship, temptation and crime, guilt and remorse, so powerfully depicted and so all-absorbing as narrative, are not only secondary to the end and object of the work, as expressed in its closing lines, but because this aim and object, the salutary moral is brought home to us without a single image to dim the lustre of its moral brightness or shock the most fastidious sensitive taste. The wreath on Gerald Griffin's brow is indeed unsullied.

Reader, if you have shuddered at the excesses into which he plunged, examine your own heart, and see if it hide nothing of the

intellectual pride, and volatile susceptibilities to new impressions, which were the ruin of Hardress Cregan. If, besides the amusement which these pages have afforded, you should learn anything from such research, for the avoidance of evil or the pursuit of good, it will not be in vain that we have penned the story of our two collegians.

The limits assigned to the foregoing reflections hinder us from extending them to remarks on Gerald Griffin's poetry farther than to observe, that the same 'spotless purity of mind' pervades it in sonnet and lyric, poem and fragment. From Luggelaw's deep-wooded vale to the sights and sounds of vernal joy in sweet Adare; from the fate of the chieftain's daughter to the reward of integrity, faith, and honour in young Matt Hyland, we are conducted through odorous groves and midst flowers of richest hue, in sketches of rural and silvan beauty, varied by profound reflections and true philosophy, amidst earthly passions and intensely human feelings, without being offended in our work by the trail of the serpent or its slime on fruit or flowers; and yet his characters are real flesh and blood, warm, young, and human.

Oh, spotless purity of mind!
Majestic grace of youthful beauty
Who lovest within the heart refined
To house with peace and simple duty.
Pure as the gale whose viewless wings
The wind harp sweeps with mournful sweetness;
Oh come, and teach the eager strings
To blend their fires with heavenly sweetness.

First grace of virgin souls! to thee,
To thee I pour my minstrel story;
Oh let the descant rising free
From thee receive its saving glory.
Few, few for thee awake the strain
Few tune for thee the pleasing measure,
For first amongst the slothful train,
The poet seeks the haunts of pleasure.

We look once more across the broad sheet of Shannon's lowly waters towards the hills of Clare, on which the last rays of the departing sun are lingering, whilst the shadows lengthen on glen and upland and sloping lawn, and the sweet

chimes from the neighbouring tower of Mount St. Alphonsus call to the duties of prayer and praise. The view once more reminds us of 'the natural, unexaggerated colouring of Gerald Griffin's landscape sketches;' and so with a last look at the lovely scenery which has suggested the foregoing reflections, we bid adieu to Clare hills and to Gerald Griffin's own majestic river, in the poet's own words, uniting therewith the hallowed memory of the pure and Christian writer, and the many faithful Irish hearts in 'gentle Gerald's' native valleys :—

On Shannon's side the day is closing fair,
 The kern sits musing by his shieling low,
 And marks, beyond the lonely hills of Clare,
 Blue, rimmed with gold, the clouds of sunset glow.
 Hushed in that sun, the widespread waters flow,
 Returning warm the day's departing smile ;
 Along the sunny highland, pacing slow,
 The keriaght lingers with his herd the while,
 And bells are tolling faint from far St. Senan's isle.

Oh, lovèd shore ! with fondest mem'ries twined,
 Sweet fall the summer on thy margin fair,
 And peace come whispering, like a morning wind,
 Dear thoughts of love to every bosom there :
 The horrid wreck and driving storm forbear
 Thy smiling strand ; nor oft the accents swell
 Along thy hills of grief or heart-wrung care ;
 But Heaven look down upon each lowly dell,
 And bless thee for the joys I yet remember well.

IGNOTUS.



THE BENEDICTINES OF BEURON

THE vitality of which the Catholic Church has given in every age so many signs was never so clearly manifested as in the rise and spread of the numerous religious congregations of the present century. Amongst them not least has been the development of the great Order of St. Benedict. The famous Essays of Cardinal Newman have rendered the past history of that Order familiar to us, and have indicated its special utility for the present age. The fact of its extension since the beginning of the century, and the forms which that extension has taken, are, however, the best proofs of its mission to our civilization and society

Three great Congregations have adorned the Benedictine family, and these promise to be but the beginning of many others. Dom Gueranger at Solesmes, Jean Baptiste Muard at *Pierre-qui-Vire*, and Dom Maur Wolter at Beuron in South Germany. The fame of the first has reached wherever the Catholic Church of to-day exists. The second is less known, but the beautiful sketch of the founder of the Benedictine Preachers, by Mr. Edward Healy Thompson, is certain to diffuse widely the knowledge and esteem of it. This life was written to defray the expenses connected with the restoration of Buckfast Abbey in Devon, to which, after a failure to make a foundation at Stillorgan, Co. Dublin, this congregation migrated. The third, which is little more than thirty years in existence, is worthy of this little sketch, as well as of a more permanent place in the esteem of the Irish people.

About 1852 there lived in Westphalia a family named Wolter. There were three sons; the mother was a Protestant, but the sons were Catholic; the eldest, Rudolph Wolter, became a priest and professor in a seminary. Here the yearnings for a more perfect life, the beginning of a monastic vocation, grew on him, and he made his way to the

Benedictine Abbey of San Paolo fuori le Mura, in Rome. He was followed a year or two later by his two younger brothers, and all three became in due course professed monks. The youngest brother, named Charles, took the name of Hildebrand; but it was not the will of God to make use of him as of the others. He had scarcely taken his vows when God called him to the kingdom of heaven. The brothers, however, had work to do on earth: they were to be the secondary causes by which God meant to move the hearts of many people; they were to be His instruments in the building up of a great work. Rudolph took the name of Dom Maur Wolter; the second brother took the name of Dom Placide. God, who destined them to be His angels in Germany, did not leave them without worthy coadjutors. Dom Maur became acquainted with the Princess Catherine of Hohenzollern. Out of this connection arose a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and on the journey the foundations of a most intimate friendship were laid. This friendship was destined later on to be productive of lasting results.

The Holy Father Pope Pius IX. had long been projecting methods of restoring the Catholic religion in Germany, and one of the means which seemed likely to prove most efficacious was the revival of monasticism, and especially of the great Order of St. Benedict, which in earlier centuries had studded with its abbeys the German States. Since the so-called Reformation had swept over the land the monastic system had been paralysed and almost lifeless. It was therefore with special pleasure that he welcomed in Dom Maur Wolter the providential instrument for building up anew this glory of the Catholic religion. On the 29th September, 1860, the two brothers, Dom Maur and Dom Placide, knelt at the feet of His Holiness, and received his Apostolic Benediction. With the commission, 'Go, multiply your Order in Germany,' and the sum of £40, the gift of the Abbot of San Paolo, the two brothers set out.

Their way was beset with difficulty, but the grace of the Holy Father's words bore them along. They arrived at a place called Materborn, and here they determined to attempt their first foundation. They started in a small house; their

only help was a gardener, who became their cook and lay brother ; and a choir novice, named Dom Benedict Sauter. Both persevered, and the latter is now the head of one of the abbeys of the new congregation, viz., of the Abbey of Prague in Bohemia. Two years passed in the Priory of Materborn without any addition to their numbers, and for most of this time they had hardly the necessaries of life ; but God was about to bless their patient efforts. The Princess of Hohenzollern obtained for them a grant of the vacant, partly ruined, Abbey of Beuron, and its adjoining lands, and here the little band of the children of St. Benedict made its second attempt.

This abbey had been the property of the Augustinians, but the French Revolution almost killed it, and in 1803 only two monks remained in the house. One of these, a man of the greatest sanctity, died that year with the prophecy on his lips, 'After sixty years Beuron will be re-peopled.' The other then abandoned it, and for sixty years the abbey remained empty, gradually falling into decay.

Dom Maur Wolter and his brethren set about repairing the condition of the building. The number of his novices increased, and it soon became necessary to prepare the modified rule for them. He went to Dom Gueranger at Solesmes with a couple of companions, and remained there for some months until their profession. They kept the rule there in force, noted all the points on which it differed from that of the Abbey of San Paolo, and then returned to Beuron. The novices soon reached the number of twelve, and Dom Maur was made abbot. He then drew up in its final form the Rule of the Congregation of Beuron, embodying in it those necessary modifications which circumstances of time and place, such as its special mission to the German peoples, required.

The time of expansion and the time of persecution came together. The German laws of worship, despite the protection of the Princess Catherine of Hohenzollern, drove them out, and they took refuge in the Tyrol, at a place called Volders. But their temporary loss was not without immediate compensations. They succeeded in two founda-

tions—one at Prague, under Dom Benedict Sauter, whose name was mentioned above; and the other at Sekin, in Styria. In both these places their zealous efforts in reviving religious worship won for them the friendship of the powers of both Church and State. They managed to make a beginning in England at Erdington Priory. But the great branch of the Benedictines of Beuron was the Abbey of Maredsous, near Dinant, in Belgium.

Amongst the young novices at Beuron was a Belgian, named De Hemptinne. He had been, previous to his entry into the Order, a Pontifical Zouave in Rome, and there had met a congenial companion in Lieutenant Desclée. This friendship was to bear fruit. After he entered Beuron he conceived the idea of spreading the Order of St. Benedict in his native land, and M. Desclée appeared to him to be a man likely to prove useful in carrying this idea into execution. Between them they discussed the matter. The zeal and generosity of M. Desclée, who was very wealthy, were not inferior to the zeal and generosity of his late companion in arms. He bought a large piece of ground on the hills at Maredsous, and gave it over to Dom Maur Wolter, who took and blessed it. The money for building a magnificent abbey church, cloisters and college was soon forthcoming from the same generous benefactor, and the halls began to resound with the hum of students, as the church with the divine praises chanted by the monks. In the head house a school of art had been formed imbued with the highest Christian ideals, and from it came trained hands to adorn the walls of their churches and abbeys. There, too, began a careful study and practice of the musical forms best adapted for their congregation. Thus art and music, and the study of the liturgy of the Church for which Bueron had already become famous, were to be reflected and multiplied at Maredsous. As a centre of spiritual and intellectual life amongst Belgian and Northern French peoples Maredsous is almost without an equal. Visitors from other lands passing through the country are welcomed with the greatest hospitality, and many, by the grace of a retreat there, drink of life-giving waters.

Parallel with the growth in numbers came the definite organization of the Congregation. Dom Maur Wolter was made Arch Abbot of the entire Congregation, with Beuron as the Arch Abbey. Dom Placide, his brother, became the Abbot of Maredsous. With the saintly death of Dom Maur in July, 1890, came further changes. Dom Placide took his brother's place at Beuron; and Dom Hildebrand de Hemptinne, who had been such an instrument in its foundation, became Abbot of Maredsous. Since then, in furtherance of the policy of His Holiness Leo XIII. for the unification of the various congregations and rules of the Order of St. Benedict, Dom Hildebrand de Hemptinne has been made Lord Primate of the entire Order, and head of the International Benedictine College of St. Anselm in Rome.

The growth of Dom Maur Wolter's Congregation has not slackened. Within the past two years two new abbeys have been added to the roll of its foundations—one at the famous house of Maria Laach; the other in South America, founded by Dom Gerard von Calsen. Thus in the short space of thirty years, since the brothers Dom Maur and Dom Placide knelt at the feet of the Holy Father and received his command, there have been founded six or seven abbeys and one priory, while the monks number some hundreds.

Such is the great Congregation of Beuron. The particular characteristics of the Rule there is not now opportunity to discuss. It is not so severe as that of the Cistercians at Melleray or Roscrea, either with regard to food or silence or solitude. It acts more directly upon the lives and thoughts of the people. It has, of course, the same ultimate aim, but employs methods suited to its immediate purpose.

We regret that the Benedictines failed to take root in Ireland.

That they could do much to improve the educational status of the Irish people, both University and Intermediate: that they would associate with themselves in Ireland as at Einsiedeln and Maredsous great Catholic publishing firms, powerful barriers against the false principles of the day: that they would form in our Irish people new centres of divine

science, is beyond question. The old Scriptorium of the early Benedictine monks has not altogether disappeared. The printing press is with them, to be a powerful agent in the work of Christian education and civilization, and nowhere more than in Ireland are such influences necessary.

J. V. DUGGAN.

THE MYSTICAL SENSE OF SCRIPTURE

IX.

WE saw, in the introductory part of this explanation,¹ that in the case of the vast majority of the Jews, blindness of mind and hardness of heart was the result produced by the words of Isaías. It was inflicted on them by God in penalty of their repeated transgressions. Those who had so often sinned against the light were at last punished with the most fearful of all maledictions—spiritual blindness. From the fatal day on which Isaías executed the Divine command, the meaning of his wonderful descriptions of the future, so luminous and transparent to the eye of faith, became unintelligible. The heavenly truth was enveloped in impenetrable darkness. It was in vain now that every letter of those prophecies was preserved with the greatest care, and that they were read to religious assemblies frequently in the course of each year :—

Isaías cecinit,
Synagoga meminit,
Nunquam tamen desinit
Esse caeca.

74. It is equally certain that this condign punishment of persistent unbelief was by no means confined to those who refused to listen to God's prophet. It was in store for those also who should be guilty of the immeasurably greater crime of turning a deaf ear to God Himself. This is evident from

¹ See I. E. RECORD, September, p. 216.

His own express declaration, recorded in the three synoptic Gospels :—

MATT. xiii. 13-15.

Therefore do I speak to them in parables, because seeing, they see not, and hearing, they hear not; neither do they understand. And the prophecy of *Isaias* is fulfilled in them, who saith: By hearing you shall hear, and shall not understand; and seeing, you shall see, and shall not perceive. For the heart of this people is grown gross, and with their ears they have been dull of hearing, and their eyes they have shut; lest at any time they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and be converted, and I should heal them.

MARK iv. 11, 12.

And He said to them To you it is given to know the mystery of the Kingdom of God; but to them that are without all things are done in parables. That seeing they may see, and not perceive; and hearing they may hear, and not understand; lest at any time they should be converted, and their sins should be forgiven them.

LUKE viii. 10.

To whom He said: To you it is given to know the mystery of the kingdom of God, but to the rest in parables: that seeing they may not see, and hearing they may not understand.

We have it also on the authority of St. John and St. Paul. The former says: 'Therefore they could not believe, because *Isaias* said again: He hath blinded their eyes, and hardened their hearts, that they should not see with their eyes, nor understand with their heart, and be converted, and I should heal them. These things said *Isaias*, when he saw His glory and spoke of Him.'¹

St. Paul's words to the unbelieving Jews,² and his words about them,³ are equally decisive. In the latter passage he also states what God's motive was in blinding the Jews. This, however, is a further question, and must be treated of in another article. Here it is sufficient to direct our readers' attention to this one point, viz., that in all these passages the words of *Isaias* are interpreted as being a prophecy about the Jews in the time of Christ.

The passage of St. Matthew's Gospel is, of course, the subject of this article. With it we shall compare the parallel ones in St. Mark and in St. Luke, because without their

¹ *John* iii. 39, 40, 41.

² *Acts* xxviii. 25-27.


³ *Romans* xi. 7, 8.

help we should, perhaps, fail to perceive the truth. St. John's words throw light on our subject from another point of view, and are necessary for a clear and complete view of it. We propose, therefore, to consider the prophecy of Isaias as it is presented to us by the four Evangelists; in this article as it is applied by our Lord in the three synoptic Gospels; and in the next article as it is explained by St. John.

75. Now that we have got so far, the next question is, in which sense of Scripture—the literal, or the mystical—do the words of Isaias apply to the Jews in the time of Christ. As regards the Jews of the earlier period, the contemporaries, namely, of the prophet, there is, of course, no doubt that the words were spoken about them primarily and directly; but commentators differ as to whether the words designate the Jews of the Messianic era in the same way, or only indirectly and mediately. Some hold that the literal or primary meaning of the prophet's words refers equally to both classes; but Cornelius a Lapide, Calmet, Knabenbauer and others say that it is exclusively in their mediate or mystical meaning—that the words indicate the character of many of our Lord's hearers. The latter interpretation appears to be the correct one.

The obdurate Jews in the days of the prophet were the worthy forerunners of those who, when the Messiah Himself came, refused to listen to the tidings of salvation. It is a familiar and a true saying that history repeats itself. It belongs to the province of the historian to point out the relationship between events, and to trace effects to their real cause. Thus he brings together and presents in one view occurrences that might at first sight seem unconnected, as being widely separated by time or by place.

But very much greater than any historical connection is that unity which the student of Scripture contemplates here. In the sight of God, both groups of unbelievers formed one mystical whole. Not, indeed, in consequence of aught that confers what is at best but a moral or metaphorical oneness, not as a result of that continuity which makes a nation at different epochs in its history ever remain one and the



same, nor on account of any other merely human link of identity; but because the earlier Jews were types of the latter. Though they were separated from each other by more than seven centuries, and though, in the opinion of man, their respective sins might only have a certain family resemblance, yet to the all-seeing eye of the Eternal Judge their crime, as being reciprocally figure and fulfilment, was *one*. Hence, 'to the sons of them that killed the prophets,' to the descendants of them that scoffed at the prophets' warnings, He said on one occasion: 'Fill ye up, then, the measure of your fathers.'

A far higher unity, too, is implied in our Lord's quotation from Isaias than might suggest itself even to the moral theologian. He would be, as such, inclined—perhaps unconsciously—to interpret the words for himself, not exegetically, but by the application of the principles of his own ethical science. He would not, however, succeed in the attempt, even though he tried to apply all the laws relating to 'obligatio in solidum;' for the good reason that the instrument of his choice was not made for the work. Type and antitype so blend together, that as such they are identified; whereas solidarity only makes different individuals that have been co-operators in injustice each incur his own integral obligation. It was not in this sense our Lord applied the prophecy.

A less irrelevant illustration, taken also from the moral order, would be the fact that Jesus Christ considers as done to Himself whatever is done to the least of His brethren. But even this falls short of the requirements of an example. The mystical union between Christ and Isaias, as His representative, is much closer than that which exists between Him and a sanctified individual; hence there is a more intimate connection between the sins of two groups of Jews, respectively, than between the wrongs done to the little ones and the offence thereby committed against God.

The difference between an act of the moral and an act of the mystical order is one not of degree, but of kind. The moral order is not what concerns us here, for we are not

comparing the specific gravity of two¹ sins, but considering their typical correlation. Prescinding, therefore, from the obvious truth, that the sin committed against Isaias was *per se* less iniquitous, our object is to show that it was prefigurative. In doing this the only remark that need be made about the intrinsic malice of that sin is, that precisely because it was not so great it fulfilled one of the necessary conditions of a type, namely, that it be inferior to its antitype. And because the relation between these two is completely *sui generis*, and so different from those contemplated either by the historian or by the moral theologian, in order to get a parallel to our case we must look for one in the mystical order itself. It is not hard to find one, for our Lord points it out. David's betrayer, Achitopel, was a figure of Judas.¹ The treacherous minister sinned against his sovereign, inasmuch as the latter was a divinely constituted representative of the King of kings; and on that account he prefigured the arch-traitor. Their respective guilt, though distinct and different in the moral order, was one and the same in the typical. Hence the words in David's psalm uttered about Achitopel, literally and historically, are declared by our Lord to refer to Judas, mystically and prophetically. In like manner, the contumacy and unbelief of the Jews in respect of the preaching of Isaias, was not directed against the *man*, it was committed against the *prophet*, inasmuch as he was a figure or type of the Divine Prophet. Hence the typical identity of the sin; hence what was said in the literal sense of Isaias's contemporaries is also a mystical prophecy about the Jews in the time of Christ.²

¹ Ps. xl, 10, combined with John xiii, 18.

² Some of our readers may, perhaps, find it difficult to conceive that the sin of unbelief committed by Isaias' contemporaries could portend a similar act on the part of their descendants. Nothing, surely, was further from their thoughts and intentions than to represent the unknown future. We saw above how a moral theologian might try to explain a similar difficulty by means of his own principles, and without any disparagement to his science we may use it again as an illustration. It is done simply for the sake of showing more clearly, by means of contrast, the nature and character of exegesis. In answer, to the question, how could the act of the prophet's unbelieving contemporaries be typical, since as may be assumed they were quite unaware of its

76. Disobedience to God's representatives and disbelief in their words, was the besetting sin of the Jewish people.¹ Its mark is indelibly branded on their history. Indeed, with certain obvious limitations, it might be called the original sin of the Jews, so uniformly was it transmitted from generation to generation, and so prolific was it of every species of transgression. It was their sin against Moses, and it was repeated, age after age, every time that a fresh prophet delivered his message. Which of the prophets

alleged prospective signification, the moral theologian might say that the question was like that of the wicked on the last day, 'Lord, when did we see Thee hungry or thirsty?' or, in other words, that the excuse which the Jews might make, 'Lord, how did we know that what was done to Isaias was done to Thee?' would be equally frivolous and nugatory. However this remark leaves the difficulty just as it found it.

The exegetical answer is, that consciousness of the fact that God moves man to prophecy is not compatible with what is called 'instinctus propheticus.' (See St. Thomas, *Summa* 2^a, 2^e. q. clxxiii. art. 4). This is evident from the case of Caiphas (John xi. 51). Though he was not aware of a divine impulse, and even though he sinned, yet that did not prevent Almighty God from inspiring Caiphas and employing him as an instrument to express the divine meaning. Neither did Achitophel know, we may safely assume, that he was a type of Judas; nevertheless such was the case. Achitophel's act was not merely his own, it had a prophetic signification. The same holds good of the act by which the Jews refused to listen to Isaias and despised his teaching. They were physically impelled by God to perform it, but the sin came totally from themselves. As St. Thomas shows so conclusively (*Summa* 1^a 2 q. lxxix., artt. 1 and 2), God does not move man to commit sin, though He does move man to perform that free act in which sin is found. But of this more anon. We may, however, remark in passing that its perfect agreement with Holy Writ is one of the strongest proofs in confirmation of this thesis of the Prince of theologians.

It may not be superfluous to repeat here that the mystical sense of Scripture is found, not in the sacred book itself, but in certain of the actions, persons, places, &c., which it describes. And in the actions, for instance, it exists not inasmuch as they proceed from man, but solely in so far as they are inspired by God. Hence it matters not how the Jews personally behaved. Their responsibility rests with themselves. It is a subject for the consideration of the moral theologian, but to the commentator's purpose it is quite irrelevant. The writings and doings of the greatest saint, if uninspired, are only human; on the other hand, the expressions and actions of the vilest sinners, if inspired, are the word of God. The mystical meaning of the Jews' act was neither more nor less divine than the literal meaning of the words spoken by Caiphas. The literal and the mystical sense of Scripture are not what man thinks, or says, or does—but what God means. In order to express it, He indeed usually chose saints, but even though he did so, their personal excellence and perfection was quite distinct and separable from their inspiration. The one belonged to the moral, the other to the physical order. The fact of their instrumentality is all-important and decisive, that of their virtue is immaterial, 'for prophecy came not by the will of man at any time: but the holy men of God spoke inspired by the Holy Ghost.'

¹ See St. Stephen's words, Acts vii. 51.

did they not persecute? How often was it said to them 'To-day, if you shall hear His voice, harden not your hearts as in the provocation, according to the day of temptation in the wilderness;' and how often was the appeal made in vain? This blind opposition to His precursors it was that wrung from the tender Heart of Jesus Christ the sorrowful complaint: 'Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them that are sent to thee!' And as it had ever been with His inspired servants, so was it to be in the end with Himself. By far the greater part of His people would refuse to believe His teaching; and at last He, incomparably the greatest of all prophets, would go up to die in their chief city, because, as He said, 'it was impossible that a prophet should perish outside Jerusalem.'

In each instance of persecution the Jews' first sin was, of course, the deliberate rejection of the divine message, which is described in metaphorical language as their closing their eyes and hardening their hearts. Before the time of *Isaias* the final blindness is only predicted; but from that time on it is spoken of as an accomplished fact. *Moses* threatened it; *Jeremias* and *Ezechiel* describe it. The refractory Jews in the days of *Isaias* may not have been aware that they were a conspicuous link in the nation's long chain of iniquity; nevertheless, such was the fact. Their sin could be exceeded only by that one of their offspring in which the whole ascending series of such crimes culminated. Tradition states that *Isaias* was put to death. For all we know, however, they may have inflicted greater sufferings on some other prophet than on him; but they did not harden their hearts so much against the words of any other herald of divine truth, for never was prophet clearer and more copious in his announcements than the son of *Amos*. And the punishment which their disobedience and unbelief drew down on themselves and their immediate descendants was far severer than any that had until then been inflicted on the Hebrew people. It was what the same prophet *Isaias* had so often warned them of, namely, the captivity which put an end for ever to their kingdom.

77. But Isaias foretold it not alone by word, but also symbolically in his own person. He and his two sons were an omen of the impending calamity, and at the same time a presage of Juda's partial escape from it. The announcement of their triple prophetic mission is found in chap. viii. 18, 'Behold I and my children whom the Lord hath given me a sign and a wonder in Israel.' An attentive perusal of the divine utterances contained in chap. vi. will show any reader how closely the children were associated with their father in his representative capacity. His inspired word was to produce such spiritual blindness and such obduracy in Juda, that the just and the inevitable punishment of it was to be the devastation of the country. At the same time, Juda's only hope, and all-sufficient hope, of deliverance, was in the Lord; and this was the one subject on which Isaias preached. This was the great lesson he continually inculcated both by inspired word (*e.g.* the ever-recurring mention of salvation, of trust in God), and by inspired deed (see xx. 20).¹ The sons of Isaias also were symbols of the truth of his prophecies, and living pledges that God would fulfil His word to the very last letter. They foreshadowed the two results of their father's preaching—results, indeed, widely differing: one being that God would lay waste the land, and drive its former inhabitants far away (effect on unbelievers vi. 11, 12); the other that a tithe or remnant of Juda should be converted and be spared (effect on unbelievers, *ib.* v. 13).²

¹ And for other examples of what is meant by 'a sign and wonder in Israel,' compare Ezechiel xii. 6, 11, also xxiv. 24, and Zacharias iii. 8.

² The Douay version of these verses is as follows (v. 12): 'And the Lord shall remove men far away, and she shall be multiplied that was left in the midst of the earth.' (v. 13) 'And there shall be a tithing therein, and she shall turn, and shall be made a show as a turpentine-tree, and as an oak that spreadeth its branches: that which shall stand therein shall be a holy seed.' Judging only from the Douay, the latter half of the 12th verse would seem to be a promise, but in reality it is the continuation of the prediction contained in the first part. This is evident from the Hebrew text which means:—'And many shall be the ruins in the middle of the land.' The 13th verse also is obscurely rendered in our English version. The Hebrew should be translated somewhat thus: 'And if a tenth part should still remain in it, this also shall be destroyed, (*but*) as the terebinth and the oak live even when the tree is cut

The names of the three respectively indicate their symbolical character. Isaias (Jeshajehu) '*the Lord is salvation.*' If prophet ever was true to his name, surely it was he. That name might stand as the epitome of the contents of his sublime book. '*Maher-shalal-hash-baz*'—*make haste to take away the prey, hasten to take away the spoils*—the name of one son was given by divine command, and denoted that before he should be able to speak, the enemies of Juda should be rendered powerless. 'And the Lord said to me: Call his name: hasten to take away the spoils: make haste to take away the prey. For before the child know to call his father and his mother, the strength of Damascus and the spoils of Samaria shall be taken away before the king of the Assyrians.'² The name of the other son, 'Shear-Jashub,' means 'a remnant shall be saved.' (Half of it appears in the Douay version of Isaias vii. 3, 'And the Lord said to Isaias: Go forth to meet Achaz, thou and Jasub thy son that is left (instead of 'thou and thy son Shear-Jashub'). Half of the name is translated in the Septuagint also: *και ο καταλειφθεις Ιασουβ*

down, so shall its (*Israel's*) trunk become a holy seed.' The Holy Seed is the Messias. See Isaias x. 84, xi. 1, where a similar figure of speech is employed.

Schöttgen in his *Messias*, p. 717, quotes the saying of an ancient Rabbín to this effect:—'In the days of the Messias, one probation will succeed another, as Isaias foretells. If ten parts are tried in the furnace of affliction, one part shall stand the trial, or be saved.'

² It should be observed that in the Vulgate, and consequently in the Douay, the Hebrew appellation is not preserved, though it is a proper name. As it was necessary that Latin readers should understand it, it was translated by St. Jerome. '*Accelera spolia detrahare, Festina priedere.*' (The Septuagint had done the same: *Ταχως σκυλευσον, οξως προνομευσον.*)

After Israel's spoliation, Juda suffered severely from the Assyrian. This also was foretold by Isaias. See ch. viii. and x, 6, 26 32, and xxxiii. 1, 8, 9.

And now, after the lapse of ages, Assyrian monuments have been brought to light that agree in every particular with his predictions. From them we learn that Tiglath-pilezer took Damascus in 732 B.C., and laid waste the land of Israel in 729. Both the allied kings, Razin and Phacee, were put to death, and the Assyrian captivity of the Israelites began. Salmanassar continued the work of conquest, and Sargon compelled Samaria to surrender in 722. Soon afterwards the southern kingdom was invaded. One of Sargon's general's took Azotus in 710, and overran 'the wide land of Judea.' At last, in 710, Sennacherib came down like a wolf on the fold. Enormous sums of money were paid in order to dissuade him from committing further ravages, but all in vain. Sennacherib took forty-six fortified cities besides countless villages, and banished two hundred thousand of their inhabitants, and as he says in one of his inscriptions (Taylor Cylinder, British Museum) 'shut up Ezechias in Jerusalem like a bird in a cage.'

² viii. 3, 4.

ο υιος σου. The reason of Shear-Jashub's being sent with his father to Achaz is obvious. He was to be a sign to that unbeliever, that the whole nation should not perish, but that while the greater part would be destroyed, a remnant should be saved. There is, then, an intimate connection between the symbolical office of the boy, and the words spoken to his father ('Israel's trunk shall become a holy seed,' vi. 13) in the inaugural vision by which he was shown the nature and purpose of his prophetic mission. So true is this that the name borne by the boy became the consecrated expression which is used to designate the Israel of the future (see *Isaias* x. 20, and 21, 22). 'The remnant shall be converted; the remnant, I say, of Jacob to the Almighty God. For if thy people, O Israel, shall be as the sand of the sea, a remnant of them shall be converted.' The symbolical import of his name (denoting that neither would the Assyrian be permitted to exterminate the people), is alluded to also in xi. 11 (compare xxxvii. 31-35). And when the prophecy was fulfilled in its literal sense, *Esdras* too shows in his prayer that he understood the expression to be about those who returned from the captivity. 'And now as a little, and for a moment has our prayer been made before the Lord, to leave us a remnant.'¹

78. The temporal calamity which *Isaias* thus foretold was, however, but the forerunner or the shadow of the most awful spiritual punishment that ever befell any portion of the human race. Sacred history shows that as the banishment of the Jews from Palestine and their captivity in Assyria and in Babylon was the penalty of their unbelief and of their disobedience towards the prophets, so at a later period their exclusion (as a people) from the Catholic Church and their dispersion throughout all countries under the sun was the just retribution of their rebellion against the Church's Divine Founder. How few of the chosen people believed in Jesus Christ? 'He came unto His own, and His own received Him not.' It was, indeed, strange that it should be so; it was contrary to all reasonable anticipation,

¹ 1 *Esdr.* ix.

and incomprehensible to human understanding. What had been the mainstay of Israel's existence for so many ages, but the expectation of the Messias ! But now the faith and submission of even devout converts to Christianity was sorely tried, because, humanly speaking, the rejection of the Jews would seem at variance with the solemn promises made to the patriarchs ; nay, even to be subversive of the very end and scope of the Covenant. Many a one must have asked in his heart, ' Hath God cast away His people ? ' St. Paul knew better, for the truth was revealed to him ; but even he had great sadness and continual sorrow in his heart, and he wished to be an anathema for his brethren, who were his kinsmen according to the flesh. In the Epistle to the Romans (ix. 27), where he has to explain and to prove that their exclusion from the Church had been foretold, he does so by quoting one of the texts that have been given above. ' And Isaiaas crieth out concerning Israel : If the number of the children of Israel be as the sand of the sea a remnant shall be saved.'¹ Now the prophet's words refer literally to the small number that should be left after the captivity, therefore that ' remnant ' was a type of the insignificant minority of the Jewish Christians. This becomes, if possible still more evident from Rom. xi. 5, where the name is applied without further explanation as being the divinely ordained and well-known appellation of the Jewish converts. ' Even so at this present time also, there is a remnant saved according to the election of grace.' If the punishment was typical, so was the sin : hence it is that disbelief in Christ is denoted by the mystical sense of the prophet's words, ' Hearing, hear, and understand not,' &c.

We have now reached the first stage in our inquiry. The question proposed at the beginning of No. 75, ' in which sense of Scripture, the literal or the mystical, do the words of Isaiaas apply to the Jews in the time of Christ,' has been answered.

79. If we hold that the prophet's contumacious contemporaries were typical of their godless posterity, and that the

¹ Rom. ix. 27.

few spared in Palestine were typical of those saved in the Catholic Church, such an interpretation will of necessity require as its counterpart and complement, that we show that Isaias in his prophetic office was a figure of Christ. Any proffered explanation of the difficult passage at present under consideration, to have even the merit of consistency (a *sine qua non* in exegesis), if it maintain that there is mystical sense on one side, must prove the existence of mystical sense on the other. Part must correspond to part, otherwise what is said to be a picture will not represent the reality, and therefore it cannot have come from the hand of the Divine Artist. Is it true, then, that Isaias was not only the greatest of all the prophets, but that he was a figure of our Lord as well? Everyone knows he possesses the first honour, but can it be shown that he is entitled to the second and higher honour also?

Yes; and without any doubt or difficulty, for St. Paul says so explicitly. In order to prove that Jesus Christ has a real human nature, and that, consequently, all men are His brethren, he declares (Heb. xviii.) that our Lord says (i.e. *mystically*) what Isaias (viii. 13) in announcing his own mission said (*literally*), viz.: 'Behold I and my children whom God has given me.' We have seen already what is the literal sense of these words. It is obvious that the Apostle's interpretation of them is no mere *sensus accomodatus*, but an authoritative exposition of a mysterious prediction regarding the central doctrine of Christianity. For more reasons than one it is necessary to direct special attention to this point, as it is the pivot on which this whole body of mystic truth turns; and it is equally necessary to be convinced of its certainty, because otherwise we should virtually fall into the error of imagining that a quotation made by the Holy Ghost could be irrelevant and that an argument used by Him could be inconclusive.

80. The Gospel of St. John contains also two similar testimonies to the typical or representative character of Isaias. In the first of them the Evangelist declares that certain words of the prophet which, as is evident, were spoken in their literal sense about the opposition made to

his own preaching and the comparative failure of his own mission, were a prophecy of the similar experience which, notwithstanding His miracles, Jesus Christ would have to endure. 'And whereas He had done so many miracles before them, they believed not in Him: that the saying of Isaias the prophet might be fulfilled, which he said: *'Lord, who hath believed our hearing? and to whom hath the arm of the Lord been revealed?'*¹ It is only in their mystical meaning that these words can be prophetic, for in their literal or historic sense they are a retrospect of the life of Isaias.

The other testimony of St. John is contained in the verses immediately following (xii. 39-41). It bears directly on our main subject, being an express declaration that the quotation from Isaias, 'He hath blinded their eyes, and hardened their hearts,' &c., was fulfilled in respect of the obdurate Jews in the time of Christ; and it has, therefore, been given at length in the first part of this article.² But as we saw in the preceding article,³ the command: 'Blind the heart of this people, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes,' was given to Isaias in respect of his own unbelieving contemporaries, and was by him *literally* accomplished. It is, therefore, of the *mystical* fulfilment St. John speaks. What Isaias had done in regard of temporal, Christ did in regard of spiritual goods. What was said to Isaias, was addressed to him not in his individual capacity, but in his official character as a representative of Christ. Nor is this all that the Evangelist teaches us. Not only was the prophet in blinding the Jews to be a figure or type, but he was conscious of being so. He was fully aware of the prospective significance of the act he was commanded to perform. If we had not St. John's explanation, it might, perhaps, seem that Isaias in his sixth chapter was only describing his own wonderful experiences in the vision in which he received his mission; but such was not the case. It was not so much the past as the future that rivetted his attention. He was only the shadow, Jesus Christ was the

¹ John xii. 37, 38.² Page 319.³ I. E. RECORD, September, p. 218.

substance. 'These things said Isaias, when he saw His glory, and spoke of Him.'¹

We have it, then, from the source of all truth, that the greatest of the four great prophets was, in his mysterious action, a pre-ordained representative of the Divine Teacher. Not only as regards verbal predictions does he stand supreme among the inspired seers of Israel, beholding the Messianic future with a clearer vision and more extended view than any of them, and on this account quoted oftener in the New Testament than all of them put together; but he was inspired to perform mystical actions in themselves most sublime, as having direct reference to the Messiah. It is, indeed, certain that every one of the inspired messengers to Israel prefigured our Lord in His office as Prophet; but so far as the writer remembers, the only prophet that is said in the New Testament to have been a type of Christ is Isaias. It may be that as our Lord alone preached the Gospel in parables, so Isaias was the only prophet commissioned to harden the heart of the Jewish people; certain, however, it

¹ An explanatory remark may be made here about the way in which Isaias is quoted by St. John. At first it is not easy to see the reason of the reference and its drift, and the same must be said about the similar quotation from Isaias made by our Lord in St. Matthew, xv. 8.

As regards the words given above, 'Blind the heart of this people,' &c., our readers will, doubtless, have observed that they were only recorded in Scripture by Isaias. In the first instance, they were spoken not *by* him, but *to* him. In their origin they were not inspired, but exclusively divine. Man had no part whatever in their formation; he only heard them. The words, as spoken in the first instance by God to Isaias, were a command to blind in virtue of his supernatural power as God's instrument, the Jews of his own time; the same words, equally divine in the second instance, namely, as narrated in his book by Isaias in virtue of his inspiration as a sacred writer, were an infallible record of what he heard when he received his prophetic mission (*literal or historical sense of Scripture*); and the equally divine action signified by these words, which was performed by Isaias in virtue of his inspiration as a figure of Christ, was an infallible sign and warning of the future reprobation (*mystical or prophetic sense of Scripture*). The first inspiration was *verbal*; the second was *real*. The first meaning, or that of the words, was purely retrospective; the second, or of the act, was altogether prospective. Only in the latter was Isaias the *analogon* of Jesus Christ, and only in this sense is he alluded to in the two passages of the Gospels, St. Matt. xv. 8, and John xii. 39.

In the introductory articles (I. E. RECORD, August and September) the sense of the words reported by Isaias, the sacred historian, was our subject; in this one we are considering the mystical meaning of the action of Isaias as prophet; in the next article we shall see how that prediction was fulfilled, or the means chosen for its accomplishment; and in the concluding one, what was God's ultimate purpose, announced in the mystical prediction and attained by its fulfilment.

is, that his words would not have had that awful effect unless he were a *type*. It is precisely in this *real* prophecy as different from both symbolical and verbal announcement that the highest dignity of Isaiah consists. This is the privilege which brings him nearest to Christ, and makes him emphatically the 'great prophet.' For as the sacrifice of the son of Abraham foreshadowed the crucifixion, so did the preaching of the son of Amos typify the preaching of the Incarnate God.

81. We have now seen that the prophecy was mystically fulfilled in respect of the unbelieving Jews of our Lord's time. But the words as quoted by our Lord¹ contain a difficulty that cannot be passed by in silence, even though here little should be done toward its removal. To take it, however, at first on its narrowest side, or to view it in its easiest aspect, speaking exclusively in parables was (to say the least of it) not conducive on that occasion to the enlightenment of the vast majority. The Apostles perceived this, and asked in astonishment: 'Why dost Thou speak to them in parables?' (i.e., *unexplained ones*).² How could He, Who came to seek and to save that which was lost, He Whose mission was to teach the truth, how could He be content to express Himself in language that He knew to be unintelligible? He alone had the words of eternal life, to whom should the people go but to him? The great multitudes that had gathered by the sea-shore were all eagerness to learn, but He had no desire to give them instruction.

But if anything could increase the amazement of the Apostles, it must have been his answer to their question. He spoke to the multitudes only in parables, because to them it was not given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven. This is an obscure saying. If these words, however, were found only in St. Matthew's Gospel, it might,

¹ St. Matthew xiii. 13., p. 319.

² The Apostles were not in the least surprised at His employment of parables (for this was His habitual mode of teaching, and the one best suited to His hearers), but at his not explaining them. In St. Mark and St. Luke the Apostles do not inquire why He spoke to the people in parables, but they beg Him to tell them what the parables signified.

indeed, seem that what our Lord meant was : Though I am perfectly well aware that My doctrine cannot be understood if I speak only in parables, nevertheless I am resolved to do so in punishment of their sins. 'Therefore do I speak to them in parables, because seeing they do not see,' &c. But granted that this was His reason, it must have been hard for the Apostles to reconcile it with His habitual dealings towards men. Was not their ignorance and their misery His opportunity for mercy ? How could the multitudes see the truth of His doctrine, unless he opened the eyes of their souls and filled them with His heavenly light ? But in reality, when we compare the way in which St. Mark and St. Luke record His answer,¹ the difficulty before us becomes still greater. Jesus Christ spoke to those multitudes only in parables, *in order* that the multitudes should not understand. He unfolded their hidden meaning afterwards when alone with His Apostles, but not in the presence of the crowd. Even in the first Gospel we can see the appalling truth, if we only put some parts of His answer together. 'Because to you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven (hear you, therefore, the parable of the sower), but to them it is not given ; therefore do I speak to them in parables.'² This is *the* difficulty, perhaps the greatest one in the whole New Testament. Could the all-merciful Redeemer, who longed to give His life for the world's redemption, not only refuse to impart His doctrine, but deliberately hide it from so many eager listeners, and make it impossible for them to find it ? And be it observed these were not Gentiles, to whom He was not sent ; they were the lost sheep of the house of Israel. The only tenable interpretation of our Lord's answer in all three synoptic Gospels is, that the non-explanation of the parables was a means to an end, namely, to the reprobation of those Jews.

82. Let no man dare to manipulate the words of God, in the attempt to make their meaning less mysterious and awful. There might, indeed, be a temptation to minimize

¹ See page 319.

² St. Matthew, vv. 11, 13.

it, or, in plain English, to try to get out of the difficulty, and there might be at the same time a pretext for doing so, by adopting the gloss mentioned a few lines above, ostensibly, of course, on account of what our Lord says in v. 18: 'I speak to them in parables, because seeing they see not,' &c., and on account of the quotation from the Septuagint, which follows immediately after. But, as we saw in the second last article,¹ the Septuagint rendering of Isaias by no means implies that God was not a cause of the Jews' blindness or temporal reprobation. There are always two causes of reprobation—God and the sinner. The Septuagint mentions only one cause. It ascribes the Jew's blindness to themselves; that is all. On the other hand, the Hebrew original no less certainly indicates that God blinded the Jews. Thus text and translation (sanctioned by our Lord's using it) supplement each other; what one does not express, the other does.

In the same way, in the Gospel here, a reason for not revealing the sense of the parables is given, namely, the obduracy of the Jews. But the meaning of the passage is not, that this obduracy was the sole cause, and that our Lord only passively permitted the foreseen result of not explaining His parables to happen; all that can be said with truth is, that His words, as reported by St. Matthew, do not state that He positively acted in that way in order to bring about that result. But though, according to the first Gospel, Jesus Christ does not affirm that such was His deliberate intention, according to the parallel passages in the second and third He does so in the most express terms. The other two synoptic Evangelists record the same answer that St. Matthew does; hence the truth that is not in his Gospel, so to speak, *vi verborum*, is there *vi concomitantia*. To quote from the original, St. Mark has: *ἐκείνοις δὲ τοῖς ἐξω ἐν παραβολαῖς πάντα γινεται. ἵνα βλέποντες βλέπωσιν καὶ μὴ ἰδῶσιν, καὶ ἀκούοντες ἀκουῶσιν καὶ μὴ συνιῶσιν, μήποτε ἐωστρεψῶσιν καὶ ἀφεθῇ αὐτοῖς.* Vulgate, 'Illis autem, qui foris sunt, in parabolis omnia fiunt: ut videntes videant, et non videant: et audientes audiant et non intelligant: nequando

¹ See I. E. RECORD, August, pp. 140, 141.

convertantur, et dimittantur eis peccata.' And St. Luke has : τοις δε λοιποις εν παραβολαις, ινα βλέποντες μη βλέπωσιν και ακουοντες μη συνιωσιν. Vulgate, 'Ceteris autem in parabolis : ut videntes non videant, et audientes non intelligant.' In the phrase ινα βλέποντες, 'that seeing,' which occurs in both these Gospels, a word, namely, ινα, is used, which denotes a deliberate purpose on the part of the speaker.

83. This is a very important fact, as it enables us to determine with certainty the meaning of the corresponding conjunction in the Vulgate. *Ut* in Latin is somewhat ambiguous, as every schoolboy knows. It may signify purpose, or it may signify result. Indeed, in many passages only the meaning of the context can show whether *ut* is final or consecutive. In this respect Greek is far superior to Latin. It has one set of words (ινα, οπως, ως) for final, and another (ωστε, οιος, οσος) for consecutive sentences. The distinction is carefully observed in the Greek classics. Many writers of authority on the grammar of the Greek New Testament—Winer, Beelen, Ellicott, Moulton, Alford, Grimm, Meyer—hold that in the vast majority of places where ινα occurs, it expresses purpose. The contrary opinion is, however, maintained by some eminent scholars, such as Glassius, Schleusner, Titmann, Lightfoot, and others, who say it only indicates the result. Without going further into a question which is interesting only to specialists, we may observe that in exegetical language the opposite meanings ascribed to the word ινα are respectively called the 'telic' (τελος, *end, purpose*), and the 'ecbatic' (εκβασις, *event, result*). These are the technical names which constantly occur in N. T. commentaries, grammars, &c.

We by no means imply that ινα is 'telic' in all the passages where it is found. All we say is that it is so in the majority of instances, and that it has this meaning even in passages which might at first sight seem not to express purpose,¹ and that there is a large and most important class of passages in which ινα is invariably 'telic.' We mean

¹ See Beelen's *Grammatica Graecitatis N. Test.*, pp. 366-8.

those texts which affirm that a Messianic prophecy has been fulfilled; those texts where the prophecy that is quoted is preceded or introduced by the words *ἵνα πληρωθῇ*. Even where only an allusion is made to a prophecy of this kind, *ἵνα* indicates that what is described by the Evangelist was done in order to verify the prediction. Beelen,¹ treating of one of our two texts (Luke viii. 10), proves conclusively that the meaning of *ἵνα* in it is that our Lord spoke only in parables, and left them unexplained, in order that the prophecy of Isaias should be fulfilled. But it must not be imagined that our Lord's intention was only retrospective; there is much more than the fulfilment of a prophecy here. Christ was thinking also of those who were listening to Him. He explained the parable of 'the sower' and other parables to His Apostles, because He willed that they should understand the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven; He did not explain those parables to the multitudes, because He willed that they should not understand.

84. It must, however, be acknowledged that some of the Greek fathers are opposed to this interpretation of the word *ἵνα*. St. Chrysostom in his Homily on St. John ix. 1,² says:³ 'Some people affirm that this particle [*ἵνα*] is not "telic," but "ecbatic;" as, for instance, it is where He says "For judgment I am come into this world; that they who see not may see; and that they who see may become blind." The purpose of His coming was not that they who saw should become blind. And Paul also says, "Because that which is known of God is manifest to them, so that they are [*εἰς το εἶναι*] inexcusable."' Yet He manifested it to them, not to deprive them of an excuse, but in order that they might

¹ *Ib.*, p. 479.

² Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, lix. 307.

³ 1. Φασὶ δὲ τινες, ὅτι τοῦτο οὐδὲ αἰτιολογικὸν ἐστὶ τὸ ἐπιρρημα, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐκβάσεως· οἷον ὡς ὅταν λεγῇ, Εἰς κρίμα ἐγὼ ἦλθον εἰς τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον, ἵνα οἱ μὴ βλέποντες βλέψωσι, καὶ οἱ βλέποντες τυφλοὶ γενῶνται. Καὶ πάλιν ὁ Παῦλος. Το γὰρ γινώσκον τοῦ θεοῦ φανερόν ἐστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς, εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἀναπολόγητους. Καὶ τοὺς οὐ διὰ τοῦτου εἰδείξεν, ἵνα ἀποστερηθῶσιν ἀπολογίας, ἀλλ' ἵνα τυχωσὶν ἀπολογίας. Καὶ πάλιν ἀλλάχον· Νόμος δὲ παρεισηλθεν, ἵνα πλεονασῇ τὸ παραπτώμα. Καὶ τοὺς οὐ διὰ τοῦτο παρεισηλθεν, ἀλλ' ἵνα κωλῶθῃ ἡ ἁμαρτία. Ὅρας πανταχὺ τὸ ἐπιρρημα τῆς ἐκβάσεως οὐ;

have one. And elsewhere, 'The law entered, that [*iva*] sin might abound.' Do you not see that in all these texts, the conjunction [lit. abverb] is ecbatic? Ammonius of Alexandria is in perfect accord with the great patriarch of Antioch. In his commentary on St. John,¹ Ammonius speaks as follows: 'God did not harden them, but He let them do what they liked; it was their own unbelief that hardened them'—*iva* is not causal, but ecbatic. For they did not believe, because he (Isaias) spoke so; but he spoke so because they would be unbelievers. Now, if the Evangelist does not state this, but says that the unbelief was due to the prophecy, he speaks in this way in order to emphasize the truth of the prophecy's fulfilment. The reason why prophets announce the future is to save people from falling into the snares of the devil. For they 'could not' is put here for they 'would not.' Because by 'power' we often mean 'intention.' St. John Damascene also is in favour of this interpretation of *iva*. He writes thus in his work *On the Orthodox Faith*,² 'It must also be observed that Scripture in several places expresses as telic what is in reality ecbatic. For instance, 'To thee only have I sinned, and I have done evil before thee; that [*iva*] thou mayst be justified in thy words, and mayst overcome when thou art judged.' 'He who sinned certainly did not do so with the intention that God might overcome.' With all due respect and deference to these great authorities on Scripture, the following observations may be permitted. The word *iva* must, *per se*, have a final

¹ xii. 38. Migne, lxxv. 1477. Οὐχ ὁ Θεὸς ἐπωρώσεν αὐτοὺς, ἀλλὰ συνεχώρησε ποιεῖν α ἡθελον' ἐσχον δὲ τὴν πωρωσιν ἐκ τῆς ἀπιστίας. Το ἰνα οὐκ αἰτιολογίας ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐκβάσεως. Οὐ γὰρ ἐπειδὴ εἶπεν, οὐκ ἐπιστεύσαν; ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐκ ἐμέλλον πιστεῦειν, εἶπεν. Εἰ δὲ οὐκ εἶπεν οὕτως ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς πρῶφητειας τὴν ἀπιστίαν εἶναι λέγει, τὸ ἀψευδὲς θέλων δεῖξαι τῆς ἐκβάσεως τῆς προφητείας εἶπε τοῦτο. Διὰ τοῦτο δὲ προλεγουσιν οἱ προφῆται, ἵνα οἱ ἠθφοντες φεγγοῦσι τοὺς διαβολικοὺς βοθροὺς. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἠδυναντο, κεῖται τοῦ οὐκ ἡθελον. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐν ἀλλοῖς δυνάμιν τὴν προαίρεσιν νοοῦμεν.

² iv. 9. Migne, xciv. 1194. Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ ἴστεον, ὅτι ἐθος τῇ Γραφῇ, τινὰ ἐκβατικῶς οφείλοντα λεγεσθαι, αἰτιολογικῶς λεγεῖν ὡς τὸ 'Σοὶ μόνῳ ἡμάρτον, καὶ τὸ πονῆρον ἐνώπιον σου ἐποίησα, ὅπως ἀν δικαιώθῃς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σου, καὶ νικήσῃς ἐν τῷ κρινεσθαι σε. Οὐ γὰρ ὁ ἀμαρτήσας, ἵνα νίκησῃ ὁ θεός, ἡμάρτεν.

or telic significance, else these Greek fathers who knew their own language so well, would not have thought it necessary to give an explanation of its apparently anomalous use in these particular instances.

85. Here it is necessary to speak of only two out of them all; the others will come before us in due time, as they all have an intimate connection with our subject, but they demand more explanation than can possibly be given in the limits of this article. Here, at present, it may be sufficient to say that we hope to be able to show that in every one of them *iva* has its full teleological import. In this case, as they are, in reality, so many cognate passages to those texts of St. Mark and St. Luke which we are occupied with at present, the reply to the objection based on them will be a collateral argument in favour of the interpretation maintained above.

The two texts on which we wish to make a few remarks here are Rom. i. 20 (quoted by St. John Chrysostom) and Ps. l. 6 (quoted by St. John Damascene). With regard to the first one, it is quite enough to say that in it the word *iva* is not found. St. Paul says: *εις το ειναι αυτους αναπολογητους*, exactly as St. Chrysostom quotes him. St. Paul uses *εις το* with the infinitive in some places to express a telic meaning, in others to express an ecbatic one. It is evident that it is in the latter sense that *εις το* is used here. (Vulgate: 'Ita ut sint inexcusabiles.')

As regards the other quotation, paradoxical though it may be, it is, nevertheless, quite certain that the phrase in the *Miserere*, 'that (*iva*) thou mayst be just in thy words,' expresses the intention of glorifying God—of course, not on David's part, but on God's own. This may, perhaps, be novel and surprising to some of our readers, because the sense which St. John Damascene attributes to the words has, in fact, always been present to their minds when they read the Psalm. But the Hebrew text leaves no room for doubt on the matter. 'Lemahan,' the word which the Psalmist uses is a final conjunction; it expresses *intention*, and cannot express anything else. It is, in fact, the strongest word to express deliberate set purpose¹ that the Hebrew

¹ See I. E. RECORD, August, p. 145, note 2.

language possesses. And Patrizi, Wollter, and several other commentators on the Psalm agree in regarding the word here as telic, so that there is no lack of authority for this interpretation.

David had received the most extraordinary favours and sublime privileges. But David's double offence was most grievous. Were God to act as man might do, what would have been the consequence? There would have been only too much reason to fear that in punishment of David's heinous crimes, God would revoke the promises He had made to him, namely, that he was to be the ancestor of the Messiah, and to have an everlasting kingdom. If these promises were not unconditional, God might with justice have thus requited David's iniquity. He had deprived Saul of his kingdom and of his life for much less. But the promises made to David were absolute; no conceivable wickedness could prevent their fulfilment.¹ And when David, moved by inspiration, poured forth his soul in the grandest act of contrition that was ever uttered by the lips of man, he proclaimed that God's purpose in letting him commit the twofold sin was precisely to manifest His own unalterable fidelity to His word. God always draws good out of evil; indeed, the only reason why He allows evil to be done is that He intends that evil to be the occasion to Himself of doing a still greater good. David's crimes were, it is true, aggravated by the blackest ingratitude, but God's ineffable goodness to him (or *mercy*, as it is emphatically called in 2 Kings vii. 15, Ps. lxxxviii. 2, 3, 25, 34, 50, Eccli. xlvii. 24) shone thereby all the brighter. The glory which He received in consequence of His mercy and fidelity far surpassed that of which David's sin had deprived Him. In the sixth verse of the *Miserere*, there is, therefore, no question of David's intention, but only of this divine one.

Everyone that understands the *Miserere* and its structure knows this to be the meaning of the sixth verse. The reasons why David hopes for pardon are of two kinds: he pleads on account of his own corrupt nature, and he appeals in virtue

¹ See Patrizi, *Biblicarum Quaestionum Decas. De vaticinio Nathan*.

of God's infinite mercy. These two motives for forgiveness are alternately expressed. Verses v. and vii. have reference to David; verses vi. and viii. have reference to God. In our verse, then, there is question only of the divine intention. Of course, no human mind could ever discover it, nor could the greatest created intelligence ever sound the depths of that abyss; none, beside God, would ever have known that in permitting David's double-dyed iniquity, His intention was simply to glorify His own immutable veracity, and that this intention could be appealed to as a motive for forgiveness. But it was revealed, however, to David; and when it was, the penitent king was so moved by the amazing truth, that he exclaimed: 'The hidden things of Thy wisdom Thou hast made manifest to me.'¹

If any further proof is demanded it need only be said that this interpretation of the sixth verse can claim the authority of St. Paul. The application of David's words; and the argument based on them in Rom. iii. 34, makes it certain that it was in the sense maintained here that St. Paul understood them. In reply to the tacit objection, that after all no great favour or benefit was conferred on the Jews by the Messianic 'promises,' because when Jesus Christ came they did not recognise Him, and therefore there was no great reason for God making those promises, the Apostle indignantly asks: 'For what if some of them have not believed? shall their unbelief make the faith of God without effect? God forbid. But it is true: and every man a liar, as it is written, *That (iva) thou mayst be justified in thy words, and mayst overcome when thou art judged.*' The meaning of St. Paul's reply is, Are we, therefore, to imagine that the incredulity of the Jews will make God unfaithful to His promises? No! it were blasphemy to say so. On the contrary, let God be acknowledged to be the Infallible Truth itself, and in comparison with Him, let every man without exception be considered a liar. The Jews, therefore, are not cast off for ever. Precisely what happened when their great King David sinned is now happening over again, and pre-

¹ Septuagint and Vulgate, but not the Masoretic text.

cisely what God did then He is doing now in our own day. All God's promises to them will be kept to the letter. When those promises were made the sin of the Jews was foreseen, and that awful sin of theirs in rejecting Jesus Christ was allowed to happen in order that God's unalterable fidelity to His word should be manifested, and thus the promises should be fulfilled. God never said that all the Jews would be converted in the time of Christ or of His Apostles. God's plans have not been frustrated, let men do as they will; God overrules all. Whatever sins the Jews are guilty of will and must, when the appointed time comes, be made the occasion of God's greater glory.

St. Paul answers the same objection, but at greater length, in the eleventh chapter, where he shows that by the sin of the Jews salvation came to the Gentiles. Here¹ he merely touches on the matter, and then in passing refutes the next remark: 'If the truth of God hath more abounded through my life unto His glory, why am I judged as a sinner?'² This second objection, and St. Paul's rejoinder, are an additional proof—if, indeed, proof be still needed—of the correctness of the statement made above regarding his interpretation of the sixth verse of the *Miserere*.

Beelan and Cornely give the same explanation, and Cornely quotes for it St. Thomas, Cajetan, Salmeron, Natalis Alexander, and Estius (who, however, holds that 'ut' is consecutive). From all that has been said, it is evident that both David as regards himself, and St. Paul as regards the unbelieving Jews, speak only of God's purpose in not preventing their respective sins. St. John Damascene, on the other hand, appears to have considered only David's intention in committing the sin, but the saint's remark shows that he knew the proper meaning of *wa* to be the telic or final one.

It must be remembered that we are replying to an objection here, or engaged in proving that in the sixth verse of the *Miserere*, as it appears in the Septuagint, *wa* is not ecclastic. We do not infer from this fact that *wa* is always

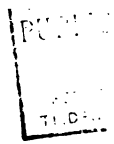
¹ iii. 3, 4.

² v. 5.

telic elsewhere ; nor, indeed, would we assert that it is so. There are passages where it has a more or less ecabatic force, and others where it appears to have a subjective meaning. Where this occurs, good commentators direct attention to it. The point insisted on here is that the proper force of *iva* is telic, and that the passage adduced by St. John Damascene as a plausible example of the contrary sense is, when understood, seen to be in reality an instance of its having a telic meaning. In conclusion, to compare the corresponding words in the three languages, and thus to sum up what we have been saying—‘*ut*’ may indifferently denote either intention or consequence ; *iva per se* implies intention, but is occasionally found with other meanings ; ‘*lemahan*’ signifies deliberate purpose, and can signify nothing less. If, then, we are in doubt about the meaning of ‘*ut*’ or of *iva* in certain passages of the Vulgate and the Septuagint, respectively, the best thing we can do is to read what competent authorities have to say on the subject, to compare parallel passages, if there be any, and especially to consult the original text. As the Holy Father says in his Encyclical on Biblical Studies :—‘*Quamvis enim ad summa rei quod spectat, ex dictionibus Vulgatæ hebrea et graeca bene eluceat sententia, attamen si quid ambigue, si quid minus accurate inibi elatum sit, “ inspectio præcedentis linguæ,” “ suasore Augustino, proficiet.”*’

May these golden words of Leo XIII. be ever treasured in the memory of all students of Scripture !

REGINALD WALSH, O.P.



A NEW WORD ON ST. PATRICK

IN the history of Ireland, during the fifth century, there is no event of such importance as the introduction of Christianity, and in that work nobody played so great a part as did St. Patrick. To him and to those who laboured under his direction, the conversion of Ireland from Paganism has been always attributed, and in his own day, as in ours, he has borne the honourable title of Ireland's national apostle. The magnitude of his work, as well as his attractive personal character have furnished him with many biographers. Yet it would seem that a multitude of biographers do not always evolve certainty out of doubt, nor make plain what is obscure; and though much has been written of St. Patrick, the doubt and obscurity still remain. It is still doubtful when and where he was born; much of his life has to be accounted for by theory and conjecture, and nobody can tell whether his age at death was 100 or 120 years. One adventurous sceptic has denied that such a man existed; others maintain that there were not one but two St. Patricks; whilst others appear to contemplate him as something more than human, have raised his most ordinary actions to the dignity of miracles, and have, without necessity and without reason, multiplied these miracles beyond belief. It is this confusion and exaggeration, this credulity and scepticism which have furnished a pretext for the gross misstatement of Gibbon, that, in the ninth century, there were sixty-six lives of St. Patrick, and that they contained sixty-six thousand lies.

A contemporary—Fiac of Sletty—gives St. Patrick's birthplace as Nemthor, which has been identified as Mont-Valerien near Paris; more probability attaches to the opinion that he was born at Boulogne; but a third view, very strongly supported and very widely accepted, is that he was born at Dumbarton in Scotland in 372. His father was Calpornius, a deacon; and his mother Conchessa, reputed to be

a relative of St. Martin of Tours. At all events, St. Patrick always held St. Martin in the highest veneration, and perhaps they were bound by ties of kindred. In what manner St. Patrick spent his early years we do not know. In his *Confession*, he says himself that 'up to his sixteenth year he did not know God,' and if these words be taken literally, they would indicate that he lived as a Pagan, having no respect for Christian truths. But the humility of a saint would prompt him to magnify his faults and minimize his merits, and the words may justly be regarded to mean, that he lived as so many youths have done, believing as a Christian, but heedless of the practices of his religion, not necessarily guilty of any grave offences against faith or morals, but rather of those sins of omission and carelessness, which so often spring from the waywardness of youth.

About 388, Niall, the Irish king, made a predatory expedition into Britain, plundered and robbed as he went along the coast, and, making a descent near Dumbarton, carried away St. Patrick and a number of others as captives. The saint was sold as a slave to a Pagan chief—Milcho—in Antrim, and here he spent six years. The son of a Roman decurio, and, therefore, brought up tenderly, he must have felt all the more keenly the condition to which he was reduced. Dressed in the poorest fashion, his diet of the coarsest, his position that of a slave, his occupation herding cattle and swine, nothing was wanting to complete his misery. Many in his condition would have murmured against Providence, perhaps fallen into despair; but it is in such circumstances that patience is tried and virtue gathers strength. St. Patrick took it all as punishment for the sins of his youth, and neither murmured nor repined. The snow and the sleet fell, the frost came, the biting wind blew over the hills of Dalriada, and to St. Patrick, clad in the scanty dress of a slave, it must have been trying in the extreme. Yet he bore it all patiently, and whilst he faithfully tended his master's property he constantly turned to God in his afflictions, and a hundred times in the day, and as many times in the night, he prayed. About 395, as the result of a vision, he himself says, he escaped to the coast embarked,

on board a vessel lying at anchor there, and after many hardships got back to his native land.

From the time of St. Patrick's arrival in Britain until his second coming to Ireland, in 432, there is an interval of nearly forty years, during which what he did and where he spent his time is not satisfactorily explained. The current tradition is, that he went to Tours to his relative St. Martin and that here he spent the closing years of the fourth century. Originally a soldier, Martin deserted the camp for the cloister, and at Marmoutier, near Tours, he established a community of monks. The fame of his sanctity went abroad, and in a short time he found himself surrounded by nearly eighty followers zealous to imitate his virtues. From the cell of a monk he was raised to the throne of a bishop, but the honours of the episcopacy he did not seek, and in his humility would have declined, and as Bishop of Tours he still lived the mortified life of a monk. He still dwelt in a monk's cell, gave his means to the poor, lived on bread and water, always wore haircloth, and in the austerity of his life, and the severity of his mortifications, his biographer might challenge a comparison with even St. Basil or St. Antony.

When St. Martin died, about 400, Patrick returned to his relatives in Britain, where he remained but a short time. Once more he went to Gaul and placed himself under the guidance of St. Germanus of Auxerre. This saint's career was not unlike that of St. Martin. An advocate and an orator, he had practised in the Roman courts, where he acquired a reputation for eloquence. A successful man of the world and addicted to its pleasures, he suddenly changed his life, relinquished fame and riches, and for the applause of the world he substituted the solitude and obscurity of a convent cell. Like St. Martin from being a monk he became bishop, but it was his rank and not his life that was changed, for he still wore his shirt of hair-cloth, never drank wine, and slept on the bare earth. It was here St. Patrick acquired most of his learning, here he was advanced to the priesthood, and here, according to some, he spent fifteen, according to others, he spent thirty years. The state of Ireland was

often before his mind ; in his visions and dreams he heard the plaintive cry of its people asking him to come and walk amongst them, and in his waking moments he must have mourned over their pitiable condition, steeped in Paganism and error. Amongst them he felt was his call to labour, and after consultation and advice he proceeded to Rome for the necessary authority. On his way he stayed for some time at the monastery of Lerins, then presided over by St. Honoratus ; thence he passed on to Rome, where he was consecrated bishop, and commissioned by Pope Celestine, the reigning Pope, to proceed to Ireland. Passing through Britain, and accompanied by some priests and bishops from Gaul, he arrived in Ireland in 432. To this traditional account of St. Patrick's life grave objections are raised. They are put with clearness by Whitley Stokes, and by him are considered fatal to its acceptance. It is said that if St. Patrick was absent from Ireland nearly forty years he would have forgotten to speak the Irish language in 432, and it appears he spoke it well ; that if he lived so long in the school of St. Germanus, he would be able to write better Latin than he wrote in his *Confession* ; that one so zealous to convert the Irish would never wait for forty years to begin ; and—most fatal objection of all—that if he was absent from Ireland so long he could not write as he has done, that he lived among the Irish ‘*a juventute mea*.’ Regarding these objections as fatal to the current tradition, Whitley Stokes has his own theory, which is, that St. Patrick, after escaping from captivity, went to Gaul, acquired sufficient learning to get ordained there ; then, as a priest, he came to Ireland, where he remained several years, but meeting with poor success went back to Gaul, and thence to Rome, where he was consecrated bishop, and proceeded to Ireland in 432.

This theory is plausible, but not necessarily true ; for what is plausible is not always true ; nor should the current tradition be lightly set aside for what, after all, is but a theory. If St. Patrick never met any Irish in Gaul, and never spoke Irish, for nearly forty years, probably he would have forgotten it altogether. But there was intercourse

between Ireland and Gaul; there were Christians in Ireland; and might not some of these have met St. Patrick in Gaul, perhaps occupied cells at Marmoutier or Auxerre? St. Patrick evidently looked forward for years to preaching the Gospel in Ireland, and to speak the Irish language he knew would be a necessary preparation for the work; and whatever opportunities were thrown in his way to speak it he would certainly seize. To write a language with facility requires practice, and perhaps St. Patrick had but little practice in writing Latin at Auxerre. In Ireland he had much less, for his time was occupied in preaching to the people, founding churches and schools, passing from one district to another but everywhere speaking the language of the people. It was at the close of his life that he wrote his *Confession*. He had then spent nearly sixty years in Ireland; his tongue and pen had become habituated only to the Irish language, and by that time he would have lost the art—if he ever had it—of writing Latin with facility. His zeal to convert the Irish was undoubted, but zeal, to be effective, must be tempered, by prudence. He should first acquire knowledge, which, to one altogether ignorant as he was, when he escaped from Ireland, must have taken many years. When he had the knowledge he should consult his superiors, he should await their decision, and act on their advice, and this might take many years more. If we must necessarily take the words ‘a juventute mea’ in the strictly literal sense, they would mean that St. Patrick came to Ireland at latest in 412—that is, before he had passed his fortieth year. But it may easily be that the words are to be taken differently. When St. Patrick wrote he was an old man and had already laboured for over fifty years in Ireland. And as he remembered the dangers he passed through, the hardships he underwent, the miseries he had borne, through that long space of time, he must have thought that, at the commencement the vigour and activity of youth were his, and that in everything—even in years—he was young. Perhaps it may be that he contemplates, not the number of his years, but rather the vigour and activity of his body

and mind. However the words be explained, the year 432 has been taken as the year of his arrival in Ireland.

He found much changed since his escape from captivity. Niall of the Nine Hostages was dead, being assassinated in 405, while in Gaul. He left a numerous family, amongst whom his dominions were divided, the Ulster portion going to his sons, Owen and Connell. His nephew, Dathi, was his successor, and he, too, made incursions into Britain and Gaul. Tradition has it that while leading his army at the foot of the Alps he was killed by lightning, the event occurring in 428. His successor was Laeghaire, son of Niall. There were Christians in Ireland in these days, and, in 430, Palladius, a bishop and native of Britain, was sent by Pope Celestine 'ad Scotos in Christum credentes.' To what extent Christianity existed is uncertain, but the number of Christians must have been few. Palladius met with many obstacles, and this, probably, coupled with the feebleness of declining health, must have disheartened him. He left Ireland and returned to Britain, where he soon died, leaving to St. Patrick both the labour and the glory of converting the Irish to the faith.

The place of St. Patrick's landing was probably Bray, in the County of Wicklow. In the spirit of a saint, returning good for evil, his first care was for his old master, Milcho, who still lived, and, with the object of converting him, he proceeded northwards. But the stern old Pagan would have none of his Christianity : a Pagan he was born and a Pagan he would die. Rather than meet St. Patrick and submit to the indignity of being instructed by his former slave, he set his house on fire, and, taking his treasures, jumped into the flames, where he perished. With Dichu, another Northern chief, Patrick was more successful. He and his household were baptized, and he also gave Patrick a site for his first church, at Saul, near Downpatrick, where, long afterwards, the Apostle died. Passing southwards, St. Patrick met, near Dundalk, a youth named Benin, or Benignus, who became his most attached follower, as well as coadjutor in the archdiocese of Armagh. It was at Slane, and in

sight of Tara itself, that St. Patrick determined to celebrate the Paschal feast, and here he lighted the Paschal fire. It was a dangerous thing to do. The Ardri and his court were then assembled at Tara, and were celebrating some great Pagan festival—perhaps the birthday of the King himself. During the continuance of the festival, it was unlawful to light any other fire, except the fire of Tara, and whoever did committed a crime for which death alone could atone. His Druids informed the King of the fire lighted at Slane, and one of them prophetically announced that ‘if that fire is not put out to-night it will never be put out in Erin.’ If the fire represent, as it may, the fire of Christianity, the prophecy has been fulfilled. Sometimes the fire has burnt low, the heat it gave out was small and its light was dim ; but never once, through so many centuries, has it been completely extinguished.

Laeghaire was not of the material of which converts are easily made. Brought up in Paganism, he clung with tenacity to Pagan errors. Much influenced by the Druids, he wished for no other priesthood, regarded with ill-favour this new religion, which preached self-denial, even to kings, and looked with disdain upon its accredited apostle, so humble and poor. But the greatest difficulty was with the Druids. They were fighting for their great privileges, and had an instinctive dread that if Christianity got any foothold in Ireland their power was gone for ever. The artifices of the dishonest, the tricks of the unscrupulous, the weapons of despair and even of murder they did not hesitate to use, and more than once the life of St. Patrick was attempted. The contest between them and the saint reminds us of that between Aaron and the Egyptian magicians, and the result in both cases was the same, for the victory was with Patrick as with Aaron. His biographers tell with delight how the Druid, invoking the ordeal of fire, was burned to ashes, whilst Benignus, the Christian champion, remained untouched ; how the Druids brought snow, as well as darkness, on the plain, but were unable to remove either, until St. Patrick intervened ; and how, when the King, enraged at the death of his Druid, attempted the Apostle's

life, twelve thousand of the King's followers were miraculously slain. The sceptic will regard these statements as the utterances of partiality; but the fact remains that Christianity conquered; that Laeghaire himself embraced the new faith, though he did not persevere in it; that Dubhtach, the chief poet, was converted, and that thousands followed his example; and that, at Tara, Druidism received a shock which was but the precursor of final ruin.

After remaining at Tara some time, and baptizing many, St. Patrick advanced northwards, overthrew the idol of Crom Cruach, in Leitrim, and erected a Christian church where it had stood. From Leitrim he passed over the Shannon, and traversed Connaught, remaining in that province for seven years. By every class, except the Druids, he was well received; and from every class, even from the Druids, he made converts, amongst the first fruits of his labours being the two daughters of the Ardri, who were being fostered at Cruachan. In Ulster his movements are traced through Donegal, Kinnell Owen, Dalraida in North Antrim, Dal Araidhe in South Down, and Monaghan. In Kinnell Owen he was hospitably entertained by the ruling prince Owen, son of Niall, at his palace of Aileach; and at Monaghan he appointed Macarten Bishop of Clogher. Soon afterwards he is to be found in Meath, where he visited Tara, and about this time, consecrated Fiac as Bishop of Leinster, with his episcopal residence at Sletty. When he had traversed the other provinces, he entered Munster, for the first time; and here, as in Connaught, he remained for seven years. Aengus, the King of Cashel, received him well, and himself and his people were baptized; similar success awaited him among the Deisi, and when he left Munster, the whole province had embraced Christianity. Through Leinster he passed to Armagh, his life being twice attempted on the way. Once his charioteer was mistaken for himself, and was murdered; and, further north, a pagan chief, Maccuill, attempted, unsuccessfully, the life of 'this shaveling who deceives everyone.'

At Armagh St. Patrick obtained land from a chief called Dare, and on this land he built a church, and made Armagh

the principal see of Ireland, a dignity which it still retains.

He had now traversed every district of Ireland; all classes had listened to his preaching, and from all classes converts had been made. He had met in argument and confounded his greatest enemies—the Druids. Brehons and poets, princes and kings, had not only become his disciples, but in many cases his bishops and priests. Numbers of high-placed virgins, following the example of St. Bridget, had renounced the world and its pleasures, and retired into the solitude of the cloister; many of them incurred the anger of their parents in doing so. He had, according to Nennius, built three hundred and sixty-five churches, consecrated an equal number of bishops, and ordained three thousand priests. He had held synods, and passed decrees for the government and regulation of the Church; amongst others, that famous decree that whatever disputes could not be settled in Ireland were to be referred to Rome. Whilst he yet lived, schools were established, convents and monasteries were being rapidly multiplied; and, a century after his landing in Ireland, no less than three hundred and fifty Irish lived whose names are enrolled among the saints.

Those who regard the Church as a mere human institution, and reject everything, except human effort, in the propagation of its doctrines, will ask, with surprise and incredulity, how all this could be accomplished by a single man. In the selection of persons to assist him, and in making use of what opportunities were thrown in his way, St. Patrick showed great wisdom. Knowing that the common people are like a flock of sheep, who will follow their leader, he addressed himself first to the kings and princes, and when their conversion was effected, the task with the common people was less difficult. The Brehons and bards, the poets and historians, whose position and learning claimed the respect of the people, he appointed to offices in the Church; the Druids, if they became converts, were treated similarly; but with Druidism itself he would have no parley and no compromise, feeling that between it and Christianity there existed an irreconcilable antagonism.

Yet he wished to disturb existing institutions as little as possible. The power of the princes, the privileges of the bards, the office and duties of the Brehons, the peculiar constitution of the sept and clan, were the same in Christian as in Pagan times. Crom Cruach and his idols were replaced by the Christian Church with its cross; the priests and bishops succeeded the Druids; for the feast of Beltaine was substituted the festival of St. John, and for Samhan that of St. Martin. If the laws were revised under his supervision, as it appears they were, it was not to abolish them altogether: it was rather to reduce them to order, to purge them of Paganism, to bring them into harmony with the wants of Christianity.

Thus was the transition from paganism to the Gospel made easy. The piety of the saint, his humility and poverty, his sympathy with the distressed, his charity to the poor, his manifest sincerity, his self-sacrifice, must have attracted many towards him. But even all this will not explain how one so poor, without great learning or exalted birth, was able to overcome the fierce opposition of the Druids, to bring a whole nation to the faith, and to level to the dust the most venerated idols of Paganism. The least credulous will involuntarily remember, that when St. Paul preached, it was not in the lofty strains of human eloquence; that it was Galilean fishermen, and not philosophers, who were selected to preach the Gospel through all lands; and, remembering these things, they can the more easily recognise St. Patrick, as but a capable and willing instrument in the hands of the Divine Founder of his faith. The closing years of the apostle's life were spent at Saul, near Downpatrick; and during these years of retirement he wrote his *Confession*, and, perhaps, also his Epistle to Caroticus. The *Confession* is an explanation of his own conduct and motives, whilst the Epistle is addressed, partly in entreaty, partly in anger, to a British prince who had pillaged the Irish coast, and brought away many of the Christian Irish into captivity. Petrie gives the date of St. Patrick's death, as 493.

The civil history of the period contains little worth

recording. Like his predecessors, Niall and Dathi, Laeghaire continued to harass the Britons, and the sufferings of that afflicted people must have been great. In a petition for help to the Roman Consul, in 446, which was appropriately called the 'groans of the Britons,' they complain that they are entirely at the mercy of the Picts and Scots; and that while these savages drive them into the sea, the sea flings them back on the shore, so that theirs was the pitiable alternative, either to perish in the waves or be murdered upon land. But no help came from Rome. The resources of the empire were strained to the utmost in the struggle with Attila, and while Italy and even Rome was menaced, Britain was forgotten. In this extremity the Britons appealed to the pirates of the German Ocean; and these marauders came as mercenaries, but were soon strong enough to remain as masters. Henceforth, the Irish king found it more prudent to cease his foreign depredations; yet at home he was not at peace, and, in exacting the Boru tribute, his relations with Leinster were those of perpetual and bitter conflict. Before his death, in 458, he relapsed into paganism, thinking that if he died a Christian, he would insult the memory of his pagan ancestors. He was buried at Tara, standing erect, clothed in full armour, his face turned towards the Leinstermen, so that in death, as in life, he would seem to menace his ancient foe. Of the two succeeding kings, Oilioll Molt, who died in 479, and Lughaid, who reigned at the opening of the sixth century, little is known; neither did anything remarkable, and if they had not been kings, history would not remember even their names.

E. A. D'ALTON.

IRISH EXILES IN BRITTANY

V.

HITHERTO we have been concerned in these papers with Irish exiles who found a passing refuge in Brittany, but who never definitely broke their relations with Ireland, and lived with the hope of one day returning home again. Exile to them was a bitter necessity, and intensified the ardour of their patriotism. Whether they worked or studied abroad their eyes were always turned to the west, and they counted the days until they should pass over the seas, and give all their energies to the service of the island of sorrows. No Irishman worthy of the name can withhold from them the fullest measure of his sympathy, and if there is such a thing as historical gratitude it must be given without stint to those whose resolute fealty to Ireland remained always the directing influence of their lives.

That there were influences at work likely to undermine this natural allegiance to their own country will appear from the different directions taken by those of the exiles whose careers will form the theme of this chapter. It is beyond our power, at this distance of time, and with the meagre details that have come down to us, to examine the motives which induced them to leave the service of Ireland for that of France, and dissociate themselves so completely from the ideals of duty which obtained among their brother exiles. In such moments of life-choice personal issues enter very largely, and the new direction taken may have been based upon facts and exigencies that absolutely justified a course of action which seems to us far below the level of those heroic times. The apparent reason is not far to seek, and arises from the very different conditions of French and Irish life at that period.

The state of the mother country was not at all likely to attract, from merely natural motives, the service of men who had passed their youth and early manhood amid the cultured

and refined society of the Continent. Irish Catholics had been deprived of every intellectual resource; and while other nations were in the springtime of modern life and letters, they lay in complete fallow, and the growth and evolution of the national genius was an utter impossibility. The society that arose from this condition of torpor and intellectual void was not such as would make the journey homewards one of pleasant anticipation to men who had been during their most impressionable years in touch with the new civilization, which if it increases our strength nearly always multiplies our needs. One can hardly imagine a more complete contrast than then obtained between the field of ecclesiastical work in Ireland and in France. In Ireland there was a persecuted Church that did not dare to raise its voice lest its hiding-place might be discovered. The ministry, for the most part, was exercised by stealth and in the night time, the pomp of the ritual was laid aside, the pulpit was silent, and there was nothing left to console the hunted priest but the fealty of his people, and 'the argument of things unseen,' that is at the root of every martyrdom. To fully understand the character of the Irish priest of that period we must place this picture beside the radiant splendour of the French Church which then reached the very zenith of its glory. It lived and worked as an integral factor of the national life, whose force was communicated to it; the general culture reacted upon the sanctuary, and lent all its charm to ecclesiastical society. Catholic truth found interpreters whose work remains the ideal of Christian defence and apology; in a word, the Church in France enjoyed all the privileges and advantages which naturally flow from her intimate union with a great Christian state.

If, as may easily be imagined, the Irish student in France when his studies were completed had given him a chance of mixing in the society around him, then its attractions must have made it still harder to renounce its delights, and busy himself in a world where all the lights of life were extinguished, and association with kindred spirits a sheer impossibility. He should have to renounce, too, the use of

a language which had learned to adapt itself to all the purposes of letters, and return to the tongue of his people which had been crossed in its growth, and had never been *vis-à-vis* with the thought and enterprise of the modern mind, so that a return to Ireland meant not alone the prospective trials of missionary life, but the surrender of what Burke calls the 'unbought grace of life,' whose loss to a man of education and refinement is the worst blow that adverse fortune can give. So that we must not be too severe upon those men who were unequal to these great sacrifices, and elected to serve God and His Church in a land which had become to them a second fatherland, and which had shaped their characters in such a way that they were better fitted for the quiet ministry given them in Brittany, than for the life of struggle and sacrifice that would have awaited them at home.

To these general causes may be added that at that period the supply of French priests was not equal to the needs of the diocese, which, consequently, had a very strong motive in attracting to its service those Irishmen whose virtues and talents were personally known to the bishops. Then, again, the benefices at that time were largely in the gift of local magnates, and this enlarges the area of personal interests involved, and so gives another motive to the variety of choice in the filling of pastoral charges. As the nobles were largely engaged in military service, and in this way must have been in intimate relation with the Irishmen who had entered the army, we may see in this yet another reason why they should wish to have near them the compatriots of their companions in arms. Whatever the ultimate reason of it may have been, the fact is that we have now to deal with a number of Irish priests who in the eighteenth century became naturalized citizens of France and settled down to ordinary parish work in Brittany with the full sanction and acceptance of the diocesan authorities. In dealing with them we are met with the same dearth of personal detail of which in the course of this series we have had over and over again to complain. In so far as the records of the diocese speak of them we get merely a list of names and the

dates of presentation to various benefices, and no historical process, so far as I know, can invest such facts with more than a very limited interest. Position, however high, is, after all, but a platform from which men of capacity may readily show their personal gifts and accomplishments; taken in itself, and apart from successful work of some sort, it really means very little. I must once again express my regret that I cannot find a tittle of evidence that might justify me in forming any estimate of the talents or virtues of those with whom I shall now proceed to deal. I should be glad to note in their connection some evidence of their wit, or eloquence, or signal pastoral zeal, but I cannot find any fact or tradition to sustain any opinion whatsoever, and must deny myself the one luxury of a chronicler who always delights in making favourable appreciations of his heroes.

The most distinguished of those who entered into the ministry in France was undoubtedly the Reverend Cornelius O'Keeffe, who attained such eminence as to justify us in giving an extended notice of his life. He came of an ancient family who had large possessions in the county Cork from which they were expelled during the Cromwellian period.¹ The precise position of their property was at Glenville, on the river Bride, and it is a remarkable coincidence that in this neighbourhood, too, was born the Right Rev. Dr. Barry, of whom we have already spoken in this series. The family suffered much hardship during these troubled times, and at length settled at Drumkeene, county Limerick, where Cornelius O'Keeffe was born. I cannot find the precise date of his birth but it must have been about 1670, as I find among his papers at the cathedral here a certificate of his having received the tonsure at the hands of the Archbishop of Bordeaux on March 29, 1686. In this document he is styled, 'Filio naturali et legitimo Dionysii et Honoræ O'Daly conjugum, Seminarii Burdigal alumno;' which fixes the college where, we may assume, he commenced his ecclesiastical studies. There is a sad lack of evidence concerning the remaining portion of

¹ *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society.* July, 1893.

his college career, although the main facts are sufficiently sustained by eminent authority. In a letter dated the 18th December, 1884, the late Bishop of Limerick, the Right Reverend Dr. Butler, states, 'we have it on our records that he made his studies at Toulouse, where he became a Doctor of Divinity;' and this, of course, settles the principal point, and if it passes over in silence the course of his studies, assures us of their honourable close. The year of his ordination to the priesthood we cannot determine, nor the time in which he proceeded to his degree. Of his life, too, until he became incorporated with the diocese of Nantes, I can find no record of any sort. He enters into the lists of the Irish exiles in Brittany on September 19th, 1710, when he was presented to the bishops and chapter of Nantes as having been nominated to the rectorship of the parish of St. Similien.¹ In the document which treats of his promotion there is no mention made of his holding any other prebend; abundance of adjectives are joined with his name, but to none of them is associated the care of souls. He is styled 'venerabilem et discretum Magistrum Cornelium O'Keeffe presbyterum Hibernum, capacem et idoneum utpote doctorum Theologum,' and all these titles go to show that the motives for his selection were found rather in his academic success than in any work of administration hitherto accomplished by him. I think we are justified in assuming that Dr. O'Keeffe came directly from Toulouse to Nantes, and that he commenced his public career as a pastor in Brittany.

There is little or no record left of his life at St. Similien; his name, of course, remains on the parish register, and some indefatigable delver into the past has gone to the trouble of transcribing some of his entries; but I shall spare my readers these details as they throw no light on his character, and are only of moment in so far as they show he

¹ This parish is now one of the largest in the city and is noted for its magnificent church. In Dr. O'Keeffe's time it had not the same prominence, and was mostly outside the city walls. In the acts of the chapter it is styled 'parochiam ecclesiam Sancti Similiani prope et extra muros Civitatis Nannetensis.' It will be recalled that in this church the Bishop of Cork founded the Novena de la Misericorde.

was in residence at the period and performed the ordinary duties of his office.

He continued for ten years as parish priest of St. Similien, and then was enabled by the favour of the Holy See to give what remained of his life to the service of his native land. The circumstances under which he returned home were of the most honourable kind, as he was appointed during March, 1720, by Papal Brief, bishop of his native diocese.¹ The see had been vacant for eighteen years owing to the troubled times, and had been ruled during that period by the parish priest of Rathkeele, the Very Rev. James Stretch. Although his life in Limerick does not directly affect our purpose here, yet we may say in passing that his tenure of office was marked by many notable occurrences. With the Archbishop of Cashel and the Bishop of Cork he was denounced as being in conspiracy with the Papal Nuncio at Brussels to restore James II. to the throne of England. An inquisition was ordered by the authorities, and the papers of the Bishop of Cork were seized; but no compromising documents were found, and the charge was abandoned. Dr. O'Keeffe was held in high esteem in Rome, which appointed him Delegate Apostolic in 1732 to settle a dispute between the Archbishop of Tuam and the Warden of Galway, and the choice of him for this high office places him among the most able prelates of his time.

His duties in Ireland did not completely sunder his relation with Brittany or with France, of which he was a naturalized citizen. In 1734-35, he came to Nantes, and represented the Bishop at the annual ordinations of the diocese. It would seem that his stay was prolonged beyond all canonical limits, as he is given as officiating at the ordinations from June 19th, 1734, when he ordained fifty candidates to March 5th, 1735, when he pontificated on a like occasion in his former church at St. Similien. Among the young ecclesiastics I find many Irish names, and nearly all of them from the western dioceses.

¹ Brady, *Episcopal Succession*. In a letter of Dr. Butler I find these words: 'We have no account of where or by whom he was consecrated, but we may assume that, as a priest of the diocese, he was consecrated at Nantes.'

To further show his sympathies with his countrymen in France, Dr. O'Keeffe, founded three burses in the Irish College at Paris, for the education of natives of Ireland, especially those of his own kindred and name. The instrument in which this foundation is established is yet to be found at the College of Arms, London, and in it the Bishop describes himself as being 'of the O'Keeffes of Fermoy, distinguished by their actions, their alliances and their estates.' This was written at Paris, in 1731, but was not registered until September, 1737, nine months after his death. The wording of this document left some doubt as to the intentions of the founder; in fact, it was contested by Dr. Walsb, Bishop of Cork, who insisted that the burses were for his diocese only. The case was brought before the Paris tribunals, but was never definitely settled. After a varied and active career spent in the service of the two nations then so closely allied, Monsignor O'Keeffe died on May 4th, 1737, and was buried in St. John's churchyard, in the city of Limerick; but of his tomb there is now no trace.

The last mention of his name in the annals of Brittany, occurs in connection with some benefices held by him in the parish of Machecoul, in the diocese of Nantes. In the annals of that parish we read, that on September 25th, 1737 :—

Messire Christophe Fuchant de Lorme, présentateur des benefices fondés par dame Guillemette Giraud, en l'église de la Trinité de Machecoul, sur la connaissance qu'il a eu depuis peu du décès de Monseigneur O'Keeffe évêque de Limerick en Irlande dernier titulaire, présente un titulaire pour les benefices et pour la chapellenie de Notre Dame La Noire ou desclercs a Ste. Croix de Machecoul.¹

It will be seen from this, that the Bishop did not cease to be a member of the French clergy on becoming the occupant of the see of Limerick. It may be well to note, that the obligations attached to his French benefices were in no sense pastoral, and were limited to the saying of some fixed masses which, of course, he could discharge

¹ *Insinuations*, 25 Octobre, 1737.

through the ministry of other priests. Further he sought and obtained the permission of the Pope for these transactions, so that all was done in perfect canonical order. It is worthy of note, that his successor in these benefices was also of Irish or English extraction, as we read in the records of the parish that in 1751 the priest who held them was Guillaume Fitzharris Giffard, who then lived in Paris. From this we may gather how scarce French priests were at this period, or else how highly esteemed the Irish priests were by those who were responsible for ecclesiastical appointments.

On September 7th, 1713, Father Daniel Phelan was appointed to the chaplaincy of Sainte Anne, in the parish of Carquefon, by Monsigneur Gilles de Beauvais. He is described as the 'Venerable et discret Messire Daniel Phelan, prêtre de Kilmacduagh en Irlande, idoine et capable de l'avoir et posséder ayant été naturalisé François par lettre de Juillet, présente année. Signée, Louis.' He took possession on the September following, and held it until his death on October 4th, 1726, when he was succeeded by Father Denis Flannery. He is described as being of the diocese of Clonfert, and a naturalized French citizen by letters patent of September of the same year. He entered into office on October, 1726, and celebrated Mass in the presence of a large congregation. Father Patrick Woulf was appointed to the chaplaincy of Clisson, on November 19th, 1713, and took possession on the 23rd of the same month. In the registers he is described as 'prestre du diocèse de Killaloe en Irlande, bien et deument naturalisé, sujet et regnicole de France, idoine, suffisant et capable.'¹ This benefice had already been held by Dr. John Leyne, who is described as an Irish priest residing in Paris, but of whose subsequent history I can find no record. Among those present at the installation of Father Woulf I find the name Oleyne, but there is no mention of the fact that he had any connection with the place. There is no further mention of an Irish priest in this parish, and I cannot find the date of Father Woulf's death.

¹ *Insinuations*, 7 Dec. 1713.

On November 11th, 1706, an Irish priest, Father M'Carthy, was appointed administrator of the parish of Douges, but of him there are no further particulars. This parish had a passing connection with the Irish exiles when, in 1749, Father Michael O'Ferral, of the Irish Seminary, Nantes, took possession of the chaplaincy of St. Catharine, in the parish of Gestigne, on June 21st, 1760. On his death, in 1764, Father James Gennan obtained this benefice. He is described as an Irishman, living in Paris, and originally of the diocese of Tuam. He died on April 29th, 1769.

On the 14th of January, 1737, M. Gabriel de la Forêt, Count of Armaillé, presented Fr. Colman O'Loghlen to the chaplaincies of St. Nicholas and de la Robinitière, in the parish of Haute-Goulaine. Father O'Loghlen resided in Paris, and is described as an Irish priest of the diocese of Killfenora. He took possession on February 19th, 1737, by a procurator, and one of the witnesses is given as Reverend Patrick Courtin, an Irish priest residing at Nantes.

Half a century afterwards these same benefices were held by Reverend Thomas Doyle, 'prêtre du diocèse de Ferns et Comté de Wexford.' He was presented to the Bishop of Nantes, and accepted on March 14th, 1788, and took possession on the 18th of the same month. As his tenure of office coincided with the revolutionary epoch it would be interesting to know how he fared, but I can find no document which speaks of him or his subsequent fortunes.

The Reverend Patrick Wolf was appointed to the chaplaincies of St. Joachim and St. Catherine du Hallay, in the parish of La Haye. He was ordained in 1698 by Monsignor Giles de Beauveau at the chapel of the Ursulines at Nantes. He resigned on May 20th, 1723. On the 9th December, 1771, the Reverend Jean M'Brady took possession of these benefices. He is described as 'pretre, originaire d'Irlande, naturalisé par lettres du Prince duement insinuées enterinées et enrégistrées, et demeurant à la Fosse de Nantes.'¹ On July 23rd, 1723, the Reverend Michael Flannery was

¹ Ev. de Nantes. *Insinuations*, 19 Dec., 1771.

appointed parish priest of Lavan by the Bishop of Nantes on the death of the former pastor, Nicholas de la Fosse. Father Flannery is given as a doctor of the University of Nantes. He took possession on the 29th July in the presence of Father Burke, parish priest of St. Similien, and Father Eugeran (?) another Irish priest¹ in residence at Nantes.

A remarkable incident occurred some months afterwards when a French priest, M. Jérone Rifflet endeavoured to claim the benefice. It would seem that the Bishop of Tours had the right of presentation, and being unaware of the appointment of Fr. Flannery the chapter conferred the parish upon M. Rifflet of the Nantes diocese. He took steps to make good his claim, and brought the case before the tribunals, with the result that 'il se presente à la poste de l'église avec ses notaires et temoins, mais Fr. Flannery intervint et opposa que ledit Sieur Rifflet ny notaires entrassent ny fissent aucune fonction dans ladite église.' The Pretender, however, made good his way into the church, but had to sign the formal documents affirming his possession in a neighbouring house 'l'entrée de la maison curiale lui 'ayant été formellement refusée.' But his energetic action did not invalidate Dr. Flannery's rights, and the Irish exile remained in peaceable possession until his death, in 1730.²

I find a note of the death of Father Peter Burke, rector of St. Similien, on October 13th, 1724. He must have been the immediate successor of Dr. O'Keeffe in this parish. In the mortuary notice he is described as

Docteur en theologie, ci-devant recteur de Paix, Chapelain de Saint-Julien, Superieur de la maison de Messieurs les prêtres Irlandais, décédé après jours de maladie, âgé environ 48 ans. inhumé au grand Cimitière Saint-Similien en presence des Sieurs Thomas Burke, son neveu, Sparks, prêtre chap. de Saint-Julien, G. Stack, prêtre procureur de la communauté Irlandaise, Walsh docteur en Sorbonne, Superieur de la communauté à Nantes.

Of this distinguished man I find no further particulars. He was the last Irish rector of St. Similien, which had

¹ *Ibidem*, August 10, 1723.

² Ev. de Nantes, 19 May, 1724.

³ Registres paroisiales de Lavan.

been in association with our people from the middle of the seventeenth century, when the Bishop of Cork and Cloyne did so much for its spiritual interests.

Of the exiles who were members of religious orders I can find mention of only two, and of them there is nothing said that would give a clue to their family or the locality in Ireland from which they originally came. They were brothers and Benedictines of the Congregation of St. Maur. The eldest, Dom Gabrill Duby, was appointed to the priory of the Holy Trinity, Clisson, on January 2nd, 1748, and resigned in favour of his brother, Dom Martin Duby, on June 13th, 1755. He died during 1766.

On March 14th, 1802, Father John Eugene O'Brien, who was born at Enniscorthy, died at the Hôtel Dieu, Nantes, at the age of 38 years. There are no other particulars recorded of him. Perhaps he was attached to the Irish Seminary, and for some reason remained in France after his brethren had been expelled.

During the same year Father John Baptist M'Carthy was executed on the charge of treason to the republic. He had been taken prisoner in 1795, but succeeded in making his escape on October 15th of that year. He was condemned to death by a council of war on November 8th, 1802; and the sentence was carried out in the place du Banffay, Nantes, on November 14th.¹ This is the only Irish victim of whom I find any mention in connection with the political troubles of that time.

From this period the special relations between the Irish Church and Brittany seem to have definitely ceased. The suppression of the Irish College at Nantes removed the primary reason why Irish students should come to this city, and the establishments of seminaries at home practically brought to a close the state of things that made exile a necessary condition of adequate training for Irish priests; but we cannot forget the generous action of Brittany in the evil days, now for ever passed, when she gave asylum to our

¹ *La commune et Milice de Nantes par Carnille Mel'inet.* June 1. Page 141.

bishops, priests, and students, and in this way became a factor in our national life. For my part, I am glad to have been able to throw some light upon this almost forgotten section of our national annals. Without some treatment of the Irish exiles in Brittany, a notable part of our ecclesiastical history should remain without sufficient explanation, and some remarkable men be lost altogether to historic view. I do not offer these pages as worthy of study, because of the direct value of the facts collected in them ; I propose them simply to those who are interested in the studies of the formation of the Irish Church of our own time, inasmuch as they show it in its state of *fieri*, and point out the heroic elements from which it has been evolved. However imperfect they may be in some respects, they will serve, at least, to show the spirit of sacrifice that actuated the Irish priesthood during the times of persecution, and remind us, that at all cost we should labour to preserve the heritage bought at such a great price. If we are worthy successors of these exile priests, the faith that shed its radiance over the sorrows of the past will glorify all the future of our national life.

A. WALSH, O.S.A.

Notes and Queries.

THEOLOGY

THE CONDITIONAL ABSOLUTION OF CONVERTS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Even at this end of the world the I. E. RECORD is much appreciated; and in view of the valuable information generally given in answer to queries, I am encouraged to submit to you the following questions:—

In the course of my sacerdotal duties, I have not a few converts to receive into the Church from the various denominations of Protestantism. In the reception ceremony I, of course, baptize *sub conditione*, and I absolve *sub conditione*. But if the first baptism was valid, then the actual sins committed prior to initiation into the Church are, if mortal, *necessary* matter for confession, and the *absolute* form should be used. If the first baptism was invalid, then the actual sins committed prior to the initiation into the Church are remitted by second baptism. They are not, therefore, *necessary* matter, but are they not still *sufficient* matter for the sacrament of Penance? And if *sufficient* why should not the *absolute form* of absolution be used? Here is an *a pari* case: Week after week a pious penitent of mine, to secure matter for confession, confesses the same sin of his past life, which has been again and again remitted by the sacrament of Penance, and which yet constitutes *sufficient* matter for using the *absolute* form of absolution. Now if an actual sin remitted by the sacrament of Penance can still constitute again and again *sufficient* matter for using the *absolute* form of absolution, why not an actual sin remitted by the sacrament of Baptism? Briefly my questions are three:—

1. Why are not actual sins remitted by the sacrament of Baptism sufficient matter for sacramental absolution with the *absolute* form, just as actual sins remitted by Penance are?

2. In the case of converts, does not the fact that their sins, committed before their reception into the Church, are doubtfully necessary matter for confession, beget a stronger claim for using the *absolute form* in absolution?

3. In the case of a pious convert who, after having been received into the Church, goes to confession, and has nothing to

confess but the sins of his past life previous to his reception into the Church, has he matter for confession at all; and if so, whether should the *conditional* or *absolute* form of absolution be used?

Thanking you, Rev. Sir, in anticipation for a lucid reply.

W. J. CROKE.

St. Patric's Cathedral, Auckland,
New Zealand.

1. The sacrament of Penance was instituted *per modum judicii*, and the conferring of absolution is an exercise of jurisdiction. Sacramental absolution, therefore, can be validly pronounced only where the minister has jurisdiction over the penitent, in the particular matter made the subject of accusation. Now by receiving the sacrament of Baptism one becomes subject to the sacramental jurisdiction of the Church; and that jurisdiction, according to the practice of the faithful and the authority of all theologians, extends to all sins, mortal and venial, already remitted or not, committed after baptism. Absolution may, therefore, be validly pronounced, and with the absolute form, on sins already confessed and remitted in the sacrament of Penance. In regard to original sin, however, and actual sins committed after baptism, the matter is different. For, before baptism neither the sinner nor his sins are subject to the jurisdiction of the Church; nor do such sins become, through baptism, subject to the Church. Through defect of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, therefore, these sins cannot in any circumstances be validly absolved in the sacrament of Penance. If we are asked why precisely sins antecedent to baptism are not subjected to the jurisdiction of the Church, so that the confession of them would be valid matter for the sacrament, we can only say that such is the will of Christ.

2. No; the conditional form of absolution serves every end that can be attained. And, as the matter is manifestly doubtful matter for the sacrament, the absolute form should not be used. The hypothesis, of course, is that only sins committed before baptism are confessed.

3. Such a person cannot supply matter for valid absolution.

BENEDICTIO IN ARTICULO MORTIS

REV. DEAR SIR,—It is the practice of some priests to repeat in the same sickness the Papal benediction. Now, however, I am told by some that it is unlawful so to repeat. I shall thank you to give an opinion on this practical question in an early number of the I. E. RECORD.

INDULTARIUS.

This question has been repeatedly proposed and answered at length in these pages. We have nothing to add to, or modify in, the replies already given to our correspondents. We think that there is nothing in the replies of the Sacred Congregations to prevent one from repeating the benediction, even in the same protracted illness, not, however for the purpose of gaining several plenary indulgences, but for the purpose of exciting the dying person to better dispositions, *v.g.*, or with a view to making the application of the indulgence more certainly valid.

We shall merely give the following extract from the latest edition of the *Köpings-Putzer Commentarium in Facultates Apostolicas* :—

Indulgentia plenaria ex benedictione Papali in *vero* articulo mortis et quidem *una tantum* a moriente pro se acquiritur ; ideo aliae pro animabus defunctorum non lucrifunt. Hinc in eadem permanente infirmitate licet diuturna eam semel tantum impertiri licet, etsi infirmus eam accepit in statu peccati mortalis aut post acceptionem in peccatum relapsus est aut absolutionem vel etiam Extremam Unctionem iterum accepit. Ratio, cur prohibitum est, eadem infirmitate permanente benedictionem Papalem pluries impertiri, juxta Resp. S. C. Ind. 12 Mart. 1855 n. 362, in quo refertur ad Resp. de 5 Feb. 1841 n. 286, est, quia in eodem articulo mortis infirmus indulgentiam semel tantum lucrari potest. Unde si a moribundo, non ex intentione indulgentiam pluries lucrandi, benedictio Papalis pluries peteretur aut a sacerdote daretur, sed ex alia e. gr. ad effectum securiorem reddendum aut si pluries conferetur ad excitandos pios affectus et ad certius procurandam pro indulgentia dispositionem, nihil fieret contra Decreta. Ita Il Mon. Eccl. vol. 8. part. 2. pag. 110. cum Melata (Manuale de Indulgentiis, part. 2. sec. Q 1. cap. 1. art. 2). Presertim cum tali intentione pluries benedictio Papalis dari potest posset moribundo, si hic ad eam ex pluribus titulis jus haberet, prout, testante Melata, etiam nunc Romae practicatur. Cfr. *Analecta* Eccl. 1894, pag. 131, 225.¹

D. MANNIX.

¹ Vid. Putzer, Ed. quar. 1897, p. 258.

LITURGY

THE FORM OF THE LUNETTE

REV. DEAR SIR,—In your June number (1898), p. 555, a *Dubium*, with reply is given, concerning the capsula for containing the Sacred Host while in the tabernacle. I don't think the reply is satisfactory, from the fact that the question was not clearly put to the Sacred Congregation, or at least they do not seem to have caught the true sense of the *Dubium*. There seems to be a confusion between the lunette and the capsula. The reply says that the capsula may be made of glass (so I interpret it) instead of silver gilt, as it is usually made. But it does not appear to me that that is a reply to the question asked. The fathers of the Congregation are evidently ignorant of the nature of the custom in vogue in France, and concerning which the question is asked. That custom is, that instead of the Roman lunette a glass case is used (for the lunette), composed of 'duo crystallæ apte coherrentia.' This small case, as a rule, is placed (as is the lunette) in a silver gilt one, to be reserved in the tabernacle. From the reply it would seem that the fathers of the Congregation are under the impression that the usual Roman lunette is used in the case under consideration, and that the question only concerns the capsula for the tabernacle, and they reply that that capsula may be made of glass.

I submit, then, that the question of the lawfulness of using the glass case, instead of a lunette, remains still unanswered. Will you please give us your views on the matter?

W. F. H.

Like the Fathers of the Congregation of Rites, we too are unacquainted with the nature of the French custom; and like them we have to gather the meaning of the question from the terms in which the question was proposed. To facilitate reference we here reprint from our June number the question proposed to the Congregation together with the reply:—

In plurimis Galliae Ecclesiis atque Oratoriis usus invaluit postremis hisce temporibus sacram Hostiam, quæ in Ostensorio exponenda est, recondendi intra duo crystallæ apte coherrentia,

eamque in Tabernaculo reponendi absque ulla capsula, seu custodia. Hinc a Sacrorum Rituum Congregatione expostulatum fuit: 'An ejusmodi praxis licita sit'?

Atque eadem Sacra Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisito etiam voto Commissionis liturgicae, ac remature perpensa, proposito Dubio respondendum censuit: Affirmative; dummodo sacra Hostia in dictis crystallis bene sit clausa, atque crystalli non tangat, juxta alias decreta.

It appears to us that two distinct questions are here proposed to the Congregation. One is, may the Sacred Host intended for exposition in the monstrance be placed for this purpose 'inter duo crystalli apte cohaerentia?'; the other, may the Host thus enclosed be placed in the tabernacle without any other covering or protection? The Congregation replies to both in the affirmative, stipulating only that the Host shall be so supported between the glass discs that it shall touch neither.

Now, from our interpretation of the question addressed to the Congregation, and from the reply, it follows that the lunette, or whatever we may call the movable part of the monstrance which immediately contains the Blessed Sacrament, may consist of two glass discs suitably joined together, provided the Sacred Host does not touch either of the discs. But to keep the Host upright, and prevent it from touching the glass, an arrangement similar to the crescent lunette placed between the glass discs would be required. Now, whether the Congregation has misunderstood the meaning of the question, or whether it has not, it must be admitted that they have given their sanction to the exposition in the monstrance of the Sacred Host contained between two glass discs, but touching neither. Our esteemed correspondent may term this a 'glass case,' a 'lunette,' or a lunette within a glass case; but by whatever name it may be called its use has the sanction of the Congregation of Rites.

The affirmative reply of the Congregation covers, as we have said, the second part of the question also. Hence it follows that when the Host is placed in a case such as we have tried to describe, it may be put into the tabernacle without any further capsule or covering whatsoever.

This is our view of the meaning and effect of this decree.

It may not recommend itself to our correspondent ; but to us it appears to be the only possible interpretation of the words before us.

**SHOULD THE CELEBRANT STAND UP WHILE THE
PREACHER READS THE GOSPEL ?**

REV. DEAR SIR,—In a great many churches the last Mass on Sundays is either ordinary low Mass or ' Missa Cantata.' In either case it is customary for the celebrant to sit down after the first Gospel, when another priest comes from the sacristy to preach from the pulpit which is generally outside the sanctuary. The preacher makes the announcements, then reads the prayer, Epistle and Gospel in the vernacular. In some churches the celebrant stands while the Gospel is being read from the pulpit, in others he merely uncovers and remains sitting, while the assisting clerks on either side stand up.

I should like to know through the I. E. RECORD, for the sake of uniformity, which is the correct practice, for the celebrant to stand, or merely to uncover, while the Gospel of the day is being read from the pulpit.

SACERDOS.

The Church has not, as far as we know, made any ruling regarding the subject of our correspondent's question. Consequently, apart from episcopal legislation each celebrant is free to either stand up or remain seated during the reading of the Gospel from the pulpit. But if the people should stand up, why not the celebrant, even though clad in sacred vestments? The only way to secure uniformity throughout a diocese is through the interference of the bishop ; but the priests of each church might secure uniformity in their own church by arrangement amongst themselves.

**THE ' CONSENSUS ORDINARIJ ' FOR INDULGENCING BEADS,
MEDALS, &c.**

REV. DEAR SIR,—Will you kindly answer the following double query with reference to the exercise of the Propaganda faculties for blessing and indulgencing beads, medals, &c. On account of the contradictory opinion of many priests upon the

subject, I trust you will deem the question both practical and useful :—

1. In the case of faculties, granted by the Propaganda, to indulgence these objects of devotion, with the conditional clause, '*cum consensu Ordinarii*,' could the priest so empowered, whether secular or regular, exercise this faculty *outside his diocese*, or must he always obtain the consent of the Ordinary of the place through which he is in *transitu*, or wherein he may be ministering *pro tem.*, as in the case of missions or retreats, in order to *both licitly and validly* use the faculty?

2. If the latter is correct, as I hold, is it furthermore necessary for missionaries or priests giving retreats to ask *explicitly* for this *consensus Ordinarii alieni loci*; or may it be safely regarded that the bishop, in granting the other necessary faculties for a mission or retreat, *ipso facto* (though implicitly), also accords this consent to exercise the above Papal faculty?

3. In answering this practical question you will further oblige by giving your opinion whether the word *Ordinary*, in the propaganda pagella, always means for regulars as well as seculars, the bishop or archbishop of the diocese in which the priest exercises his ministry. I have heard it argued that, *in this matter*, the *Ordinarius* of a regular is his provincial; but no authority was quoted.

U. E. U.

1. We are of opinion that the Ordinary, whose consent is required for the valid exercise of the Propaganda faculties referred to by our correspondent, is the Ordinary of the place where the faculties are exercised. If this opinion be correct it follows that a priest who has obtained the consent of his own Ordinary cannot exercise these faculties unless within the jurisdiction of his Ordinary; and, consequently, that while travelling outside his jurisdiction, he cannot even validly bless beads, &c., unless he has previously obtained the consent of the Ordinary of the place.

This opinion, which, we are pleased to find, coincides with that of our correspondent, is after all, only an opinion, as we have been unable to find any very solid argument to support it. The following considerations, however, make in favour of our opinion.

In the first place, it seems to us that the fundamental

reason why the consent of the Ordinary is required at all, is that the bishop of a diocese should know the priests of the diocese, who are privileged to exercise extraordinary faculties of any kind. And if it be necessary for the good order of the diocese, and for its proper administration by the bishop, that he should know those of his own priests who are privileged to exercise the faculties in question, it is, surely, for the same reasons much more necessary that he should know strangers who come into his diocese claiming to enjoy the same privilege. We can hardly believe that the Congregation of Propaganda would ever intend to grant to a priest, once he had obtained the consent of his own Ordinary, a sort of roving commission to bless beads, &c., wherever he might find himself, without any reference at all to the local ecclesiastical authority.

Again, in the formula employed by the Congregation of Indulgences in granting precisely similar faculties the clause is *de consensu Ordinarii loci*,¹ not merely *de consensu Ordinarii*, which latter is the form in which this clause appears in the Propaganda formula. We have no doubt, however, that both clauses have exactly the same meaning; and the former, we believe, renders it quite clear that, for the valid exercise of the faculties the consent of the Ordinary of the place where they are exercised will alone suffice.

2. The second question is one, which it is difficult, if not impossible, to answer satisfactorily. We may, however, point out that the consent here required must be a deliberate act on the part of the Ordinary. Either, then, a bishop in giving faculties to a non-subject who is about to give a retreat, mission, &c., in his diocese thinks of the exercise of these faculties by the priest, and intends to include in the general faculties his approval of this exercise, or he does not think at all of these faculties. In the former case the necessary consent would, of course, be included, though not expressly mentioned; in the latter case it would not, we think, be included. Hence, if the opinion advocated in our reply to the preceding question be the correct one, priests

¹ Beringer; *Les Indulgences*, &c., vol. i., p. 343.

about to give missions, &c., in a diocese the Ordinary of which has not yet given his consent to their exercise of the Propaganda faculties in his diocese should ask *explicitly* for this consent. Otherwise they cannot be quite certain that it has been included by the bishop in the general faculties granted to them.

3. We have no hesitation in saying that the Provincial or other Superior of a Religious Order or Congregation, cannot be regarded as supplying, even for the members of his own order or congregation, the place of the *Ordinarius* whose consent is required for the valid exercise of these faculties.

D. O'LOAN.

CORRESPONDENCE

PARISH SODALITIES

REV. DEAR SIR,—I beg most respectfully to invite your notice to the following, with a view to your own opinion, and, perhaps, approval. I would wish to see established in every parish in Ireland a society or sodality whose object would be to pray for the spiritual wants of the parish; the sodality to be under the name and patronage of our Blessed Lady; the rules to be few, simple, and practically easy to be observed. One thing I would principally suggest—that the members on each Sunday and holiday of obligation recite (*in choro*) the third part of the Rosary before the Virgin's Altar, and after the community Mass, for the spiritual necessities of the parish. Everything besides I leave to the better wisdom of such priests as may approve of the matter.

The drawbacks of a parish are, in some instances at least, not few; the staying away from the sacraments and from Mass; long, if not hereditary, feuds between families and individuals; habitual drunkenness, secret societies, immoral scandals, falling away (or the danger of it) from the faith, habitual want of prayer in case of the tepid and slothful, and so on. There may not be one parish afflicted with all of the above diseases; but some of them, at least, may be in every parish. Now, with the exception of the sacraments, which some will not approach, and many but seldom, what more effectual aid can the worn and wearied pastor invoke than her who loves us all, and whose motherly petition *is always heard*? I think, and reflection for months past only strengthens the thought, that if the idea were carried into execution, a simply incalculable amount of good would, inevitably, be the result. Let some priest who may approve of the matter, talk it over with his bishop, and his approval or non-approval will be so much of the Divine Will, and must be received as such. The writer has broached the idea, and he believes no more is required of him.

SENIOR.

DOCUMENTS

ENCYCLICAL OF HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII. ON THE ROSARY OF MARY

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE XIII.
EPISTOLA AD PATRIARCHAS, PRIMATES, ARCHIEPISCOPOS,
EPISCOPOS, ALIOSQUE LOCORUM ORDINARIOS PACEM ET COM-
MUNIONEM CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTIBUS

DE ROSARIO MARIALI.

VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS PATRIARCHIS, PRIMATIBUS, ARCHIEPIS-
COPIS, EPISCOPIS, ALIISQUE LOCORUM ORDINARIIS PACEM ET
COMMUNIONEM CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTIBUS

LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILES FRATRES SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM.

Diuturni temporis spatium animo respicientes, quod in Pontificatu maximo, Deo sic volente, transeimus, facere non possumus quin fateamur Nos, licet meritis impares, divinae Providentiae praesidium expertos fuisse praesentissimum. Id vero praecipue tribuendum censemus coniunctis precibus, adeoque validissimis, quae, ut olim pro Petro, ita nunc pro Nobis non intermisce funduntur ab Ecclesia universa. Primum igitur bonorum omnium largitori Deo grates habemus maximas, acceptaque ab eo singula, quamdiu vita suppetit, mente animoque tuebimur. Deinde subit materni patrocinii augustae caeli Reginae dulcis recordatio; eamque pariter memoriam gratiis agendis celebrandisque beneficiis pie inviolateque servabimus. Ab ipsa enim, tamquam uberrimo ductu, caelestium gratiarum haustus derivantur: 'eius in manibus sunt thesauri miserationum Domini;' Vult illam Deus bonorum omnium esse principium.¹ In huius tenerae Matris amore, quem fovere assidue atque in dies augere studuimus, certo speramus obire posse ultimum diem. Iamdudum autem cupientes, societatis humanae salutem in aucto Virginis cultu, tamquam praevalida in arce collocare, nunquam destitimus 'Martialis Rosarii' consuetudinem inter Christi fidelis promovere, datis in eam rem

¹ S. Io. Dam. ser. I, de nativ. Virg.

² Ir. c. Valen. I. III. c. 33.

Encyclicis Litteris iam inde a kalendis Septembribus anni MDCCCXXXIII., editisque decretis, ut probe nostis, haud semel. Cumque Dei miserantis consilio liceat Nobis huius quoque anni adventantem cernere mensem Octobrem, quem caelesti Reginae a Rosaria sacrum dicatumque esse alias decrevimus, nolmus a compellendis vobis abstinere : omniaque paucis complexi quae ad eius precationis genus provehendum huc usque gessimus, rei fastigium imponemus novissimo documento, quo et studium Nostrum ac voluntas in laudatam cultus Mariani formam pateat luculentius, et fidelium excitetur ardor sanctissimae illius consuetudinis pie integreque servandae.

Constanti igitur acti desiderio ut apud christianum populum de Rosarii Marialis vi ac dignitate constaret, memorata primum caelesti potius quam humana eius precationis origine, ostendimus admirabile sertum ex angelico praeconio consertum, interiecta oratione dominica, cum meditationis officio coniunctum, supplicandi genus praestantissimum esse et ad immortalis praesertim vitae adeptionem maxime frugiferum ; quippe praeter ipsam excellentiam precum exhibeat et idoneum fidei praesidium et insigne specimen virtutis per mysteria ad contemplandum proposita ; rem esse praeterea usu facilem et populi ingenio accommodatam, cui ex commentatione Nazarathanae Familiae offeratur domesticae societatis omnino perfecta species ; eius idecirco virtutem christianum populum nunquam non expertum fuisse saluberrimam.

His praecipue rationibus atque adhortatione multiplici sacratissimi Rosarii formulam persecuti, augendae insuper eius maiestati per ampliorem cultum, Decessorum Nostrorum vestigiis inhaerentes, animum adiecimus. Etenim quemadmodum Xystus V. fel. rec. antiquam recitandi Rosarii consuetudinem approbavit, et Gregorius XIII. festum dedicavit eidem titulo diem, quem deinde Clemens VIII. inscripsit martyrologio, Clemens XI. iussit ab universa Ecclesia retineri, Benedictus XIII. Breviario romano inseruit, ita Nos in perenne testimonium propensae Nostrae voluntatis erga hoc pietatis genus, eandem solemnitatem cum suo officio in universa Ecclesia celebrari mandavimus ritu duplici secundae classis ; solidum Octobrem huic religioni sacrum esse volumus ; denique praecepimus ut in Litaniis Lauretanis adderetur invocatio : ' Regina sacratissimi Rosarii,' quasi augurium victoriae ex praesenti dimicatione referendae.

Illud reliquum erat ut moneremus, plurimum pretii atque

utilitatis accedere Rosario Mariali ex privilegiorum ac iurium copia, quibus orationes, in primisque ex thesauro, quo fruatur, indulgentiarum amplissimo. Quo quidem beneficio discedere quanti omnium immeriti qui de sua sint salute solliciti, facili negotio intelligi potest. Agitur enim de remissione consequenda, sive ex toto sive ex parte, temporalis poenae, etiam amota culpa, luendae aut in praesenti vita aut in altera. Dives nimirum thesaurus, Christi, Deiparae ac Sanctorum meritis cooperatus, cui iure Clemens VI. Decessor Noster aptabat verba illa Supremae: 'Infinite thesaurus est hominibus: quo qui uti sunt, participes facti sunt amiciciae Dei.' Iam Romani Pontifices, suprema, qua divinitas pollet, uti potestate, Sodales Marianis a sacratissimo Rosario atque hoc pie recitantibus huiusmodi gratiarum fontes recluserunt uberimos.

Itaque Nos etiam, rati his beneficiis atque indulgentiis Mariale coronam pulchrius collucere, quasi gemmis distinctam nobilissimis, consilium, diu mente versatum, maturavimus edendae 'Constitutionis' de iuribus, privilegiis, indulgentiis, quibus Sodales a sacratissimo Rosario perficiantur. Haec autem Nostra 'Constitutio' testimonium amoris esto, erga angustissimam Dei Matrem, et Christi fidelibus universis incrementa simul et praemia pietatis exhibeat, ut hora vitae suprema possint ipsius ope relevari in eiusque gremio suavissime conquiescere.

Haec ex animo Deum Optimum Maximum, per sacratissimi Rosarii Reginam, adprecari; caelestium bonorum auspiciis et pignus vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, clero ac populo uniuscuiusque vestrum curae concedito, Apostolicam benedictionem peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die V. Septembris MDCCCXCVIII, Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo primo.

LEO PP. XIII.

THE VENERABLE BARTHOLOMEW DELMONTÉ

BONOSIES. BEATIFICATIONIS ET CANONIZATIONIS VEN. SERVI DEI
BARTHOLOMAEI MARIAE DALMONTÉ SACERDOTIS ET INSTITU-
TORIS PIAE OPERAE MISSIONUM

Ad instantiam Rmi Dui Petri Crostarosa Antistitis Urbani et
Causa Ven. Servi Bartholomaei M. Dalmonte Postulatoris, Emus
et Rmus Dnus Card. Lucius M. Parocchi, Episcopus Portuensis
et S. Rufinae, eiusdem Causae Relator, in Ordinario Sacrorum

Rituum Congregationis Coetu Rotali, subsignata die ad Vaticanum coadunato iuxta peculiare SSmi Dni Nostri Leonis Papae XIII. dispositiones annis 1878 et 1895 editas, sequens Dubium discutiendum proposuit: 'An constet de validitate et relevantia Processus Apostolica Auctoritate Bononiae constructi super fama sanctitatis, virtutum et miraculorum in genere praedicti Venerabilis Servi Dei in casu et ad effectum, de quo agitur?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, omnibus accurato examine perpensis, auditoque R. P. D. Ioanne Baptista Lugari Sanctae Fidei Promotore, rescribendum censuit: 'Affirmative seu constare,' Die 22 Martii 1898.

Facta postmodum de his SSmo Domino Nostro Leonis Papae XIII. per subscriptum Secretarium relatione, Sanctitas Sua Rescriptum Sacrae ipsius Congregationis ratum habuit et confirmavit, die 28 iisdem mense et anno.

C. CARD. MAZZELLA, *Ep. Praenestinus*,
S. R. C. *Praefectus*.

DIOMEDES PANICI, *Secr.*

L. ✕ S.

DISPENSATIONS IN FASTING ON THE FRIDAYS AND SATURDAYS OF ADVENT

AN EPISCOPI QUI DISPENSARE VALENT AB ABSTINENTIA IN DIEBUS MAGNAE SOLEMNITATIS, ID ETIAM POSSINT QUOAD DIES VENERIS ET SABBATI ADVENTUS

BEATISSIME PATER,

Per Decretum S. R. et U. Inquisitionis diei 5 Decembr. 1894 Sanctitas Vestra locorum Ordinariis concessit facultatem anticipandi atque ob gravissimas causas dispensandi super lege ieiunii et abstinentiae, quando festum sub utroque praecepto servandum Patroni principalis aut Titularis Ecclesiae inciderit in ferias sextas aut sabbata, per annum excepto tempore Quadragesimae, diebus Quatuor Temporum et Vigiliis per annum ieiunio consecratis.

Iam vero in Hispania, per Decr. S. R. C. diei 2 Maii 1867 nonnullae Vigiliae ieiunio consecratae per annum obrogatae fuerunt, et ieiunium translatum in singulas ferias sextas et sabbata Sacri Adventus. Quare infrascriptus Archiepiscopus Compostellanus humillime petit, ut Sanctitas Vestra declarare dignetur utrum Ordinarii, vi Decreti 5 Decembris 1894, antici-

pare possint, vel etiam ob gravissimas causas dispensare a lege ieiunii et abstinenciae in Feriis sextis et Sabbatis Adventus.

Feria die 15 Decembris 1897.

In Congregatione generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis habita ab Eminentissimis et Reverendissimis DD. Cardinalibus in rebus-fidei et morum Inquisitoribus Generalibus proposito suprascripto dubio, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem' Eminen-tissimi ac Reverendissimi Patres rescribendum mandarunt.

Negative.

Subsequenti vero Feria VI, die 17 eiusdem mensis et anni, in solita audientia R. P. D. Assessori impertita, facta de his omnibus SS. D. N. Leoni Div. Prov. PP. XIII relatione, SSmus. resolutionem Eminentissimorum Patrum adprobavit.

I. CAN. MANCINI, S. R. et U. Inquis *Not.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

PÈRE MONNIER'S WARD. A Novel. By Walter Lecky.
New York, Cincinnati and Chicago: Benziger Bros.

THIS is one of the class of works of fiction which Messrs. Benziger Brothers, with commendable zeal, are making an effort to popularize with the Catholic reading public. For their exertions in this direction they deserve thanks. It is an excellent idea to provide our youth with a light literature that is pure and untainted as well as highly edifying and eminently entertaining.

But the volume we have to deal with deserves recognition at our hands on its own merits. It is a touchingly pathetic tale, true to life, and told in language that is clear, chaste and vigorous. The heroine of the story is the only offspring of a marriage that has proved a *mesalliance*. Soon after the unhappy union there is a separation, and a few years later, while yet thoughtless infancy helps to blunt the vivid perception of her affliction, death robs the little one of all that is dear—the kindly light of a mother's eyes and the tender love of a maternal heart. A waif of humanity, she becomes after many trials the ward of a Catholic priest. There is no character in the book like Père Monnier. He is the *beau idéal* of his kind: a man of cultured tastes, deeply read in the wisdom of the world, and versed too in that of the Gospel, with a mind broad and expansive, combined with lofty ideas of the dignity and destinies of the race. Knowing that as the 'twig is bent the tree is inclined,' he seeks to plant the roots of the tender sapling, providentially entrusted to his charge in congenial soil, so that it may at its maturity, rank among the noblest and best in the forest. He seems so to set the current of her being as to realize his elevated conceptions of a dignified Christian womanhood. For a while all goes well. Genevieve is the light of the humble priest's home. Then, in the person of a Captain Fortune, a charmer appears, casts his toils about the too-confiding youthful heart, allures her into a sham marriage, and ruthlessly blasts for ever a life so rich in early promise. The sequel is more comforting. The Père again discovered his ward, but only to prepare her for a happiness that is not of earth. For her '*Mors janua vitæ*.'

There are some extremely clever touches of character-definition in this book. The author can be humorous at times, and his humour is real Irish, 'racy of the soil.' Let us hope that his latest venture will circulate widely, and help in beguiling away a weary hour, and in revealing to unsuspecting innocence those depths of depravity that lie hidden under the cloak of a fair exterior.

P. S.

LIFE OF THE VENERABLE SERVANT OF GOD, JULIE BILLIART, Foundress of the Institute of Sisters of Notre Dame. By a Member of the same Congregation. Edited by Father Clare, S.J.: London and Leamington: Art and Book Co.

THIS edifying biography makes us acquainted with the leading events in the life of a very remarkable and saintly woman. Mother Julie Billiart founded an institute of teaching Sisters which has spread over Belgium, England, America, and has recently penetrated into the Congo State of South Africa. It has between five and six hundred members in England alone, and from one establishment, according to Father Clare, S.J., 'it has trained and sent forth agencies of education in the shape of lay missionaries to the number of two thousand who are employed in all parts of Great Britain in teaching the rising generation.' The events related of Mother Billiart's life give proof of extraordinary sanctity. We trust the work will be widely read in convents and religious institutions.

STATUTES OF THE CROSS WITH INSTRUCTIONS, PRACTICAL PROVERBS, AND DEVOTIONS FOR THE HOLY EUCARIST. By Rev. JACQUES FROBERGUES, O.S.B. Dublin: Duffy & Co.

WE HAVE HERE in a small little volume, in the most direct and in the simplest language, all that is worth knowing in reference to the beautiful devotion of the Way of the Cross. Besides regarding the multiplicity of the devotion, and the conditions necessary for gaining them, find their solution in the pages of this little work. The list of virtues pursued, which the whole process, being such as must satisfy the mind of the most searching soul as regards thoroughness and accuracy. The prayer devotion part has been judiciously compiled, and with the other features of the book,

combines to make Fr. Jarlath Prendergast's a very complete manual on the Stations.

After a brief sketch of the rise and spread of the devotion, the writer proceeds to discuss the question of its indulgences and the conditions necessary to gaining them. This he does in a concise but very satisfactory manner, where possible, quoting decrees and writers on indulgences as warranty, in such a manner as to dispel all uncertainty. Besides this there is a chapter on the constitution and privileges of the Association of the Perpetual Way of the Cross, and another on the utility of meditation on the Passion. The various methods of performing the devotion are taken from the writings of St. Alphonsus, St. Leonard of Port Maurice, and St. Francis de Sales, and need no commendation. The ceremonial prescribed for the erection of the Stations is given in an appendix, and completes what must be regarded as a thorough manual on the devotion of the Way of the Cross.

The little book is one such as ought be found in every Catholic home and in every Catholic Church where the devotion of the Stations is publicly practised. We are sure it will do a great deal to spread this fruitful devotion.

J. B.

L'ÉGLISE : SA RAISON D'ÊTRE. Conférences de Notre Dame de Paris. Carême, 1897. Par le très Rev. Père Ollivier, des Frères Prêcheurs. Paris: Lethielleux, 10, Rue Cassette.

THE Lenten Conferences in the Cathedral of Notre Dame have brought before the world some of the most eloquent men the nineteenth century has produced. Lacordaire, de Ravignan, Felix, Monsabré, D'Hulst, spoke to the world when they were addressing their Parisian audience from the pulpit that was made illustrious by Bossuet and Bourdaloue. We could not think of placing Père Ollivier in the same rank with the more famous of those mentioned; but in the conferences before us he displays qualities and powers of a kind that are by no means common. One feels that he is listening to a man who has read much, thought and meditated a great deal, who knows the world and its ways in every variety of surroundings, but who has submitted all that he has read and seen to the severe scrutiny of his own judgment and common sense. In the preface

he tells us, amongst other things, that he aimed chiefly at simplicity and clearness, and that he avoided quotations as much as possible. He does not believe in frequent quotations even of the Holy Scripture. Better, he thinks, for a man to have read the Scriptures and pondered over them till he becomes filled with their spirit, but, to allow that spirit to utilize the preacher's organs and faculties and words in its action upon others. Cardinal Richard, he tells us, was persuaded that much of the hostility shown to the Church at the present day was due to misconception and to ignorance of the constitution, aims and action of the Church. He asked the preacher to endeavour to remove that prejudice and enlighten those who were walking in darkness. That is the object of the conferences.

They deal in succession with the nature of the Church, the object of the Church's teaching, revelation, the immutability and infallibility of the Church, the authority of the Church. The sermons of Holy Week are on the necessity of study in order to arrive at the truth in matters of religion, on the character of this study, the obstacles it has to surmount and the methods to be followed. Finally, there is an admirable sermon on the Passion of our Lord for Good Friday and an allocution on Easter Sunday.

In all this we can certify that there is nothing commonplace, nothing stereotyped, nothing stale. It is, on the contrary, fresh striking, and marked all through with the personality of the preacher. Some of the allusions to modern habits of thought, ways and customs of life, are contemptuous in the extreme, and border, perhaps a little too much, on cynicism or sarcasm to conciliate the audience. They are, nevertheless, honest and truthful, and Père Ollivier had great confidence in the truth, and felt assured that it would ultimately prevail.

J. F. H.



THE SEE OF ST. EUGENE AT ARDSTRAW, TOGETHER WITH A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY AND THE ANTIQUITIES OF ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD

I.—THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SEE AT ARDSTRAW BY ST. EUGENE, AND ITS REMOVAL AFTERWARDS TO DERRY

THE sixth and seventh centuries may well be designated the golden era of the Church in Ireland, for the Pentecostal fires seem to have fallen again at that period as they fell in the time of the Apostles, and to have filled with the missionary spirit the children of St. Patrick. Many an exodus has been made from our shores, but none so remarkable as that which went forth to evangelize Europe in the close of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh centuries. France and Germany, Switzerland and Italy, Scotland, and even distant Iceland were the principal fields of 'labour of these Irish missionaries; but while these apostolic men were establishing the Church abroad, their brethren were not unmindful of the Church at home. New monasteries were founded, new schools of learning were originated, and new sees were formed, over which for the most part were placed as bishops the abbots of the adjoining monasteries. The zeal for religion and learning went hand in hand, for Ireland was then both the sanctuary and the school of the West. The lamp of science had been well-nigh extinguished on the

Continent, and the Huns, and Goths, and Vandals, rushing like locust swarms from their fastnesses, had blighted religion, and reduced Europe to a desert. God, however, who always watches over His Church, was in the meantime preparing in the schools of Ireland those missionary bands who were to preach the Gospel and to win to the faith the very peoples who had crushed the Church. Columbanus in Italy, Germanus in France and Germany, Gall in Switzerland, Fiacre, Fridolin, Virgilius, and a host of others, filled with the apostolic spirit, preached Christ crucified, and subdued to the Gospel law the semi-savage descendants of the northern barbarians. Whilst other countries were torn by wars and invasions, Ireland enjoyed peace, and was thus enabled to cultivate learning and foster piety in so remarkable a manner. She was thus constituted from the first a missionary nation, a role which she has ever since maintained.

It was at this period that St. Eugene came northwards to establish his monastery and see at Ardstraw on the bank of the river Derg, in the present county of Tyrone. It is not our purpose to attempt entering into a detailed account of his life: first, because comparatively little is known for certain about him; and secondly, because all that is known has already been set forth clearly and accurately by Canon O'Hanlon in his admirable *Lives of the Irish Saints*. St. Eugene is said to have been a native of Leinster, whilst his mother was from Mugdarnia, in the present county Down: When receiving his early education along with Tighernach—the inseparable friend of his after years—and a number of others, he was carried away captive along with his companions into Britain by marauding pirates, and held there in bondage. Through the influence of Neunyo, a wise and holy man who presided over the monastery of Rosnat, or Whitethorn, in Scotland, the King of Britain was induced to liberate the youthful captives. Neunyo took them to his monastery, where they pursued their studies for a certain period. A second time Eugene and his companions were carried away captives out of Ireland, and taken into Brittany in Gaul. A miraculous occurrence is said to have taken place whilst they were in captivity there which induced

the king to set them free, and to send them back to Rosnat to pursue their studies. After a length of time they returned to Ireland and established several monasteries. Eugene established that of Kilnamanagh in Cualann—the modern district of Wicklow—and presided over it for fifteen years. One of his pupils in this place, and afterwards at Ardstraw, was his own cousin or nephew, St. Kevin, whom Moore and Gerald Griffin have immortalized in their verses. In obedience to the orders of his superiors, or, as some say, acting on a Divine admonition, he came northwards in company with his life-long friend and early schoolmate, St. Tighernagh, to found a monastery. Tighernagh selected Clones as the site of his foundation, whilst Eugene journeyed on to Ard-straha by the waters of the Derg, and built his monastery at a short distance from the junction of that river with the Strule. The commingling of these two streams forms the Mourne, which, in turn, meeting the Finn at Lifford constitutes the river Foyle. It is said that it was after, and not before, his coming to this place that he was consecrated bishop, and after his consecration he established his see in the place. As various dates are assigned for his birth, so different years are given for his coming to Tyrone and also for his death. However, most of the annalists assign his demise to the 23rd of August, A.D. 617, or 618.

Though Eugene is the patron of the diocese of Derry, and is usually ranked as its first bishop, still he was not bishop of Derry, but of Ardstraw, for Derry *as a diocese* did not come into existence till a long time subsequently. Who were his immediate successors in the see it is now impossible to say, for no exact records have handed down their names, but we find in the Martyrology of Donegal, under date November 26th, A.D. 706, the name of ‘Coibhdenach, Bishop of Ard-Sratha.’ It is also equally difficult to determine the boundaries of the ancient dioceses, for as a general rule the modern sees are made up of a union of many minor bishoprics. Thus we have Ardstraw, Clonleigh, Rathlury, Coleraine, Duncrun, Donagh, and it may be several others, all conjoined to form the present diocese of

Derry. As the bishops were for the most part abbots of the principal monasteries, their jurisdiction would be more or less extensive according to the number of houses which they governed, or sometimes it would be co-extensive with the authority of the chieftain in whose territory they lived.

The see is said to have been transferred some time after the death of St. Eugene from Ardstraw to Rathlury (the modern Maghera in county Derry), but it is not clear that ever such a transfer took place. The see of Ardstraw comprised the greater portion of county Derry, which was then part of the lands of Tyr-owen, and the Bishop of Ardstraw was also Superior of all the houses of the Columbian order within his see. Rathlury, or the Fort of St. Luroch, was one of these houses, and moreover a monastery of great importance, and the custodian bishop, no doubt, resided there for a time, but did not cease, in consequence, to be Bishop of Ardstraw any more than the Popes who resided at Avignon ceased to be bishops of Rome.

By a decree of a Synod held in 1158, at Brigh-mac-Thaig in Meath, in which Gelasius, the Primate, and Christian, Bishop of Lismore and legate apostolic, and twenty-five other bishops, assisted, the episcopal see of Derry was founded, and Flathbert O'Brolchain, Abbot of Derry, was preferred to the see, and its cathedral erected by him, with the assistance of Maurice MacLaughlin (O'Neill), King of Ireland, A.D. 1164.¹

This O'Brolchain, or Bradley, as the name is now Anglicized, was a man of considerable note in his day, and is highly eulogized by the Four Masters for his wisdom and great virtues. The person named as his successor by the annalists is styled Bishop of Derry and Raphoe, but it is by no means likely that he ever held either see, and most improbable that he held both united. The five succeeding bishops are all styled bishops of Tyr-owen or Ardstraw, and it would appear that the ancient see of St. Eugene was not properly amalgamated with that of Derry till 1295, when Henry of Ardagh, a Cistercian monk, was elected by the Dean and Chapter of Derry. His family name was Geraghty, and he was a member of a distinguished

¹ *Eccles. History of Ireland*, by Rev. Thomas Walsh.

Connaught family. From his death, in 1297, there is no difficulty in finding the links of the episcopal chain which was afterwards rudely snapped asunder by the cruel murder of the saintly Redmond O'Gallagher in 1601.

It would seem that the Bishop of Clogher at one time exercised jurisdiction over Ardstraw, for, according to Usher, in his *Primordiis*, chap. xvii., German O'Chearbalan, Bishop of Derry, wrested this church (of Ardstraw) with many others of Opheatrach from the see of Clogher, and added them to the see of Derry. It would seem, moreover, that the Primate, Reynald, at this same time took to poaching in the Clogher preserves, and annexed to Armagh the Church of Ludunensis (Louth), with the three deaneries of Drogheda, Athirdee, and Dundalk, for which David O'Brogan, Bishop of Clogher, entered a suit against the Primate, and carried the case before Innocent IV. in the year 1252. That the Primate and the Bishop of Derry were only asserting their just rights in claiming these districts, is pretty clear from the fact that we do not find the Pope binding them to restitution. Moreover, in the Synod of Rathbreasail, held in 1110, the boundaries of the then different dioceses had been defined, and we find that of Ardstraw extending from Carnglas, now the Tops, a hill between Raphoe and Donaghmore, in the county of Donegal, to Lough Cruí, a lake in the south of the county of Tyrone, on the one side, and to Benevenagh in Magilligan on the eastern shore of the Foyle. This diocese was nearly co-extensive with the Cineal Eoghain.¹ It is noteworthy that the Bishop of Clogher, probably realising his want of just claim to Ardstraw, did not institute a suit against the Bishop of Derry, but merely against the Primate.

The monastery of Ard-straha—the height of the srath or bank by the river—maintained its pre-eminence for many centuries. 'As a consequence of its ecclesiastical importance,' says Dr. Reeves, 'the termon hand of the church was very extensive, containing sixteen ballyboes, whereas the average of other churches was only four.' We can judge

¹ See *Cambrensis Eversus*, vol. ii., Addenda C, note.

of the resources of the monastery from the entertainment given to Primate Colton and his immense retinue on the occasion of his visitation of the diocese in 1397. It is recorded by Archdall, in his *Monasticon*, that this monastery on four different occasions—viz., in 1069, 1099, 1101, and 1109 was completely burned down; and in 1198 the church was plundered and destroyed by Sir John de Courcey.

It is unnecessary to add that the monastery of St. Eugene and its extensive lands shared the fate of all our other religious houses at the time of the Reformation. A graveyard alone now marks its site, for the ruins of the great building itself were taken down some years ago by the farmer who owned the ground, and were employed for ordinary building purposes. A gross act of profanation was performed at one time by running a county road through the graveyard, leaving the coffins exposed and unprotected for many a day. It is now properly enclosed by a wall. St. Eugene, we are told, was buried in his church, but no trace of the grave remains, nor does any tradition exist to point out the hallowed spot.

II.—SYNOPSIS OF THE HISTORY OF ARDSTRAW PARISH

The parish of Ardstraw as being connected with so important a monastery is, as might naturally be expected, of large extent; so much so that about a century ago it was deemed advisable to divide it into two separate parishes called respectively East and West Ardstraw. The only town of any importance in the two parishes is Newtownstewart, which is a station on the Great Northern Railway, and is about midway between Strabane and Omagh, and twenty miles distant from the city of Derry. It is beautifully situated at the foot of Bessy Bell Mountain on the western bank of the River Strule. The river at this place takes a most peculiar course, forming a gigantic horse-shoe, and in its curve almost encircling 'The Holm,' known of old as 'Crosh-Ballagh-Righ,' or 'The King's Highway of Crosh.' It was so called from the fact that King James, on his way to the siege of Derry, forded the river at Moyle, and passed

over this angle of the townland of Crosh in order to enter the town. To the south of the town at Moyle the Glenelly water, which comes from the mountains of Munterloney mingles with the Strule, and forms, especially after heavy rains, a majestic and powerful river. About a mile and a half to the north-east of the town the Derg empties itself into the Strule, and their confluence, as already stated, forms the Mourne. The name *Strule* is an Irish word, and simply means a river. Most of all the places in the parish have retained their old Irish appellations; but to this rule Newtownstewart is an exception. According to Lewis, its ancient name was Lislás, but this is evidently a mistake, for Lis-glas which 'means Green Forth. This will appear the more probable from a number of forths or raths being scattered through the immediate neighbourhood, and from some of them still retaining their distinctive appellations of White Forth, Grey Forth, &c. That Lis-glas must have been a very ancient and considerably important place appears from the many castles or strongholds that were built around it, and from its being the only place—even in comparatively modern times—where there was a bridge over the river to serve as a communication between the districts of Tyrone and the city of Derry.

Newtownstewart is not a large nor yet a flourishing town. It contains about one thousand three hundred or one thousand four hundred inhabitants; is composed of three principal streets and a few back lanes; has a weekly market and a monthly fair; and is not celebrated for anything in particular at present except its pretty situation, its pure air, and its abundant supply of exquisite water. In 1871, it acquired an unenviable notoriety from one of the most daring and extraordinary murders, accompanied with robbery, that have appeared in the annals of modern crime. The very peculiarity of the circumstances and the position occupied by the murderer justify us in giving a brief outline of the details.

In the centre of the town stands the Northern Bank. It occupies an angle formed by the meeting of Moyle-street with Main-street, and is a place where idlers and loungers

congregate at all times. On the 29th of June, the Manager of this Bank was absent in a neighbouring town on business, and the police of the station were in the same town on duty as it was fair day. The Sub-Inspector of the force and his Orderly alone remained at home. This police officer, Thomas Hartly Montgomery, had formerly been a bank clerk in the same bank with the then manager at Newtownstewart, and on the strength of this old acquaintance, endeavoured to gain an entree to the Bank. He ingratiated himself with the cashier, William Glass, who was preparing to stand for a sub-inspectorship of police, and on the plea of giving him instructions, was often in his company. On this occasion he entered the Bank, and remained in a kind of inner compartment where he was screened from public view, apparently waiting till Glass would be ready to go out with him. As soon as the outer door was closed at three o'clock, and Glass was going to the safe to lock up the cash, Montgomery, it is believed, drew his attention to a map of Ireland hanging on the wall, to point out a place in the south where a sub-inspector would soon be required. As Glass stooped to look at it, Montgomery dealt him a deadly blow on the head with a meat chopper such as is used by cooks for despatching fowls. On the trial afterwards it was proved that he had bought this instrument so long before as the month of March, in the town of Newtownards; and so closely did the Government pursue the investigation, that the shopman who had sold it was brought from America, whither he had in the meantime emigrated, to prove the sale and identify the weapon. As Glass made a rush to get out of the compartment, Montgomery aimed a number of blows at him, some of which missed his victim, but struck the wall and the inner door, leaving dents of alarming depth. Glass evidently succeeded in pulling open the door communicating with the outer portion of the Bank, and as he did so fell prone beside the counter, when Montgomery seizing one of the bank files, drove it into Glass's ear and pierced the brain, thereby paralyzing him and preventing him from screaming or calling for aid. Having slain his victim, the Sub-Inspector set about robbing the Bank,

which was his object from the first, and having secreted some thousands of pounds about his person, walked coolly out of the edifice and went towards 'Grange Wood,' a small copse of hazel, at a short distance from the town. Here he concealed at different places his booty and the weapon. Suspicion, however, attached to him from the first. On the strength of this suspicion he was apprehended in a few days, and after a very lengthened investigation, during which some of the stolen money was found in Grange Wood where he had been seen, he was committed for trial. He was tried three several times, and it was only on the third trial that he was convicted, and even then he was convicted merely on circumstantial evidence. Had he not after his conviction admitted his guilt, many to the present day would believe he was hanged in the wrong, for it seemed such an improbable thing that the representative of the Crown and the guardian of the lives and property of the people should be guilty of so atrocious and daring a murder. He was executed in Omagh Jail, and went to death as hardened as he had lived.

In the immediate vicinity of the town were three of the great O'Neill Castles, but of these the ruins only of one remain. The tottering walls that crown the adjacent hill are all that time has spared of the once impregnable fortress of Harry Awrey O'Neill. Around this old ruin some strange traditions still linger, and though we may question their veracity, still it cannot but be interesting to learn something of a man who has been handed down to posterity as Henry the Contentious.

Henry Awrey O'Neill was one of the Ulster princes, and lived in the fourteenth century. He was the son of Niall More, and was married to his own kinswoman, Affric ny Neill, daughter of Ædh or Hugh O'Neill. At the year 1389, the Four Masters briefly tell us that 'Affric, the daughter of Hugh O'Neill, and wife of Henry Aimreidh O'Neill, died;' and three years later we find them record the death of the illustrious chieftain himself:—

Henry Aimreidh, the son of Niall More O'Neill, Roydamna of Kinel-Owen, and a good materies for a monarch of Ireland

for his justice, nobility, and hospitality, died on the festival day of St. Brendan, after the victory of Extreme Unction and Penance.

Among the other footnotes on this, O'Donovan gives the following, taken from MacGeoghegan's translation of the *Annals of Clonmacnoise*.—

A.D. 1392, Henry Awrey, in English the Contentious, son of Neale More, Tanist and the next successor of the principality of Ulster, after his brother, Neale Oge O'Neale's death, if he had lived, and one worthy the government of a Monarchie, the bountifullest and greatest giver of gifts of the race of Neal of the Nine Hostages, and one of a rare and wonderful freeness of heart in granting all manner of things that came to his hands at all times, died a good death upon St. Brandon's day in summer.

His extreme mildness, piety, and love of peace earned for him, strange to say, the subriquet of 'Contentious,' which the *Annals of Connaught* tells us was applied to him, 'per antiphrasin,' or as indicating the opposite of what it expressed. An instance of his generosity to the monks of Corrick (a monastery about three miles distant in the parish of Upper Badoney), traditionally handed down, testifies to the truth of the character given him in the *Clonmacnoise Annals*. The community of Corrick were reduced to great straits, and applied to Henry to furnish them with some cows to supply them with milk. He yielded what they asked, but knowing that they were without pasture land, he bestowed at the same time the lands of Corrick to the monastery free of tithe for ever. How highly he must have been esteemed in his own day and subsequently is evident from his sons forming a party after his death, which was known as 'Clann Henry,' and from 'the descendants of Henry Aimreidh,' being specially mentioned by the Annalists at A.D. 1470 and again at 1482. So much for the real history of Henry the Contentious, and now for a little of the legendary lore about him.

There is more truth in the old adage about giving a dog a bad name than one would imagine. And as it fares with dogs, so fares it with their masters. Some playful wag dubbed poor Henry O'Neill the *Contentious*, and posterity took advantage of the misnomer. His castle was in ruins—

evidently, said the wiseacres, a mark of Divine vengeance ; a portion of it was permitted to stand—providentially, no doubt, to point a moral to future generations ; and his very name, whispered with bated breath, was the synonyme of Irish barbarity and cruelty. And on these grounds a tale was told of Harry Awrey's castle, which had been told a hundred times before of nearly every castle in Ireland, though in slightly varied forms, and the gentle and humane Henry O'Neill was thus represented to posterity as the veriest monster of his age.

In Shaw Mason's Parochial Survey, Doctor Fitzgerald, the then Protestant rector of Ardstraw, gives some of these old traditions, and we cannot do better than quote his words :—

He [Henry Awrey] had a sister who is represented as having an elegant form, but the head of a swine ; and thence called the female monster. Henry, anxious to get rid of an object that mortified his feelings and his pride, adopted the plan of offering her in marriage to any person that should seem inclined to propose for her, but on condition that after having seen her, he should either marry or hang. Accordingly, nineteen persons, among whom was a captive prince, who had agreed to the condition, were all executed on the platform before his castle ; and tradition says, the twentieth and last person that proposed for her was the son of his own cow-herd, who was tempted by the magnitude of her dowry, but who, on seeing her, immediately exclaimed, 'Cur sous me, cur sous me ;' that is, 'hang me, hang me !' The young man, however, was spared, and the unfortunate princess put to death. The spot opposite the castle where the others were executed is still pointed out as 'Gallows' Hill.'

The ferocity of the tribe, however, was not all concentrated in Henry alone, for his brothers seem to have been equally barbarous. They were named respectively Art and Abrim. Each of these built a castle, but so terrible was their hate one for another, that they deemed it necessary to have their different habitations separated by a river. Art selected a spot at the confluence of the Glenelly and Strule rivers, about half a mile beyond Newtownstewart, and built his mansion there. It was called Caslin Moiuil, or the 'Bald Man's Castle,' from the fact that nature had denied to Art the ornament of hair. The townland is still called

Moyle, and the old Glebe House stood within a few yards of the site of Caslin Moiul.

Abrim O'Neill built his abode about midway between those of his brothers', and almost in a straight line with them. It was erected in what is now called 'The Holm' to the left of the old bridge as one passes from the railway station into the town. A large mound of clay, known as the 'The Pigeon Hill,' marks the site of it, and it was only in 1722 that the grand old ruin was razed by the Vandal Stewart, and its materials employed in the re-building of the town.

The builders of these castles were not the brothers, but are believed to have been the sons of Henry Awrey, and the object of their building on opposite sides of the rivers was not that they hated or feared each other, but simply to secure themselves from enemies no matter in what direction they might come. Another old castle, built about the same date, stands in Baronscourt demesne at a spot called Isley-mac-Hugh, and probably belonged also to the O'Neills. Opposite Henry Awrey's castle, on the eastern bank of the river, stood the Franciscan Friary of Pubble, marked only now by the remnant of its once extensive graveyard.

Newtownstewart continued an important stronghold of the O'Neills till the latter days of Elizabeth, and its possession was looked on as a matter of the highest consequence by Docwra, whose name is so intimately associated with Derry, and with the murder of its aged Bishop, Redmond O'Gallagher. In his *Narration*, under date 1601, O. S. Docwra thus writes in the peculiar, quaint English characteristic of the period :—

Then on the 24th of May I drew two Iron peeces to Newtounne, a Castle in Tyrone, 5 myles distant from the Liffer in the way to Dungannon; this I beate vpon all one day, & the next morning had it delivered vp. It is a Pile of stone strong & well built, with an Iron Gate & Chaine att the doore, it hath before it a large Bawne compast with a good high Stone Wall, & in the midst of it a fairie Irish thacht house, able to hould 50 or 60 men in it. Heere I left Captaine Roger Atkinson with his companie of 100 men, & because one of the chiefest vses wee intended these Garrisons for was to make suddaine Inroades

vpon the Countrey, to Spoyle & pray them of their Catle, & that impossible to be done without intelligence & Guidance of some of the Natiues, I left to assist him in that Kinde one Tirlogh Magnylson, a man that came in with St. Arthur O'Neale, that had often guided our men before in like services, and had gayned himselfe a great deale of loue & reputation amongst vs, & had now the command of 100 Irish by my lord Deputies allowance; I gave speciall charge, he should be lodged cleane without the Bawne, & notwithstanding all his Credite a warry & circumspect Eye should be carried vpon him.¹

That it was not without reason that Docwra ordered 'a warry and circumspect eye should be carried upon' this Turlogh Magnylson is quite evident from the following entry in his *Narration* :—

Togeather with the Newes of this accident, came another that Newtowne was betrayed by Tirlogh Magnylson. This man having the Night before guyled our Men to the fetching of a Prey, came the next day & dynded with the Captane, inticed him to walke forth upon the greene before the howse, lead him purposlie as farre as he could, & on the suddaine, with the helpe of 3 or 4 of his men that followed him, Ceized him theire Prisoner, att the same instant two others had gott in upon the Centynell at the Castle-doore, & the rest at the Bawne-gate suddenlie brake in, fell upon the Souldiers, lying in the Irish thatched house, & put them every man to the Sword.¹

Docwra, however, was not a man to be turned aside from his purpose when a bit of revenge was to be taken, nor was he over scrupulous about slaying any number of persons when it served his purpose to get them out of the way. An opportunity soon offered for punishing Magnylson, and we shall let himself tell how he accomplished his work :—

And now had I a good while before entertayned a partie that undertook to deliver mee Tirlogh Magnylson (that betrayed the Castle of Newtowne) togeather with as many of his men as were Guiltie of that bloodie treason, either deade or alive. They protracted time, as I thought, yet it was not full 4 months, after they had undertooke it, before they had kild many of his People as they trauelled singly up and downe in the Countrey, & noe man knewe who did it, some of them alsoe came into my hands alive, whom I caused the Souldiers to hew in peeces with their swordes; & nowe at last hee himselfe alsoe was lighted upon; His custome

¹ Page 253.

² Page 256.

was always (for fear of betraying) to goe forth alone in the Eueninge, & in some old house or other in the wood, kindle a fire, & make as though he meant to lye there, after a while remove & doe as much in another, & soe from house to house 3 or 4 times, or more perhapps as his minde gaue him. A Boy was sent to watch him, who often brought these Men word where hee was, but still when they came they missed, & found hee was gone to some other place, yet in the end hee dogged him soe close, that after diuers remoues, hee lookt in & sawe him pull off his trowsees, & lye downe to sleepe, then came, & tould them of it, and fower of them togeather armed with Swords, Targetts, and Murrians, fell in vpon him, hee gat up his Sword for all that, & gave such a Gash in one of their Targetts as would seame incredible to be done with the arme of a Man, but they dispaht him & brought mee his head the next day, which was presentlie known to every Boy in the Armeie, and made a ludibrious Spectacle to such as listed to behould it. I gaue them a good some of money in hand for their Reward, & promised, the warrs ended, they should enjoy such landes as theire Septe had been accustomed to dwell vpon, & assurance of fauour & protection from the state.

Tirlogh, alsoe, the sonne of Sir Arthur O'Neill, procured mee the Castle againe, onelie desiring whensoever the Garrison, I would put in it, should be withdrawne, it might not be deliuered into any Man's handes but his, as being a parcell of his owne peculier & Patrimonall landes, which I faithfullie promised him it should not.¹

To your right as you enter the town from the railway station stand the ruins of what is designated simply 'the castle.' It is not the O'Neill castle, spoken of above, though apparently built on its site, or immediately adjoining it. This castle was originally built by Sir Robert Newcomen in A.D. 1619, but was burned along with the town by Sir Phelim Roe O'Neill in 1641, when he drove back the King's garrison not only from this, but from every part of the surrounding country. The castle and town were rebuilt afterwards by Sir William Stewart, then Lord Mountjoy, and from him it derives its present name of Newtown-Stewart. It was destined, however, for another conflagration soon afterwards. James II. had slept in this castle on his way to Derry, and on his return from the siege of that city in 1689, sent orders to have it in readiness for his reception again. His orders were obeyed, but

¹ Pages 238, 239.

the host seeing that James's fortunes were beginning to wane, deemed it better to worship the rising sun, and accordingly retired into the country till the king should take his departure. Stung by his defection, James is said to have ordered the castle to be dismantled, and the town to be burned on his departure next morning. It remained in ruins till 1722, when it was once more re-edified by one of the Stewart family, and soon became a flourishing linen mart. With the failure of the linen trade came the gradual decay of the town, and for years past it has remained at a stand-still; which means, in other words, that it is not progressing. The late Dean O'Keane of Maynooth College, author of *Notes on the Rubrics of the Roman Ritual*, was a native of this town.

The scenery in the neighbourhood, though purely inland, is, perhaps, as lovely as any to be found in the North of Ireland. Every eminence around presents the beauties of the locality in a new point of view, but from the summit of Bessie Bell, which overhangs the town, you have grouped together before you in one picture all that you saw in parts before, and a thousand times more besides. It is more like a view in Southern France, or the grand panorama of the plains of Lombardy as one descends the mountains into Italy, than like a scene in the county of Tyrone. In a far extending circle around the base of the mountain spreads a richly cultivated and smiling plain, speckled with snow-white farm-steads and statelier mansions, studded with fir groves and ducal forests, intersected by a variety of shining rivers that wind in dreamy curves through the fragrant meadows, and the entire presenting that look of comfort which Goldsmith essayed to picture in his *Deserted Village*. Towards the North rise the mountains of Donegal, clearly defined and beautified by the azure mantle that distance flings round them; whilst glimpses of Lough Erne with the hills of Fermanagh and Leitrim fill up the picture towards the west. Afar in the distance is the border-land of Lough Neagh; whilst southwards, mountain after mountain meets the eye, till the clouds at length draw down their curtains and limit the power of further vision. Eastwards, and just

at hand, rise the bleak, stern mountains of Munterloney, frowning for ever on the fertile valleys in their midst, and sending down those darkling rills that feed the thirsty channels of Owen-na-Reagh and Glenelly. And there, as if at your very feet, in that deep valley on the north-western side of the mountain, is Baronscourt, the residence of the Duke of Abercorn. Its glassy lakes are half hidden from view by the nodding forests which stretch for miles and miles away; and lonely grandeur, and stately desolation brood over a scene instinct with life and busy labour a few short years ago. Truly the whole picture is one of unrivalled beauty, and those who travel to Switzerland and the Rhine to feast their eyes on nature's loveliness, little know the grandeur and enchantment they leave behind them in the Emerald Isle.

And Bessy Bell deserves some little notice in passing. Its name is peculiar, especially when coupled with Mary Gray, the mountain opposite. The former name of Bell, say the old traditions, was 'Basse Beal or Baal,' which meant the altar of Beal, or the sacred rights performed in honour of Beal, who is considered to have been Apollo or the Sun. This derivation has a certain amount of plausibility about it, and is strengthened by the fact of a townland at the foot of the mountain, being called Beltany, *i. e.*, Bealtaine, which was the sacred fire lighted by the Druids on the 1st of May, in honour of their pagan god.¹ When the Scotch settlers came here at first, they were naturally struck with the similarity of sound between Basse Beal and their native mountain, Bessie Bell, and at once the Caledonian name supplanted the Irish one. To make the metamorphosis more perfect, they designated the opposite hill Mary Gray, and at present no one can tell its ancient appellation. The learned antiquary, Dr. Reeves, is not inclined to adopt this theory about the name of Bessie Bell. He says the ancient name of the mountain was Slieve Truim, or Slew Trim, which means the mountain of the elders or boor-trees, and that it is marked as such on

¹ See Joyce's *Irish Names of Places*.

Norden's and Speed's maps. However, let its ancient name be what it may, no one visiting Newtownstewart should leave without ascending this mountain, if he wish to enjoy a really sublime prospect. Not the least remarkable thing about it is the *Cairn* with which it is crowned. The stones of which it is composed are not native to the soil, but were brought apparently from Mary Gray. We know nothing certain of its history, and can form but conjectures of its origin and use. It may in Pagan times have been a temple of the Sun; or, perhaps, beneath this pile repose the ashes of some Firbolg chieftain, or some skilful hero of the Tuatha de Danaans. Here, perhaps, has the Druid priest ministered, and slain his victim to appease the adverse god of war; or here, it may be that some mighty warrior, sung by Ossian, selected this burial-place, that in the 'stilly night' he might visit it again, and, riding on the moonbeam or floating on the mist, might mingle once more with the heroes, and inspire them to deeds of valour. Along the heathy slopes of this mountain 'The white-breasted Bran' may have followed the dark brown deer, and delighted the eyes of the mighty Fingal; or here the sorrowing chief may have poured forth his woes at the grave of his offspring:—

No more shalt thou rise, O my son, to partake of the feast of Cromla. Soon will thy tomb be hid, and the grass grow rank on thy grave. The sons of the feeble shall pass over it, and shall not know that the mighty lie there.

Valiant though they may have been, that sleep beneath the cairn, they are now forgotten, and 'often on their green earthen tombs the branchy sons of the mountain feed, when mid-day is all in flames, and silence over all the hills.'

Many a change has swept over the valleys below since this historic pile was raised upon the mountain top; the mists of many a winter have shed their dewy tears around it, and the summer breeze for ages has fanned its hoary brow; but the long night of oblivion has entombed its founders, and, whilst the monument itself remains, what it was intended to commemorate has been rolled by the tide of time into the vast ocean of the forgotten past.

III.—THE ANTIQUITIES OF ARDSTRAW

Another important feature remains to be sketched, and to delineate it we have but the light of fast-fading tradition and vague conjectures, founded on the scanty basis that history affords. Still it may be worth a little trouble to linger for a while about the once hallowed spots, and conjure up as best we can the rites and ceremonies that erst made them sacred.

Among the various monuments of the past which have attracted the attention of the curious, and excited the deep thought of the antiquarians of this country for centuries, the kistvaens, cromleachs, and pillar-stones, hold a prominent place. And naturally enough ; for they date back to a period beyond the birth of archæology, and were old ere yet our annals had begun to be written. Probably they stood before Cheops founded the Egyptian pyramids, or Semiramis had built the city of Babylon. The exact, or even the probable, period of their erection cannot now be pointed out ; but, being generally believed to be of eastern origin, we may safely enough assume them to be cœval with the settlement of the Phœnicians in this country. Even the precise object of their erection has been matter of dispute among the learned for ages ; still, from the opinions of the ablest antiquarians we can glean something tangible and reliable regarding them.

Throughout the parish of Ardstraw a number of these ancient monuments exist, one—a cromleach—in Ballyrenan, besides Baronscourt ; another—a kistvaen—in perfect preservation, stands in Glenock ; and a third of the same class as the latter is placed in Crosh, opposite to, and a short distance from that in Glenock. The blasting of stones near the latter caused the cap-stone to fall off a few years ago, but it lies beside it. Another is in Liskey Wood, convenient to Victoria Bridge railway station.

In the townland of Killen, about a mile beyond Ardstraw Bridge on the way to Castlederg, is one of the ancient pillar-stones ; and there stands another, which seems to be similar, in Shanony East, immediately adjoining the district

known as Gallan. The name Gallan, we may remark, means, according to Dr. Joyce, a pillar-stone.

The pillar-stone in Killen does not now stand in the spot which it originally occupied. At a period somewhere between eighty and a hundred years ago, it stood beside an old rath about forty yards from its present location. This rath was levelled; but the proprietors, from what feeling it would now be hard to determine, removed the ancient monument to its present site, and gave it precisely the same upright status it before enjoyed. It is about seven feet above ground, and must be a considerable number of feet under ground. A perforation had been made downwards for some depth in the centre of the stone, but this appears to be a work of comparatively modern execution. Nothing further can be learned regarding it in the locality, except that from immemorial ages it has stood in Killen, but by whom erected, or wherefore, they know not.

And now as to the origin of these monuments, and the meaning of their names.

Godfrey Higgins published a work in London, in 1829, on the *Celtic Druids*, &c., and speaking of pillar-stones, cromleachs, and cairns, he observes that—

The first mention in the Scriptures of the setting up of a monumental stone is in Genesis xxviii. 18: 'And Jacob rose up early in the morning, and took that stone that he had put for his pillow, and set it up for a pillar, and poured oil on the top of it.'

The cromleacs, or cromlechs of Great Britain [he says] are of four kinds: the single lithos, or upright stone; the same with a cross piece on the top; another, consisting of two upright stones fixed in the ground, with a third, in a horizontal or sloping position, laid on the upright-stones; and lastly, the kistvaens of four stones, three upright and one super-imposed.

Toland, in his *Critical History of the Druids*, gives the meaning of the names by which these monuments were called:—

They are [says he] by the Welsh, in the singular number called kist-vaen, that is a stone chest, and in the plural kistiev-vaen, stone chests. These names, with a small variation, are good Irish; but the things are quite different from those real stone chests or coffins, commonly of one block and the lid, that are in many

places found underground. The vulgar Irish call these altars Dermot and Grania's bed . . . There is another kind of altar, much bigger than any of these, consisting of a great number of stones, some of them serving to support the others, by reason of their enormous bulk. These the Britons term 'cromlech' in the singular, 'cromlechu' in the plural number; and the Irish 'cromleach' or 'cromleac,' in the plural 'cromleacha,' or 'cromlecca.' By these altars, as in the centre of the circular temples, there commonly stands, or by accident lies, a prodigious stone, which was to serve as a pedestal to some deity; for all these cromleachs were places of worship, and so called from *bowing*, the word signifying the *bowing-stone*.

Higgins, whom we have quoted above, regards them not as altars, but as sepulchral monuments; and Dr. Madden, in his interesting and curious work on *The Shrines and Sepulchres of the Old and New World*, after giving the opinion of Higgins, goes on to say:—

These stones were, no doubt, often sepulchral monuments. They were also set up as trophies of victories, as commemorative of covenants, emblems of power, and idols for worship, or objects of veneration in sacred places . . . Cromlechs, then, are not always sepulchral monuments, though human bodies have been found beneath them . . . The most ancient of the cromlechs are supposed, by Higgins, to be those that bear the Welsh name of *kistvaens*. These rude, gigantic, uninscribed monuments, which bear no marks of the chisel or the hammer, of having been either *taxata* or *perdolata ferro*, he [Higgins] says, 'I think are not only Druidical sepulchral monuments, but very early ones. But sepulchral, I think, they certainly are.'¹

Dr. Petrie differs from this opinion of Higgins, and agrees with that of Toland. In describing the Cromleach of Knockeen, county Waterford, in the *Dublin Penny Magazine* of 1833, he first derives the word cromleach from *Crom*, God, and *leac*, a flat stone. He then goes on to describe that at Knockeen as being—

Constructed of eight huge rocks, six of which stood upright, and the remaining two were laid flat upon some of the erect ones . . . It is to be remarked that this structure lay due east and west, in conformity with the ancient custom, which assigned amongst the cardinal points a religious pre-eminence to the east. There cannot be a doubt but the huge stones now being written

¹ *Shrines and Sepulchres*, vol. i., chap. xx., *passim*.

of served formerly as an altar for sacrifice. The kind of altars which, Wormins informs us, were used by the northern nations and Cimbri, is similar to that just described.

The description by Petrie of the cromleach at Knockeen might be adopted in almost every particular as a description of that in Ballyrenan, beside Baronscourt.

O'Roddy, a learned antiquarian who was a contemporary of Toland, seems to look on it as certain that the cromleachs were Druidical altars. 'For the stones,' says he, 'supported by pillars, they were the heathen priests' altars, though vulgarly called Dermot and Granny's beds, &c.'

O'Curry holds a view diametrically opposite. Speaking of these monuments, he says : 'They were never intended and were never used as altars or places of sacrifice of any kind ; that they were not in any sense of the word " Druidical " ; and that they were, in every instance, simple sepulchres or tombs, each marking the grave of one or of several personages.'¹

These conflicting views as to the use of the cromleachs seem pretty well reconciled in the opinion put forward by the Rev. Horatio Townsend in his *Survey of the County Cork* :—

Of the cromleach, or Druid's altar [says he], religion has always claimed the exclusive appropriation, but circles and upright stones were monumental as well as sacred, sometimes constituting a temple, and sometimes gracing the hero's tomb. This, though it may at first sight appear to involve some confusion, is perfectly reconcilable with truth and reason. The shrine of departed excellence, considered in all ages as sacred, afforded a fit place for the offering of vows and the invocation of the Deity. Tombs were, therefore, sometimes the origin of temples, and sometimes, in consequence of the connection, temples became an appropriate situation for tombs. The relation of each to the other originated in the earliest ages, subsists in the present, and will probably continue to the latest.¹

Thus, then, the cromleachs or kistvaens may have answered the double purpose of marking the graves of departed chieftains, and serving at the same time as altars whereon the Druids sacrificed their victims—perhaps to appease the *manes* of him who slept beneath the stone.

¹ MSS. *Materials*, Appendix, No. xcv.

All, or nearly all, our antiquarians agree in saying that the single upright lithos, or pillar stone, was monumental, erected either to commemorate some great victory, or, more commonly, to mark the grave of some distinguished personage; and they are equally agreed as to the eastern origin of these strange and mysterious memorials of the past. They differ, however, as we have seen, as to the object of the cromleachs and kistvaens, but all whose opinion on the subject is worth having—with the exception of O'Curry—believe them to have been Druidical altars, on which were immolated the victims required by their religion. To them we may apply what has been said so elegantly of the Roman obelisks :—

Their formation is lost in the earliness of time, and they will probably last till time be no more; till the earth and 'all that it inherits' have passed away. In them art seems for once to have vied in durability with the works of nature. Formed of the most imperishable materials, they are fashioned by the being of a day, but they have remained while countless generations have gone down to the dust. They have survived all that mankind deem most stable—laws, languages, institutions, nations, dynasties, governments, and gods. They are the work of a people now no more—the monuments of a religion passed away, and covered with the characters of a language that is forgotten. The unknown antiquity, and the mysterious obscurity that involve their origin—the long flight of ages past which they have seen, and the dark and distant futurity to come, which they seem destined to witness—open on our mind when we contemplate them, and make us sensible of our own littleness, make us remember that, in the passage of a moment, we who now feel, think, admire, and meditate, shall be no more; while they will stand the wonder and admiration of the world.¹

The whole story, both that of the altars and their builders, might be summed up in that one stanza of D. F. M'Carthy's *Pillar Towers* :—

The names of their founders have vanished in the gloom,
Like the dry branch in the fire or the body in the tomb;
But to-day, in the ray, their shadows still they cast—
These temples of forgotten gods—these relics of the past!

¹ *Rome in the Nineteenth Century*, vol. ii., p. 165.

IV.—CUSTOMS AND DOCTRINES OF THE DRUIDS

From examining the altars of this strange and long-departed race of pagan priests, we naturally turn to inquire something of their customs and religious ceremonies. The details of these are very imperfect from the fact that the Druids left behind them no written memorials; still, some interesting facts regarding them have been rescued from the ruins of antiquity. These have been so well epitomized by Dr. Woods, in his erudite work on *The Ancient Irish*, that it will be sufficient to transcribe from his pages what we require, without referring to Cæsar, Tacitus, and the other early authors who treat of the subject :—

With respect to the customs and maxims of the Druids, as a body, the following account [says he] comprises all that is now known. Their dress reached to the heel, and when they officiated they wore over the shoulder a white surplice. Their hair was worn short; the beard long. An oval amulet, encased in gold, hung from the neck. The King's sagum was distinguished by seven colours; the Druids by six, two more than those of the nobility. They bore in the hand a white wand. The magistrates were chosen annually by them, and the kings could not, without their consent, declare war or peace, not even summon a council. They believed in the immortality of the soul, and having embraced the doctrine of Metempsychosis, they abstained from flesh, milk, and eggs. They adored the Divine Being as supreme, and worshipped Him under the name of Esus, in oak groves. Both they and the laity wore chaplets of that tree in their religious ceremonies, and strewed the altars with its leaves. The mistletoe was sought for on the sixth day of the moon, and when found it was hailed with raptures of joy. Two white bulls, fastened by the horns to the tree which afforded the mistletoe, were then sacrificed, and the Deity invoked to bless His own gift as a sovereign remedy in diseases. Those consecrated groves were fenced round with stones, which were guarded by inferior Druids. The area in the centre was enclosed with several rows of large oaks set close. Within this large circle were several smaller ones, surrounded with immense stones; and near the centre of these smaller circles were stones of a prodigious size, on which the victims were slain and offered. While the religion of the Druids remained uncontaminated by foreign customs, they offered only oblations of fine flour, sprinkled with salt; but they afterwards learned the barbarous custom of immolating human beings to Mercury. These, who were chiefly prisoners of war, were either pierced upon the altars with darts, crucified, or burned

very locality existed one of their colleges. That the place was of early importance is evident from the number of its Druidic remains, not less than from the fact of the first bishop of the diocese having fixed his see and established his monastery here. We are told that the early bishops selected, as a general rule, those places already esteemed sacred, and consecrated them to the service of the Church, substituting truth for error, and thus gently turning the people from paganism or idolatry to the faith of Christ. They thus, to use St. Augustine's expression, despoiled the Egyptians of their riches and gave them to the Israelites; and on the sites of the Druidical colleges they established seats of learning of a different kind, as St. Columb did in the Island of Derry. If such be the case, we can easily conceive that St. Eugene followed the general custom, and founded his monastery on the very spot where the mystic rites and extensive knowledge of the Druids had for ages been communicated to their pupils during their long novitiate of twenty years.

How sacred and how historic, then, is this soil on which we tread! Far up the stream of time—almost at its very source—we see the Druids flourish in this locality, teaching and ruling a semi-barbarous people, and leaving at their departure uninscribed, but imperishable memorials of their mysterious reign. Following in their wake we behold the apostle of a new dispensation gently turning the multitudes from the altars of Baal, and teaching them the mild doctrines of forgiveness of injuries and of fraternal love. Then, in the lapse of years, warlike hosts pass quickly before us—now native chieftains insanely slaughtering each other—now merciless Danes devastating the land, now fiery Britons treacherously slaying chieftains and confiscating their territories; till of all the glory of the past scarce a vestige remains but the first and humblest, yet most enduring monuments of the long-forgotten Druids!

And how wonderful were these strange and mysterious men, and how powerful the sway they must have exercised over the rude people of that remote period! They were the living embodiment of all the learning of that time—priests

physicians, astronomers, legislators, prophets, poets, directors of kings—all knowledge and all power were their possession and their prerogative. Pretending to direct communication with the Deity, they assumed, and were allowed, the right to govern their fellow-men. Living much of their time in the solitude of the forest, they had leisure for meditation and for the cultivation of science. Religion was the basis on which their greatness rested, and everything else seemed with them to be ancillary to it. This feeling they had evidently impressed also on the multitudes, as the countless remains of their rude cyclopean altars attest. The tide of oblivion has long since rolled over the Druidical ages, but their kistvaens, their cromleachs, and their pillar-stones still rise above the flood, and point out to us, like landmarks, the boundaries of the past. That their religious system did much to prepare the way for Christianity seems apparent, both from the sublime nature of that system in some of its doctrines, and from the fact of the nation so readily embracing the faith; but how miserable and how repulsive that system was, as a whole, is but too evident from all we can learn of it. It fostered superstition, encouraged polygamy, and, if not in this country, at least elsewhere, inculcated the practice of human sacrifice.

All now is gone; and of the vast, mysterious system not a trace remains, but the silent and ruined altars, or the nameless and solitary pillar-stones. The sacred oaks no longer bend to the northern blast; the priestly colleges send forth no more their poets and philosophers; no cry arises from the victim bleeding on the pagan altar; but sheep and oxen quietly feed on the once hallowed sites of the Druidical temples, and the passing breeze sings a dirge over the kistvaens and the cromleachs. All is gone, and all happily is changed; but the wondrous men who so strangely ruled and taught our ancestors have transmitted their memory to our age, and to all future ages in a way not to be effaced, and have left 'their footprints on the sands of time,' as indelibly as if written records had embalmed their names.

JOHN K. O'DOHERTY.

THE FATHERS AND THE ROMAN BREVIARY

ONE of the most pleasing features in the religious history of the century, which is now nearing its end, is the good work which has been done, in many and very various directions, in the fruitful fields of patristic literature. The position taken in recent times by the writings of the Church fathers, is the more striking, because it was so little to be expected. Scoffers and unbelievers have scorned these works as foolish and worthless. And if some deeper thinkers, like Hegel, have recognised the part played by the early fathers in the evolution of philosophy, they have scarcely looked for any help from these teachers in our own enlightened century. Nor would it be strange if, even among Catholics, some had unwarily fallen into a somewhat similar error. Other theological writings, of great value in their own day, have eventually become more or less obsolete. They supplied a want, and served to instruct some generations of students; but with the gradual advance of science they have at length been superseded, and there is now but little need to have recourse to their pages. Still less is it likely that they should ever again exert any direct influence on the minds of men. Such, it might well be thought by some, and feared by others, must be the fate of the writings of the fathers in the nineteenth century.

A student who lived in the days of the great revolution might look back with satisfaction on the learned labours of the French Benedictines; but with the changes taking place around him, the monasteries suppressed, and their libraries scattered to the winds, he could hardly have much hope for the future of these studies. And if anyone had then ventured to predict what may be called the great patristic revival of the present century, his words would surely have been received with wonder and incredulity. But there is, perhaps, no need to imagine any such anticipation

in the past. For even now there are probably many amongst us who would be somewhat startled by a sober statement of the position which the fathers hold in modern theological literature.

One fact in this history must be familiar to many English readers, however slight their acquaintance with other branches of the subject—the part played by the writings of the fathers in the great religious revival known as the Oxford movement. Various other forces were, doubtless, at work in that momentous revolution, and each must be allowed its due share in the result. Yet, the dominant influence of the great teachers of antiquity stood out above the rest. And Cardinal Newman himself can justly speak of it as the main factor in his conversion. ‘The fathers,’ he says plainly, ‘made me a Catholic.’¹ Elsewhere, again, he tells how he was affected by ‘the palmary words of St. Augustine: *securus judicat orbis terrarum*,’ and how his Anglican theory crumbled away as he was studying the patristic writings on the Arian and Monophysite controversies:—

That theory claimed to represent the theological and ecclesiastical system of the fathers; and the fathers, when interrogated, did but pronounce it to be the offspring of eclecticism, and the creature of the state. What [he cries] was the use of continuing the controversy, or defending my position, if, after all, I was but forging arguments for Arius or Eutyches, and turning devil's advocate against the much-enduring Athanasius, and the majestic Leo? Be my soul with the saints! and shall I lift up my hand against them? Sooner may my right hand forget her cunning, and wither outright, as his who once stretched it out against a prophet of God! Perish sooner a whole tribe of Cranmers, Riddleys, Latimers, and Jewels! perish the names of Bramhall, Ussher, Taylor, Stillingfleet, and Barrow, from the face of the earth, ere I should do aught but fall at their feet in love and in worship, whose image was continually before my eyes, and whose musical words were ever in my ears and on my tongue!²

To feel the full significance of these words, we must bear in mind how much was involved in Newman's first adoption

¹ Letter to the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D., on his recent *Eirenicon*, p. 26.

² *Apologia*, 2nd edition, p. 116. *Lectures on the Difficulties of Anglicans*, pp. 314-316.

of patristic doctrine, and his ultimate conversion to the Catholic Church: on the one hand, the change wrought in the character of the national religion; and, on the other, the ceaseless stream of converts who have followed in his train. How many works of the 'kings of modern thought' have had an influence on the mind of the age, that can compare with the revolution thus effected by the ancient writings of the fathers?

At an early stage in the movement, the Tractarian leaders gave a practical proof of their devotion to the fathers by preparing editions of their works, and starting that goodly series of English translations, the Oxford Library of the fathers. At the close of the last century, Gibbon had rebuked the fellows of his university for their neglect of literary labour.

The shelves of their library [he says] groan under the weight of the Benedictine folios, of the editions of the fathers, and the collections of the Middle Ages, which have issued from the single abbey of St. Germain de Pr  z at Paris. A composition of genius must be the offspring of one mind; but such works of industry as may be divided among many hands, and must be continued during many years, are the peculiar province of a laborious community. If I inquire into the manufactures of the monks of Magdalen, if I extend the inquiry to the other colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, a silent blush or a scornful frown will be the only reply.¹

The aforesaid English library of the fathers, and critical editions of the original, such as Field's *Chrysostom*, and Philip Pusey's fine edition of *Cyril of Alexandria*, have certainly done something to take away this reproach. But this good work achieved in England—valuable as it is in many ways—is by no means the chief service rendered to patristic studies in the present century. As the rise of Tractarianism was, in reality, no isolated phenomenon, but, rather, one of the waves in a wider movement, whose force was felt in many parts of Europe; so, in like manner, may the Oxford devotion to antiquity be regarded as one among many tokens of a general patristic revival. The labours of

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 52.

the Oxford editors, and the later English scholars who have followed in their footsteps, have given us a goodly array of volumes, some of them of high critical value. Yet all this may well appear but little, when it is compared with the similar work produced in France and Germany. In mere bulk the English editions and translations are dwarfed beside the long lines of Migne's voluminous library, or Caillau's Latin series of the fathers. And if some of these are but reprints, adding little or nothing to the work of the earlier Benedictine editors; we have, besides this, a host of careful critical editions, such as the collection of Latin writers brought out by the Academy of Vienna, or the younger series published at Berlin, in which a scholarly edition of Hippolytus is now in progress.

This last name reminds us that we have to reckon with something more than improved accuracy in editing or translating works already in the hands of students. For the present century has happily seen the recovery of a considerable number of patristic writings, which were only known by name to earlier generations. Thus, besides the important work of Hippolytus—which though discovered in Paris was first published at Oxford—we have now for the first time an opportunity of studying the full text of the Epistles of Barnabas and Clement, besides the Chronicle of Eusebius, and the Apology of Aristides, whether in the original, or in some oriental version.

Nor is it only in regard to their editions of the original text that the labours of the Tractarians are matched, or overshadowed, by contemporary work produced on the Continent. For the Oxford Library of the Fathers is, after all, but one among several series of vernacular versions. It will be enough to mention the *Bibliothèque Choisie des Pères*, and the later and more extensive series of German translations. Or, going somewhat further afield, we may find the Synodal Press of St. Petersburg issuing several works of the fathers in Russian or Slavonic versions. In the same way, the Mechitarists of San Lazaro have printed many valuable patristic works in ancient Armenian translations—conspicuous among them being their fine edition

of *The Chronicle of Eusebius*, wherein the Armenian is accompanied by St. Jerome's abridged Latin version, and fragments of the Greek original. It is interesting to note that while much of this work was done independently in different lands, the English labourers were sometimes guided or encouraged by the example of their neighbours. Thus we find Pusey writing to Newman to complain of the scanty support given at the outset to their library of the fathers:—'It is such a sorry contrast to the French edition, published under the patronage of the "Episcopat Français."'¹

Besides all these numerous editions and vernacular versions of the fathers of the Church, much has been done to illustrate their writings, and paint vivid and faithful pictures of their lives and labours. English readers will have a grateful recollections of Cardinal Newman's *Church of the Fathers*, and his later series of papers on *The Ancient Saints*. But these, again, are no isolated phenomenon; and such works as Monsignor Freppel's *Clement of Alexandria*, and Monsignor Baunard's *St. Ambrose*, with various German monographs and biographies, remind us that a similar service has been done on a somewhat larger scale in other lands than ours. At the same time, the newborn science of Patrology, handled by such able masters as Möhler and Fessler, Alzog and Bardenhewer, has taken a permanent place in ecclesiastical studies.

Some of the works we have mentioned are addressed to a comparatively narrow circle of readers. For, as a rule, few but professed students of theological literature are likely to avail themselves of Migne's voluminous series, and German critical editions, to say nothing of the Syriac and Armenian versions of the fathers. But the labourers in this fruitful field have not been unmindful of the wants of other readers. The numerous translations have brought some of the works of the fathers within the reach of those who have 'small Latin and less Greek.' And the handy little volumes of Father Hurter's *Opuscula*

¹ Letter of August 24th, 1838, *Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey*, vol. i., p. 432.

SS. Patrum, and other similar series are a veritable boon to priests whose active labours leave little time for study.

Perhaps even these lesser libraries of the fathers, may seem too long and voluminous to some of our hard-worked clergy. And those who have such books within ready reach must, after all, be comparatively few; those who actually use them still fewer. Happily, however, we are not left entirely to these resources for our patristic studies. A far more handy and available volume, containing within a short compass some of the finest passages of the early fathers, has been prepared for the benefit of the Catholic clergy. And it is, fortunately, so widely circulated, that no priest in the Latin Church is unprovided with a copy, which is ready to his hand alike on his busiest days and in his hour of leisure.

Much has been written of late on the subject of the Roman Breviary. It has been translated into the vernacular, and compared or contrasted with the ritual books of the Eastern Churches. Its history has been told, and some of its treasures set forth, in a memorable number of the *Oxford Tracts*; and on a more extensive scale in the pages of some recent French and German writers.¹ Many have been made to feel its merits as a book of prayers, and to appreciate the beauties of its liturgical poetry. But, if we are not mistaken, comparatively little stress has been laid on its high value as a compendious *florilegium* of the writings of the fathers.

For this reason, it may not be without interest to attempt some account of the patristic treasures contained in the Roman Breviary. And if we can hardly hope to throw any fresh light on the subject, the discussion itself may still serve some useful purpose. For though the book is a familiar object in the hands of all, it is none the less likely enough that much in its pages may have escaped the attention of readers here and there. In the daily recitation of our office, sometimes necessarily hurried, it is easy to miss the full force of some of the lessons, especially if we

¹ *Tracts for the Times*, No. 75. The Roman Breviary. By Cardinal Newman.

are not already familiar with the language of the fathers. And our attention to the words is, moreover, liable to be disturbed by devotion on the one hand, and distractions on the other. It is possible, again, that some of us seldom turn the pages of a Breviary, save for the purpose of reciting the canonical hours; and the lessons which do not happen to be used in the office of the year will thus find but few readers.

The Breviary lessons, to some of which we would fain draw special attention, are, we may add, a distinct element in the office; and were at one time contained in separate volumes, known as *Lectionaries*. And it may be further observed that, in some instances at least, the writings of the fathers are here found in their original form, and fulfil the primary object of their authors. Many of them are sermons, or homilies, preached to the people; while others are letters or treatises which were originally sent to distant churches, and read in the public assemblies of the faithful. And in the Breviary office, these ancient priests and bishops are still preaching to a larger congregation; and their pastoral letters are read in a world-wide assembly. Nowadays, if a new office is granted, the compiler will, probably, take the lessons from some standard edition of the works of the fathers. But these collected series of the *Opera Omnia SS. Patrum*, have been gathered together from various sources, often enough from early *Lectionaries*, and other manuscripts originally made for liturgical purposes.

Needless to say, the lessons now extant in our Breviaries are, sometimes at least, considerably shortened. Some few of the fathers are not represented; and even those works which are most largely used are nowhere given in their entirety. Many noble passages may be missed; while possibly some are preserved in which the writers are below their usual level. Yet, if the whole collection is comparatively small in bulk, it must be acknowledged that much solid matter is contained in its narrow compass. And anyone who has carefully studied these Breviary lessons will have no mean knowledge of patristic theology, and be made familiar with some, at least, of the main

beauties, and distinguishing characteristics of the foremost fathers.

Here it may be well to add a word of warning concerning the titles of some of the lessons which are, unfortunately, only too likely to mislead the unwary reader. One of the chief dangers attending patristic quotations taken at second-hand, arises from the fact that many works which were once ascribed to some of the chief fathers, *e.g.*, to St. Augustine, have since been rightly rejected as doubtful or spurious. In some of these cases the Breviary gives us the true author. Thus, the lessons in the Second Nocturn of Trinity Sunday are rightly ascribed, not to St. Augustine, but to a later writer, St. Fulgentius of Ruspa. But, unfortunately, in too many instances this accuracy is wanting. Thus, in the Third Nocturn of the same festival, we find two lessons attributed to St. Gregory Nazianzen, though all competent critics reject them as spurious.¹ And more than one sermon assigned to St. Augustine is likewise of doubtful origin, *e.g.*, the well-known sermon which contains the invocation, *Sancta Maria succurre miseris, etc.*² It would certainly add to the value of the Breviary as a manual of patristic theology if the sources of these lessons could be correctly given, and the doubtful or spurious works distinguished from those which are authentic. As some of the legends of the saints have lately been subjected to considerable revision, it is, perhaps, not too much to hope for an edition of the Breviary in which the references are more in accordance with the standard of modern criticism. Another help which would greatly facilitate this use of the book is an index to the chief passages from the fathers, showing where they may be found in its pages. We already have one for the hymns, and as much might well be done for the more important lessons. Or the two needs might be met at once by an *index raisonné* of the patristic lessons, carefully distinguishing the genuine work of each father from

¹ See the Benedictine edition, vol. i., p. 892.

² *Serm.* 18, *de Sanctis*, found in the Breviary on the 9th of September. It is decisively rejected by the Benedictine editors of St. Augustine. Cf. vol. v., Append. *Serm.* 194.

those which are doubtful or spurious. In a further paper in these pages we hope to do something towards supplying this *desideratum*. For the present, however, we may content ourselves with a more general description of the extent and nature of this important element of the Roman Breviary, indicating some of the chief writers who are represented in its pages, and noticing a few salient passages, remarkable for some exceptional difficulty, or curious interest, or special beauty,

Naturally enough, the Breviary lessons are mainly drawn from Latin sources, and we find comparatively few extracts from the works of the great Greek fathers. Hence, it is scarcely surprising that the apostolic fathers are only represented by a solitary fragment from St. Ignatius, quoted by St. Jerome in the lessons for the martyr's feast on the 1st of February—the noble words in which he gives utterance to his yearning for martyrdom. Some readers may remind us that another sentence from the same apostolic father is cited, also by St. Jerome, in the lessons read on Christmas Eve and elsewhere: 'Martyr Ignatius etiam quartam addidit causam, cur a desponsata conciperetur: Ut partus, inquires, ejus celaretur diabolo, dum eum putat non de virgine, sed de uxore generatum.' But this passage is, apparently, an early instance of the dangers of second-hand quotations. The learned Latin father is freely quoting from Origen, who in his sixth Homily on St. Luke cites a brief sentence from St. Ignatius, and adds his own comment thereto, and the argument here alleged is not Ignatius but Origen.¹

After St. Ignatius, we may mention a father of the following century, St. Irenæus of Lyons, whose work is represented by a single lesson. This, it is well to add, is that memorable passage in which he speaks of Mary as the

¹ See Cotelier's note on *Ignatii Epist. ad Ephesios*, n. 19, 'Basilius ac Hieronymus Ignatium non ex Ignatio laudant sed ex Origine; arbitratiue sunt ista quae Origines Ignatianis de suo subjungit, latuit propter Joseph, etc., Ignatii quoque esse.' With regard to St. Basil, the learned Sorbonist is mistaken, for the Homily in question does not mention the name of Ignatius, and what is more, it is not really the work of St. Basil. See the Benedictine edition of his works, vol. ii., p. 578.

advocate of Eve. As the Office in which it occurs is never recited by the secular clergy of this country, there may be many who are not aware that this important testimony of the second century is to be found in the Breviary. It is the third Lesson for the Saturday Office of our Lady in the month of March. From St. Cyprian, the first Latin writer who is, in the full sense of the title, a father of the Church, we have some longer extracts, taken from his work on the Lord's Prayer and his treatise *De Mortalitate*.

A much larger space is filled by the writings of the great fathers of the fourth and following centuries. But while the Greeks, if we except St. John Chrysostom and his namesake of Damascus, have, for the most part, a lesson or two apiece, a more liberal allowance is made to the foremost Latin fathers. As we shall see later on, a considerable portion of three important commentaries on the Gospels may be read in the pages of the Breviary. These are St. Jerome's Commentary on St. Matthew; St. Ambrose on St. Luke; and, a greater work than either of these, St. Augustine's *Tractatus in Joannem*. Along with these may be ranked the numerous Homilies of St. Gregory the Great. As one of these sermons is generally read when the Gospel is from St. Mark, the four Latin doctors are thus found expounding the four Evangelists. The lessons from St. Leo, though somewhat less numerous, contain some of the finest passages to be found in the Breviary, *e.g.*, those read in the Second Nocturn on the Feast of the Annunciation. Of later Latin writers, the most conspicuous are St. Bede and St. Bernard. Lessons from the writings of the latter hold a prominent place on the festivals of our Lady.

As a general rule, the language of these patristic lessons does not present much difficulty. There are, however, some obscure passages, which are, perhaps, still further darkened by the absence of the context. It may not be amiss to mention one extract from St. Ambrose which is frequently read in the office. Speaking of the eight beatitudes, the saint says: 'ille (S. Matthaeus) in illis octo mysticum numerum reseravit (f. reservavit). Pro octava

enim multi inscribuntur psalmi; et mandatum accipis octo illis partem dare fortasse benedictionibus. Sicut enim spei nostrae octava perfectio est, ita octava summa virtutum est.¹ The reference to the titles of the psalms is sufficiently obvious; but many readers may miss the implied allusion to a passage of Ecclesiastes contained in the latter half of the same sentence. The 'commandment' mentioned by St. Ambrose may be found in these words of the preacher: 'Give a portion to seven, and even to eight;² which are here understood mystically, and applied to the beatitudes. In a note on this passage, the Benedictine editors observe, that it 'seems to many to be covered with more than Cimmerian darkness.' But they point out that St. Ambrose himself says elsewhere: 'Octava enim die facta est resurrectio; unde et plerique psalmi pro octava scribuntur.' This, then, is what he means when he says, that 'the octave (*i.e.* the Resurrection) is the perfection of our hope. In the other clause, 'octo benedictionibus partem dare,' is equivalent to 'omnibus virtutibus operam dare'—the number eight being taken, on the authority of St. Jerome, for universality.³

Another passage of curious interest occurs in the sermon of St. Leo, which is read on the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross: 'Exaltato, dilectissimi, per crucem Christo, non illa tantum species aspectui mentis occurrat, quae fuit in oculis impiorum, quibus per Moysen dictum est: Et erit pendens vita tua ante oculos tuos, et timebis die ac nocte, et non credes vitae tuae.' Many may have read this lesson, without noticing this remarkable instance of patristic interpretation of prophecy. The passage to which reference is made is found in Deuteronomy xxviii. 66: 'And thy life shall be as it were hanging before thee. Thou shalt fear night and day, neither shalt thou trust thy life.' This text

¹ *Common of Many Martyrs*; second series of Lessons for the third Nocturn.

² Eccles. xi. 2.

³ See the Benedictine edition of St. Ambrose, vol. i, 1367. A somewhat different explanation is adopted by the Marquis of Bute, who considers this 'one of the most difficult passages in the Breviary;' and devotes a note to its elucidation. But he makes no mention of the annotation of the Benedictine editors, which seems to us more satisfactory than the other.

was cited on more than one occasion by the fathers in proof of the Divinity of our Lord. And it is one of those adduced by John II. in his judgment on the proposition, 'Unus de Trinitate passus est.'¹ And the interpretation here assumed by St. Leo, had been defended by St. Augustine, in controversy with Faustus the Manichee, though he allowed that the words taken by themselves might also bear another meaning.²

Many another passage will readily rise in the memory of those who are fairly familiar with the Breviary lessons from the fathers; now some obscure point in St. Hilary; now a rhythmic cadence of St. Leo, a burst of tender eloquence in St. Bernard, or the deep thoughts and luminous language of the prince of Latin fathers. But for the present, at any rate, the above instances may suffice us. And, happy, even this brief imperfect sketch of its patristic treasures may lead some readers to a better appreciation of the Roman Breviary as a *florilegium* from the writings of the fathers.

W. H. KENT, o.s.c.

¹ Cf. Denzinger, *Enchiridion*, xxi.

² Quae verba et aliter posse intelligi, potest aliquis dicere: de Christo autem non posse intelligi, nec Faustus ausus est dicere, nec quisquam prorsus audebit, nisi qui negaverit aut Christum esse vitam, aut a Judaeis visum esse pendentem, aut eos illi non credidisse: *Contra Faustum*, lib., xvi. 22.

THE NEW LEGISLATION ON THE INDEX

IN the February of 1897, an article appeared in the I. E. RECORD on the Rules of the Index. The writer of the article expressed an ardent desire that some means might be devised to stem the tide of evils that flowed day after day from a liberal and licentious press. His desire was most opportunely expressed, for in the same month, and almost on the very same day as his article appeared, a bull with a set of rules on the Index, was promulgated by Leo XIII., which have completely changed the old legislation on the Index. By the bull all legislation made by previous pontiffs on the Index has been annulled, with the exception of one sole bull of Benedict XIV.; the working of the Index has been rendered more simple and more effective ; and the rules have been made so lenient that no one, except indeed he be of bad disposition, can find it onerous or difficult to observe them. To a consideration of this bull, and the annexed rules we now invite the readers of the I. E. RECORD.

Although those rules are plain in their wording, and well-defined in their general outlines, yet there are many points in them that require careful examination, and many words and phrases that have already given rise to extensive controversy. To render the meaning and force of these rules more clear and definite, and their working more efficient, many commentaries on them have already appeared in different countries and in different languages. We would mention the following for those who may wish to consult the works published on this subject :—

- (1) In Rome, that published in the *Acta Sanctae Sedis*.
- (2) In Belgium, that published by P. Antoine Vermeersch.
- (3) In Germany, that published by Dr. Holweck.
- (4) In France, that of Père Desjardins and Can Moreau.
- (5) In Naples, that published by a prelate who signs himself M. C. G.¹
- (6) In Washington, that of the Abbé G. Peries.

¹ This commentary we shall always cite in the course of the following papers under the name of the periodical in which it appeared: *Il Monitore Ecclesiastico di conversano*.

All of these works possess some individual and characteristic perfection, and have received very favourable criticism from some journals and periodicals of the very highest repute. Some three months ago, however, a commentary on the rules appeared from the pen of a man already well known in the literary and theological world, which surpasses all previous works on the same subject in the extent and thoroughness of its investigation. This is the book of Father Joseph Pennacchi, the author of the well-known works, *De Honorii causa* and *Commentarium in Apostolicæ Sedis Pii IX.* The high positions that this distinguished ecclesiastic has held in the Church, together with his personal attainments, cannot fail to recommend in a very special manner his commentary on the new rules of the Index. Formerly he was Rector of the College of Missions in Rome, and at present he is Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the Propaganda, and Consultor of the Congregation of the Index. While still a young man he wrote his work, *De Honorii causa*, which has laid at rest for ever the historical objection against papal infallibility, founded on the letters of Pope Honorius to Sergius, the artful heresiarch of Monothelism; and in recent years he has written his exhaustive commentary, in two volumes, on the *Apostolicæ Sedis* of Pius IX. His long experience in the art of criticism, his extensive knowledge of pontifical decrees, and of the decisions of the Sacred Congregations, his long connection with the Congregation of the Index, and his acquaintance with every school of theology, and every shade of opinion—all he has made use of in compiling his present commentary on the rules of the Index. Anyone who studies this work will, we promise, be fully repaid for his labour. Yet, as many of our readers may not have time or opportunity to read this commentary we have thought it serviceable to give an interpretation of the new bull, and the new rules on the Index, following the guidance of P. Pennacchi, and consulting the other commentators where any passage of especial difficulty may occur.

There are some terms to be explained. The whole organization of the Church for the examination and

proscription of books we will call the *Index*. The present legislation on the Index we will call the *Leonine Constitution*. The introductory bull we will name from its first words, *Officiorum ac Munerum*. The whole constitution may be divided into two parts :—

I. The Introductory Bull.

II. The Rules.

The Rules are again subdivided under two titles; the first on the prohibition of books, the second on the censure of books. Both titles comprise in all fifteen chapters of rules.

I. In the Introductory bull the Pontiff seems to have been led by three leading thoughts. In it he shows the supreme necessity of taking certain books out of the hands of the faithful; secondly, he shows that his predecessors have always been most vigilant in the proscription of bad books; and thirdly, he explains the motives that have led him to frame the present constitution, and the fruits that he expects from it. Before commencing an explanation of the 'Rules on the Index' we will give an exposition of these three thoughts of the Pontiff. In explaining them we will explain the whole matter of the bull, *Officiorum ac Munerum*; we will explain, likewise, the motives that have moved at all times the councils and rulers of the Church, to take with scrupulous care certain books out of the hands of the faithful; we will also narrate briefly the history of the Index; and have an opportunity, before commencing an interpretation of the rules, of stating the general nature of the present constitution, of explaining its relation with previous legislation, and of laying down certain canons which must be carefully considered in interpreting the present rules of the Index.

PART I.

The Apostles have frequently warned their disciples against the baneful influence of intercourse with the enemies of Christianity.

In the Acts of the Apostles it is recorded that the people of Ephesus at the instigation of St. Paul, brought all their bad books into a public place and burned them. St. Paul

warns his disciple Timothy again and again against the effects of vain and novel teachings.¹ In his First Epistle to him, he admonishes him to guard the faith that has been entrusted to him; and prescribes as a means of doing so, the avoidance of profane novelties and oppositions which are circulated abroad under the false name of science; and in his Second Epistle he advises him to have nothing to do with the vain babblings of the day; 'for,' says he, 'they tend very much to ungodliness, and they spread like a canker.'²

The fathers of the Church not only strove against bad men, but also against bad books. In the middle of the third century we hear St. Cyprian warning his flock against association with those who had been driven from the Church. 'Do not believe them,' he says. 'Do not take darkness for light, poison for cure, death for life. Fly from all association with such men; avoid their discourse as you would a canker, and fly from it as you would from a pest.'³ St. Gregory asserts that heretics mix truth with falsehood to attract an audience, and that then they administer what is bad, they may corrupt with a hidden pest.

St. Isidore asserts that to read books subversive of religion is as bad as to offer incense to the devil:⁴ St. Jerome remarks that as no one would enter a shattered bark in order to avoid shipwreck, so no one ought to study a book full of error in order to learn truth.⁵ Origen, who was well acquainted with the insinuating wiles of the popular enemies of Christianity, warns his readers: 'Let not the brilliancy of the work deceive you, nor the beauty of the language allure.' And louder still is the admonition of Tertullian, 'No one can be improved by what injures him; no one enlightened by what blinds him.'

If such were the opinions entertained by the early fathers of the Church of the works of heretics, how can we describe

¹ 1 Tim. vi. 20.

² 2 Tim. ii. 16, 17.

³ Those testimonies are taken from St. Alphonsus, *Theol. Mor.*, lib. i., p. 185, and *seq.*

⁴ *Apud St. Alphonsum, Theologia Moralis*, vol. i., p. 185.

⁵ *St. Alphonsus, loc. cit.*

⁶ *Ep. ad Sactam.*

the horror with which they fled from their company? Two striking instances are recorded for us by the earliest of our historians. St. Irenæus narrates that St. John the Evangelist, contrary to his custom, went on an extraordinary occasion to one of the public baths to bathe. On arriving there he heard that Cerinthus was within; he rushed out in affright urging his companions to flee for their lives, lest the wrath of God might tumble the building on their heads. St. Jerome¹ relates that the illustrious convert of St. John, St. Polycarp of Smyrna, acted in a similar way towards the heretic Marcion. St. Polycarp, while on a visit to Rome, met that bad man in one of the public streets of the city. As the saint was passing him by, without seeming to notice him, he cried after him, 'Why Polycarp, don't you know me?' 'Know you!' replied Polycarp; 'I know you as the first-born of the devil.' Then, of course, the detestation in which St. Bernard held the writings of Berengarius and Abelard, and the dread with which the learned Bellarmine read the works of Luther are known to everybody.

But had the Apostle remained silent, and the admonitions of the fathers never come down to us, still the evils wrought in every age by bad books would have sufficed to make clear to all the necessity of exercising a careful vigilance over every new production. Where was there a great revolution effected either in state or church, for which men's minds had not previously been prepared and educated by speech or writing? Perhaps there have been few greater revolutions than that caused by Arius. His manner is illustrative of all crafty contrivers. By deceit, he first enlisted the influence of some simple-minded and credulous prelates. Under the protection of their name, he next formulated and brought to scientific form his errors; he then popularized his teachings by small tracts and pamphlets; and finally, taught the uneducated to lisp his errors by teaching them simple songs and hymns. The life of Eutyches is a warning and a lesson. He had been a man full of zeal, and had been a defender of the Incarnation against Nestorius;

¹ *Brev. Romanum.*

but St. Anastasius relates that from the perusal of one book of a certain Manichean, he was changed from a champion of the Church to a bitter enemy. The books of Eutyches himself bred evils ; for after that he had been condemned, and his tongue reduced to silence by imprisonment, still his works, notwithstanding all the efforts of the Emperor, and of the prelates of the Church, continued to win adherents to his errors, and succeeded in perverting a large portion of the East. In the Middle Ages Henry Bullinger was a man remarkable for his learning and his piety. Indeed at one time, it was believed that he had intended to join the Carthusians, and devote his life to penance. Still, the reading of one book of Melancthon caused him to fall, and break away from the Church.

The rapid spread of the errors of Wicliffe and Huss was one of the occasions that led to the reform of the old Index—effected by the fathers of the Council of Trent. After many years of toil and vexation in preaching his errors in England, Wicliffe confessed that he had made little or no progress—that he had gained but few adherents, that he had earned nothing for his zeal but reproach and insult. But his writings soon achieved what his discourses had failed to effect. John Huss happened to procure the writings of Wicliffe from a Bohemian who had been a student at Oxford, and soon the fatal errors spread and perverted nearly the whole of Bohemia.

It is stated that the Turkish Government has proscribed the *Summa contra Gentiles* of St. Thomas, and quite recently the English Government has proscribed the translation of certain works of St. Alphonsus. If, then, governments, who at most are actuated merely by expediency, think it necessary to prohibit their subjects from reading certain books, how much greater must be the necessity of the Church to do so, where the motive is higher and the danger greater? And indeed, amongst all cultured nations the example of proscription of bad books has been always given us. It is stated by an old ecclesiastical writer, that certain priests of the old law were on the point of destroying the book of Baruch, lest it might scandalize the Jews ; and

Eusebius, the father of ecclesiastical history, relates that Herod ordered all the Hebrew genealogies to be destroyed, lest they might incite the Jews to sedition and revolt. Cicero narrates that the Athenians proscribed by edict the works of Protagoras, and ordered them to be burned in the market-place. Baronius states that the Romans demanded the destruction of the work of Cicero—*De natura deorum*—wherein he speaks, with very little respect, of the Roman deities. Livy states that one of the duties of the Pontifex Maximus was to supervise all new publications, and burn everyone deemed dangerous. And to omit many further instances, we know that Julius Cæsar condemned the book of Ovid, *De arte amandi*, and drove the author into exile. No one, then, can accuse the Church of injustice in restricting our reading without accusing these governments; and to accuse governments of injustice in such a matter, would be to accuse them of being careful of their own preservation.

Now, what is to be the extent of this proscription? Is it to be confined to books alone which assail directly the dogmas of our faith, or the discipline of the Church? The present rules of the Index extend much farther, and a short consideration will show the justice of such an extension. Where the same cause exists there must be the same prohibition; and St. Alphonsus affirms that he believes that the *Decamerone* of Boccaccio has done more harm than all the works of Luther. Luther himself asserts—if we may accept as good the opinion of such a man—that the works of Juvenal, Martial, and Catullus should be removed from every public school, because they breathe such an air of obscenity that they cannot be read by the young without the most serious injury. Striking are the words of St. Augustine against those who say they read the immoral books of Terence on account of their beautiful language. ‘By means of immoral matter, nice language is not acquired, but by means of nice language immorality is learned. I do not accuse the language, but the intoxicating wine of error that we drink in from it.’ Even the injury caused by works of fiction not treating *ex professo* of indecent things, is oftentimes so serious that it would justify the Church in placing

them on her Index. St. Alphonsus traces the want of solid education of many youths to this cause. By long habit grown accustomed to clear and alluring pictures, their minds refuse, or are quite unable to rise to considerations above the grosser qualities of matter. They become incapable of making any abstraction from material things. They despise and hate books of serious style and real value ; the result is that they remain rude in mind, and become vicious in habit.

Such, then, are the motives that have always led the Church to take certain books out of the hands of the faithful—the injury caused in every age by them, the constant admonition of the fathers, and the early warning of the Apostles. The errors advanced in any book, if allowed to stand, will fall at length into kindred minds, will fester, and eventually breed disease. To illustrate by example: there has scarcely been a school of philosophy that has not been foreshadowed in some sort amongst the Grecian schools. Kant, the father of German philosophy, has merely turned the categories of Aristotle up-side-down, and endeavoured to form the real from the ideal. All the English and French schools can trace their origin to Descartes, who failed to cross the golden bridge between mind and matter, that he boasted to have constructed. The result was, that he left the French and English to wallow on the matter-side, and left the Germans to soar on the mind-side. In religion a similar genealogy may oftentimes be traced. Old errors are decked forth with new attractions, having cast aside the threadbare garments of former ages. In both philosophy and religion, from a few fundamental errors, if allowed free scope, many are evolved, just as tweed patterns are conceived from the revolutions of the few colours of the kaleidoscope.

With reason, then, have the councils of the Church, the Supreme Pontiffs and pious princes, been most assiduous in destroying every trace of error, that nothing injurious to faith and morals might be handed down to succeeding generations. In fact, so close is the connection between the condemnation of bad books, and the preservation of the faith, that it

is the common teaching of theologians, that the Church has received from her Divine Founder the jurisdiction of taking out of the hands of the faithful all books subversive of faith, or injurious to morals; for, as Baronius remarks: 'In vain would the Church be striving to extirpate heresy and promote virtue, unless she had the power to block once for all the source from which the stream of error and vice flows forth.' This heavy obligation laid upon him, of preserving the faith from the dangers of bad books, is the first thought that the Supreme Pontiff expresses in his *Officiorum ac Munerum*.

PART II.—THE HISTORY OF THE INDEX

The Pontiff next enumerates the great efforts made by his predecessors to safeguard the faith against the influence of bad books. We cannot illustrate his words better than by giving the history of the Index from the remotest times to the present Constitution, and the causes that led to its gradual development. We may here state the sources from which we have derived the materials of this history. The present Bull, *Officiorum ac Munerum*, supplies the stepping-stones. A more ample account of the history of the Index may be had from the Bulls of Benedict XIV., Clement VIII., Pius V., Sextus V., Pius IV., Leo X., Alexander VI., and the appendix of Lib. I. of the Moral Theology of St. Alphonsus.

Three great constitutions stand out in prominence in the development of the Index—the Leonine Constitution, the Constitution of Ben. XIV., and the Constitution of the Council of Trent. We consider it convenient, therefore, to divide the whole history of the Index into three periods: (1) from the earliest times to the Council of Trent; (2) from the Council of Trent to the Pontificate of Benedict XIV.; (3) from Benedict XIV. to the present constitution. Those three great constitutions will serve as epochs or resting-points from which we may survey at leisure the changes that took place in the Index during the intervening periods.

FIRST PERIOD

It would be difficult for us to clearly define our starting-point or determine the first year in this history. St. Alphonsus says (in *loc. cit.*) that, although we find by retrogression the practice of proscribing bad books to have existed in every age, yet we cannot determine what Pope or Council first began. The censorship of books is a jurisdiction conjoined with infallibility. It is of apostolic times. Its growth to its present perfection and dimensions, is like the growth of a great river that flows over many lands when it has gathered force, and that at one place oozes out a tiny stream from the very bowels of the earth.

From the testimonies of Origen and Tertullian we know that the Christians at that early date were forbidden to read certain books; for they speak with such authority, that they must have had at their backs the common practice of the Church. St. Augustine, speaking of a certain heretic, says: 'He had been lost; he was sought, he was found, and now he is converted. He is going to burn the books that would have consumed him, in order that the fire that burns them may save him.'¹ The practice, therefore, must have been rife in St. Augustine's time. The acts of the Councils, however, supply us with all necessary information. In 325 the Council of Nice not only condemned the errors of Arius, but proscribed all his writings; and Socrates, an early and prudent historian, tells us that Constantine inflicted death on all those in whose possession any work of the heretic should be discovered. In the history of Sulpitius Severus we read of an interesting and instructive discussion that took place in the year 385, between Theophilus of Alexandria and his suffragan bishops on the one side, and the friends of Origen on the other. Theophilus wished to have the works of Origen proscribed. The friends of that great man wished to save, at least, some of his works from condemnation. They alleged that the works had never come forth from the hands of Origen as they were then read; that they had been tampered with and corrupted by the

St. Alph. *loc. cit.*

Nestorians, the Montanists, and the Arians, in order that they might teach their errors with more security, protected under the shadow of his venerated name. But they urged with no avail.

The bishops caused the writer and all his works to be condemned; for, said they, the number of other books received and approved by the Church was more than sufficient. Moreover, the reading of such books was to be strictly forbidden, since the injury they caused the simple was greater than the benefit they conferred on the wise.¹

In 431 the fathers of the Council of Ephesus condemned the works of Nestorius. As they foresaw that many would despise the condemnation of the Church, and continue to read the works of the heretic, they addressed a letter to Theodosius the Great, requesting him to punish all who should refuse to obey the decree. Theodosius complied with their request. For the first act of disobedience he confiscated the entire property of the culprit, and for repeated offences he proceeded even to capital punishment. It is scarcely necessary to recall the peremptory action of the fifth General Council, in 553, whose condemnation of the so-called 'Three Chapters' filled the East and West with controversy. In the ninth century Pope Valentine condemned the works of Scotus Erigena in the following terms: 'We remove his writings far from the pious hearing of the faithful; and, acting with the authority of the Holy Ghost, we command all to beware of such writings.' In 860 we find this condemnation renewed at the Council of Trullo; in 1050 Leo X. condemned the book of the same author, *De Corpore Christi*; and in 1215 Honorius III. confirms the acts of his predecessors, and proscribes, in explicit terms, the work of Scotus, *De Naturis*.

Having here mentioned the literary disgrace of this great writer, we cannot allow his name to pass without endeavouring in some way to extenuate his fault. Scotus Erigena had not all the safeguards and guiding-lines in theological investigations which theologians now-a-days have. Theologians at the present day have so many lights

¹ *Dialog.*, i., n. vi.

and so many marks to guide them, that unless their will be perverse, they can hardly go beyond the boundaries of orthodoxy. They have now an opportunity of comparing the interpretations of the great commentators, of confronting the readings of different texts, and the meaning of different versions, and thus opening more completely the different senses of the Scriptures; they have the development of Christian doctrine, the history of each controversy laid before them by the diffusion of the works of the fathers; they have a true philosophy faithfully interpreted for them by St. Thomas, without whom the works of Aristotle would have remained a sealed and silent tomb; they have theology brought from the chaos in which the fathers left it, to scientific order by St. John Damascene, and that science brought to perfection by St. Thomas Aquinas; and lastly, they have the great dogmas stamped for ever by the Councils of Trent and the Vatican. Scotus Erigena had no such guides; he was almost without chart or compass; he ventured into unexplored regions, and if he foundered, it was scarcely owing to lack of mind or docility of will.

In 869 Pope Adrian condemned the works of Photius in a letter to the Emperor Basil :—

We order [says he] that everyone of his books be seized and destroyed, and that not a single discourse of his be preserved, unless, indeed, someone wishes to be excluded from the Church, and deprived of the dignity of the name of Christian.

The pride of Berengarius, his condemnation by the Church in 1059, his retractation and final repentance shall always be associated with the controversy on the Real Presence. In the beginning of the twelfth century Peter Abelard came under the censure of the Church. He had taught the inequality of the Three Persons in God; that Christ did not become man to free us from sin; and that we have not inherited the sin of Adam. In 1121 his works were condemned, and he himself obliged to burn them. In 1140 Innocent II. renews the condemnation in a letter to St. Bernard :—

With the advice of our cardinal bishops, and with the authority of the sacred canons, we condemn the three chapters

which in your discretion you have sent us, together with the entire teaching of the same author. We likewise think that all his followers, and all the defenders of his errors, should be excommunicated, and separated from the body of the faithful.¹

In the thirteenth century the works of Masilius Patavinus incurred a like censure ; he had taught monstrous errors about the Church : that Christ had instituted no visible head of the Church ; that the Emperor might elect the Supreme Pontiff, remove him, or even punish him if he willed ; that the Emperor might rule the Church while the Holy See was vacant ; that all priests, even popes and bishops had equal authority ; that the Emperor might increase the power of anyone of them if he wished ; and as he might freely increase it, so he might freely withdraw it altogether if so he pleased. In 1327 John XXII. condemned the man himself with all who should defend his tenets, and all his books proscribed. In 1418 Wicliffe, Huss, and Jerome of Prague, were condemned, with all their writings, by the Council of Constance ; and Martin V. confirmed that condemnation in his Bull *Inter cunctas*.

The Council of Florence, in 1445, just on the eve of the so-called Reformation, brought the divided parts of the Church together, and sealed them in unity. Such a perfect reunion at such a crisis was almost providential. The fifty years that followed were a sort of repose given to the Church, from which she was to arise with fresh vigour and resources to meet the conflict before her. The times were specially prolific of bad literature, and accordingly almost every year saw changes in the Index. Alexander VI. published a few rules which were to regulate the publication of new books. He ordained in his bull *Inter multiplices*, published in 1501, that all manuscripts should be submitted to the bishops of the places where printing presses had been introduced ; and that the bishops should allow no book to be published which contained anything contrary to the dogmas of the Church, irreverent or scandalous. This rule was in great part a local law, as Germany at the time was the great 'impressorium' of the world. Leo X.

¹ Mansi, xxi. 565.

sanctioned this simple rule of his predecessor in his bull *Inter sollicitudines*, and furthermore specified the Card. Vicar, and the 'Magister S. Palatri,' as 'censores deputati' for the City of Rome, and elsewhere, the bishop of the place. In 1520 when Leo X. had exhausted all means of reconciliation with Luther, he published his bull *Ezsurgere Domine*, in which he condemned that heretic with all his writings, and forbade the faithful to read anything that he should subsequently write or publish. This was a decided step: not only were his published works proscribed, but the very foetus of his mind, before he gave it birth, incurred the Church's censure. Paul IV. introduced a new feature into the Index; he published the first list of proscribed books in the year 1557. He was, however, far from being satisfied with his list, and in the course of five years he changed and modified it no less than three times. Even then he was dissatisfied; and, accordingly, he deemed it best to lay the whole matter before the fathers of the Council of Trent, and request them to provide some means to stem the tide of evil. In the eighteenth Session, held in 1562, the fathers deputed a certain number of their body to discuss the matter in private conferences, and afterwards to report in full council the result of their discussions.

Many changes in the times demanded a radical and fundamental change in the Index. The invention of the art of printing by John of Guttenberg, and the consequent deluge of heretical works that swept from Germany, Switzerland, England, and the Netherlands, had rendered individual and explicit condemnation of each bad publication quite impracticable. Some means should be devised of condemning them—not individually, but in *classes*. The faithful, moreover, were not only to be restrained from heretical works already published, but warned against future publications. The deputed fathers, therefore, did two things: they directed their thoughts to the past and to the future; the bad books that had already seen the light—they stigmatized; to the dangers they foresaw might arise—they applied an antidote. They revised the list of Paul IV., and they annexed a code of ten rules which were to serve as standards by which all future publications were to be judged,

and if deemed noxious, condemned. They worked assiduously and in 1563 they had their work complete. In the twenty-fifth Session, held in the December of that year, the new rules were read and solemnly approved. The new list with the annexed rules were re-examined by Paul IV., and published under his name in 1564.

We will here transcribe in abbreviated form the rules of the Council of Trent. We do so for two reasons: first, because although no longer in force, they still have been the groundwork of the Leonine Constitution; and second, because we shall frequently have occasion to refer to them in interpreting the present rules:—

1. Libri omnes ante annum 1515 damnati, etiamsi in Indice descripti non reperiantur, declarantur vetiti.
2. Libri omnes eorum, qui capita vel duces, fuerunt haereticorum, omnino vetantur; et etiam omnes alii haereticorum libri de religione tractantes; caeteri autem haereticorum permitti possunt, modo fuerint examinati et probati.
3. Scripturae et libri controversiarum in lingua vernacula non permittuntur. Sine autem permissione legi non possunt.
4. Lexica, concordantiae, Indices et alia hujusmodi, in quibus nihil paene, haeretici auctoris habetur, probata permitti possunt,
5. Libri obscoena tractantes absolute prohibentur, quamvis non inveniuntur in indice descripti.
6. Pariter vetantur omnes libri et scripta Necromantiae, Geomantiae Hydromantiae, chiromantiae, astrologiae judicariae, et omnia alia in quibus continentur sortilegia, veneficia, ac auspicia: et contra haec legentes vel habentes procedi potest tanquam suspectos de haeresi.
7. In impressione scripturarum et aliorum librorum servandum est statutum in Concilio Lateranensi, nempe ut non imprimantur nisi ex superiorum permissione.

Tum regulae traduntur pro visitatione, bibliothecarum, typographiarum: item instructiones pro episcopis, bibliopolis, &c. Demum declaratur quod legentes vel habentes librum propter falsi dogmatis suspicionem damnatum, ipso facto incurrunt excommunicationem qui autem alia de causa damnatum legeret vel habuerit, praeter peccati mortalis reatum, erit severe ab episcopo puniendus.¹

To be continued.

T. H.

¹ *St. Alphonsus: loc. cit.*

CLERICAL STUDIES¹

THE education of the clergy, always a subject of deep solicitude to the Church, has assumed, in our day, the nature of a problem which urgently demands a solution. The conditions of the problem are easily explained. The ecclesiastical student has, first of all, to learn a great deal which is purely professional, and does not directly concern the general public. This part of clerical education is a constant quantity, due allowance being made for the development of doctrine and ceremonial. But such knowledge as will enable a priest to carry out the ceremonial of the Mass, to administer the Sacraments according to the rubrics, and to teach the Christian doctrine, though sufficient under normal conditions, is far from being adequate to the needs of the Church in the present age. Intoxicated by the conquests of science, the mind of humanity is now more than ever in a ferment of unrest, and the spirit of inquiry, treating religious subjects like any other human facts or phenomena, and applying to them modern methods of investigation, is busy formulating theories that only too many are willing to consider, and which are supported by arguments specious enough to demand an answer. It devolves, then, on the minister of religion not merely to teach what is true, but to refute what is false. The simple faithful are content to accept Catholic teaching on the authority of their pastor; but educated Catholics, who are familiar with current literature, and cannot escape coming in frequent contact with the infidel tenets of the new school, require to be supplied with reasons for the faith that is in them, and with antidotes against infection. It was a comparatively easy task to defend Catholic dogma against the objections of the so-called Reformers, who admitted the authority of the

¹ *Clerical Studies.* By the Very Rev. J. B. Hogan, S.S., D.D., President, St. John's Seminary, Boston, Mass. Marlier, Callanan, & Co., Boston, Mass.

Bible ; but now it is the Bible itself which the Catholic apologist is called on to sustain, not against mere ribald attacks or perverse interpretation, but against indictments set forth with all the weight and glamour of scholarship. Hence the need of a higher ecclesiastical education, to meet which the programme of clerical studies has, within recent years, been very much modified. Sciences are now included which did not exist even in name at the beginning of the century ; and some of our strictly professional studies, such as those of Sacred Scripture and dogmatic theology, have been obliged to assume much wider proportions. But the problem of educating ecclesiastics up to present requirements is far from being yet solved—at least in this country. Not to speak of defects due to the want of university education, much remains to be done in the way of equipping our seminaries and adapting the curriculum of clerical studies to the needs of the day. It is a time for plain speaking, and any suggestions which help to solve the problem of bringing clerical education up to date deserve a careful consideration. No apology is, therefore, needed for introducing to the readers of the I. E. RECORD the learned, seasonable, lucid, and practical work, the title of which is placed at the head of this article.

The views of the author claim our attention, not merely for their intrinsic value, but as the deliberate testimony of long experience. A member of a religious congregation remarkable for devotion to the education of ecclesiastics, Dr. Hogan was for many years a Professor of Theology in the famous seminary of St. Sulpice, Paris. With what distinction he filled that position is attested by the fact that he was invited to fill the Chair of Apologetics in the new Catholic University of Washington. His Order, however, could not long afford to dispense with his services, and at present he holds the responsible position of President of St. John's Seminary, Boston, which is in charge of the Sulpitian Fathers. Although most of the matter contained in the present volume appeared as a series of articles in the *American Ecclesiastical Review*, still, had he not yielded to the wishes of his many friends and admirers

in re-issuing them in this more accessible and permanent form, Catholic literature would, in our opinion, be the loser.

Leaving to others what concerns the earlier or classical course, he takes up in succession the different subjects taught in our seminaries, not for the purpose of treating of them in any degree, but only to determine their object, to point out their practical value, and, through a knowledge of their nature, to reach the methods by which they may be most intelligently and profitably studied.

This is the author's description of the plan of his work. We regret he did not add a chapter on what he calls the 'Earlier, or Classical Course;' for here, in our opinion, is a most tempting theme for the friendly critic of our clerical studies. The priest comes before the world as a teacher and an apologist, and a fundamental condition of his success in playing either rôle is a mastery of the English language. Yet it is only recently that the classical course in some of our seminaries included English Classics; and as the Intermediate Education Act so far pays only for written English, boys, are, still often allowed to pass to the higher Colleges utterly untutored in the elementary principles of elocution. Nay, more: so much is education now-a-days in this country worked on commercial lines, that merely to 'pass the Intermediate,' boys are known to have been taught French according to English sounds. For the speaking of French counts for nothing. No marks for it so far, and no money. It will be confessed, again, that a priest should be able to sing. Does not the glorious liturgy of the Catholic Church, which it is now so much the fashion of outsiders to imitate, owe much of its beauty and solemnity and power to the correct rendering of sacred music. Take away the Preface and Pater Noster from the High Mass, the *Dies Iræ* from the Requiem service, the chanting of the Passion, and the lamentations from the Holy Week service, and how much poorer will be our Ritual? So much do our people crave for sacred music, that a weekly *Missa Cantata* and Sunday vespers are held in all the principal Catholic churches of England and America. In view of all this, one

would think that an early training of the voice and ear should not be neglected during the classical course. But it is too much so with results that may be occasionally *heard*.

What a delicate work is the education of a boy during this classical course, which usually lasts from his twelfth to his eighteenth year. How much may be left undone, how much may be ill done, even though his name do appear in the 'Intermediate' Exhibition list. The Intermediate Education Act has undoubtedly improved our seminaries, but is in its present form open to one serious objection—viz., that under its operation the education of our youth is carried on at high pressure, and may become too much a commercial transaction.

We think, then, it is a pity that the author of *Clerical Studies* did not include the classical course, which, though not, perhaps, technically within his programme, is not less important than any of the subjects he has dealt with. Not that we could expect from him a criticism of the Intermediate Education Act and its working, of which he has had probably no experience; but in view of his treatment of higher clerical studies, we feel certain he could say very pertinent and practical things on the earlier studies of aspirants to the priesthood.

The book, however, opens with a chapter on a subject which, if it is to be cultivated successfully in the higher Colleges, must have been well begun in the preparatory seminary, viz.—Natural Science. The field of study covered by this heading 'absorbs,' the author tells us with truth, 'more of the intellectual activity of the age than almost all the other forms of knowledge put together.' Whatever may be said about the superior educational value of the classics of Greece and Rome, there cannot be two opinions about the advantages which the Catholic Apologist derives from a thorough acquaintance with the recent developments of Natural Science. The point is very well put by the author:—

Least of all can it [Natural Science] be set aside by the future defender of the Christian faith. For science is the ground on which many of its battles are being and will continue to be

ought ; and the first duty of a leader is to reconnoitre the battlefield to ascertain the positions of advantage and see how they may be captured and kept. . . . He who remains a stranger to them [the Natural Sciences] may keep his own faith safe enough by not heeding or not realising what is objected. But he cannot be helpful to those who are alive to such difficulties. Scientific objections have to be met on scientific grounds ; and those who venture on the latter unprepared only succeed in confirming in their error the minds they should have led back to the truth.

He might have added this to the many arguments he has adduced in support of his plea for the study of this subject—viz., that a knowledge of physics and chemistry is indispensable for an intelligent appreciation of some of the fundamental questions of philosophy. In fact, the latest development of philosophical study in the Catholic Schools is the inauguration of a department called psycho-physics. Later on, however, the author supplies this defect when he deplores the neglect of *Experimental Psychology* in the philosophical course of our clerical seminaries.

Chapter II. is an exhaustive and intensely interesting disquisition on the study of philosophy. He traces in it the decay of Scholastic and the growth of Cartesian philosophy, discusses the recent revival of the former, interprets the Encyclical *Aeterni Patris*, in which Leo XIII. advocates the philosophy of St. Thomas, and supplies some very useful hints on the method of studying and teaching this subject. His treatment of the delicate aspects of this question is characterized by candour and moderation. Without committing himself to any particular school, he reviews the history of Catholic philosophy in a judicial temper, and points out the defects which Scholastic Philosophy must avoid if it is to enjoy a new lease of life. This is the summing up of his views on the Pope's attitude towards Thomistic philosophy :—

Such seems to be the sense of the Encyclical—a weighty recommendation to give more attention and thought to the writings of St. Thomas and to the whole philosophy of the Schools—too much and too long neglected—with the assurance that such attention and thought would be abundantly repaid.

The Pope could not have meant to go further. Philosophy as such, that is outside its connection with revealed truth, does not come any more under his authority than Natural Science. . . . Thus limited to its true meaning, the Encyclical loses that seeming exclusiveness which made it objectionable to many, because they confined their attention to separate passages, and failed to grasp the spirit of the whole.

The author insists with much show of reason that philosophy should not be exclusively taught in Latin :—

It has been [he writes] the experience of the writer for many years that if those who have been taught philosophy, and especially Scholastic Philosophy, only in Latin, not more than one in half-a-dozen had brought away with him much more than a set of formulas, with only a very imperfect notion of their meaning, though not unfrequently accompanied by a strong determination to cling to them all determinedly and at any cost."

If this be true of Scholastic Philosophy, which grew and matured in the Latin tongue, how much more difficult is it to expound modern thought in suitable and intelligible Latin ? The author concludes this chapter of his book with the following pertinent remark :—

We will conclude by observing that our age being both literary and historical, the philosophical training of our clerical youth to be practical and effective should share in that two-fold character. They should be taught not only to think, but to give a free, forcible, and happy expression to their thoughts. The success of Platonism, Cartesianism, Malebranchism, in the past, and of all forms of Agnosticism in the present, has been and is largely due to the literary ability of their supporters.

Passing from the subjects that form an essential part of a liberal education, the author takes up the strictly professional clerical studies. Chapter III. is headed 'Apologetics,' which in many schools is not distinguished from theology, only as a part from the whole. Dr. Hogan would have an apologist to be something more than a theologian :—

The latter [he writes] is not concerned with the thoughts of those around him. He lives in the past. He grasps the form of divine truth as they come forth under the action of philosophical principles, or show themselves through the medium of history or

of biblical exegesis, or are heard through the voice of the Church. The Apologist, on the contrary, while no stranger to the past, is principally concerned with the present, catching, as they come to light, the thoughts of the period, realising the feelings, the needs, the aspirations of his contemporaries, the hidden springs of action and belief, which consciously or unconsciously impel them. . . . Nor must this study be confined to the time of his preparation or early ministry. For men's minds are ever moving, and it is simply wonderful what little hold certain arguments have on one generation, which to the preceding generation seemed unanswerable. . . . Statements and principles universally accepted in the past gradually make room for others, and so a new presentation of the credentials of Christianity becomes a practical necessity for each succeeding generation.

This sounds like what is now called Americanism, and the mention of Heckler by the author as one of the most distinguished of American apologists would tend to show his sympathy with the famous Paulist's method of evangelization. But what man of experience and common sense will question the wisdom of this passage? What is the use of furbishing old arguments whose day is past, and of refuting objections which are as dead as Queen Anne, while the monthly and weekly and daily magazines are teeming with new forms of error to which we pay comparatively little attention. Among the suggestions given to help the missionary priest to stem the advancing tide of unbelief is one which cannot, we think, get too much publicity. It is that priests would meet as often as convenient, and having previously agreed on a division of labour, would, on such occasions, compare notes, discuss current errors, and agree on a practical method of defence. Such meetings if conducted on proper lines by serious and earnest men, would be at once a source of wholesome recreation, and an agreeable and effective means of acquiring most useful knowledge.

Speaking of America he says:—

Such action we believe to be possible in many of the dioceses of this country. It would naturally devolve in a great measure on the younger members of the clergy; but among those of riper years some should be found to lend to it their authority and experience, and even take an active share in its labours. A

bishop could do much more still, and to draw forth, in this and other similar shapes, the mental powers—great, as the present writer has reason to know, but too often imperfectly developed—of his more gifted priests, would be one of the most lasting benefits he could confer on his whole clergy, and on the Church at large.

The last article of this chapter contains some excellent hints on the method of apologetics. Among them is the following:—

Neither would it serve any better the cause of religious truth to imitate those who, leaving out of sight the wonderful results of modern research, and alive only to the controversies or mistakes of scientists and scholars, would fain dismiss the latter without a hearing.

The next chapter, which is on Dogmatic Theology, is typical of the method and tone of the whole work. Each chapter is divided into articles, and in the first article of this chapter he makes clear his position with reference to the importance of dogma. The French alarmists can find here, at least, no abolishing of the custom-house or minimizing of the Church's dogmatic teaching. For, in reading the signs of the times, he discerns among the omens of ill the absence of the 'healthy hatred of heresy, and fear of contamination from it, which was universal in former times.'

Is there not reason to fear [he goes on to ask] that the same disposition of unworthy compromise with fashionable indifference on popular errors may even invade the sanctuary; that the general upheaval of doctrines and confusion of thoughts which are characteristic of our times, may disturb the clerical mind also, blurring in it the lines which divide orthodoxy from error.

But having premised so much the remaining three articles of this chapter are as advanced as one would desire. The main contention running through them is that dogmatic theology should be up to date.

Were St. Thomas [he says] to return among us to-day, momentarily shorn of the beatific vision and possessing only his original gifts, we should find him once more eager to take in all knowledge, busy with the most recent discoveries, alive to the great questions of the hour, watching the developments of minds and of events, gathering light from everything, and harmoniously blending it with the light from above.

Here is his appreciation of Scriptural argument in the light of modern criticism :—

First of all, Scriptural arguments rest on literal interpretation; yet it becomes more and more difficult as we advance in the intelligence of the Bible to say just when and where its statements should be taken literally. Besides the looseness or lack of grammatical accuracy, which is common to all languages, it is felt that the productions of each country and of each period have to be interpreted in accordance with the literary habits of the time and of the people. At all times and everywhere poetry and prophecy have had a freer scope and were less tied down to the more exact vocabulary of philosophy or narrative. History itself, with some races, shared the privilege, besides being freely initiated by allegory and fiction. Hence a cloud has arisen which overshadows many things in Scripture, which in former times suggested no difficulty. Very few, for instance, consider any longer the first chapter of Genesis as strictly historical, and the freedom permitted in regard to it is being gradually extended to the following chapters and to other parts of the Bible. As for the prophetic description of the Resurrection and the Last Judgment, referred to above, it is equivalently admitted that they present only a poetic picture, from which no solid fact can be extracted with certainty, beyond the great reality and the solemn character of these great events.

Perhaps the boldest statement in the whole book is that in which the author anticipates a possible change in the wording (not the substance) of dogmatic definitions :—

May we not [he writes] imagine a further progress which would enable theologians, while faithful to the substantial meaning of such definitions from which it can never be allowable to depart, to retranslate them into something still more in harmony with the new and advanced state of the human mind as well as with unchanging eternal truth.

But this, after all, only implies that with the progress of theology we may get clearer views of revealed truth which would demand modifications of the Church's present form of expressing them. Let it not be inferred from the tone of these extracts that Dr. Hogan belongs to that class of critics who jibe at theology as mediæval and bigoted. He distinguishes between the fundamental principles which will ever remain untouched and those fanciful theories and

conjectures which have accompanied the development of every science, notably of theology :—

Whole folios were filled with accounts of the origin of the celestial spirits, their probation, organization, action, powers, functions, relation between themselves with mankind and with all creation. Theologians told the story of creation . . . with a detail such as nobody would venture on at the present day. They described the state of innocence as if they themselves had lived through it, explaining what Adam knew, and what he was ignorant of, how long he lived in Paradise, and what sort of existence he would have led if he had never fallen, &c.

But when the 'disintegrating effect of criticism' has done its worst, a noble pile remains well-proportioned and impregnable, reared by intellects that 'have seen almost as far as the human intelligence can reach into the depths of the divine nature and the mysteries of the faith.' The author lays his tribute of admiration at the feet of such men as St. Thomas, Suarez, Lugo, Vasquez, Ripalda, &c., whose treatment of theology 'from the scholastic standpoint is so searching and so thorough as scarce ever to be surpassed.'

The remaining chapters of the book deal with Moral Theology, Ascetic Theology, Pastoral Theology, Canon Law, Liturgy, Homiletics, Church History, the Bible, and the fathers. Space does not permit us to follow the author's treatment of those different subjects. Suffice it, then, to say that in our opinion all classes of ecclesiastics, the administrator as well as the professor, the missionary priest as much as the student, cannot fail to derive profit from their perusal. The reader is placed on an eminence from which he gets a clear and comprehensive view of the whole field of ecclesiastical study. He may see the above-named subjects in their relations to one another, the *raison d'être* of each, and the best methods of teaching them to others and to oneself. There is no trace of fadism in the work; nor, while there is plenty of plain speaking, is there a sentence which, as far as our reading went, betrays the absence of modesty. The tone throughout is judicial and temperate. The author's convictions, formed after long experience and extensive

reading, are submitted without any omission which would enable the reader to judge of their wisdom and truthfulness. The style of the book is stately, graceful, and lucid. In view of the extract relative to the value of Scriptural argument which we have quoted above, it is only fair to state that the chapter on Biblical Studies, while being fully up to date, is redolent of the most thorough orthodoxy. The claims of the Bible, as a source of literary inspiration, devotional stimulus, and sacred knowledge, are set forth with force, fulness, and eloquence :—

Theology in every shape [he tells us]—dogmatic, moral, ascetic, mystical—proceeds directly from the Inspired Word, and borrows from it at every step its substance and its form. It is from the Bible that sacred oratory derives its deepest thoughts and most striking utterances ; it is to it even that Canon Law goes for its most fundamental principles.

The method of Biblical study is also discussed, and many useful suggestions are made in this connection. While recourse to commentaries is recognised as a practical necessity, the superior value of concordances is emphasized. Westcott is quoted as saying that a grammar, a lexicon, and a concordance were of more assistance to him than all the commentaries he could handle. Then, again, with the recent strides that have been made in Biblical criticism, commentaries that were excellent in their day and will ever be valued under certain aspects can no longer be regarded as sufficient to meet the needs of the hour. The higher criticism, as it is called, is discussed with prudence and sufficient candour. Without committing himself to any definite views the author admits the gravity of the situation and proclaims the urgent necessity of encountering rationalists on their own ground :—

They [he writes] are Biblical scholars, specialists, experts, with a perfect knowledge of the sacred text, of the language in which it was originally written, of the physical and historical surroundings amid which the events it records are supposed to have happened, of the latest discoveries in the various sciences which can help to understand and appreciate its statements. Their authority, based on those statements is paramount with most of those who give them a hearing ; and the number of

minds they reach through their lectures and writings, reflected and re-echoed in the literature of the day is simply countless.

With all the attractions of scholarship and style, the critics of this school seek to upset both the Catholic and Protestant traditional notions of Biblical inerrancy. And the ablest Catholic scholars of the day are beginning to admit the necessity of accepting views which are sufficiently startling. If we are not mistaken a writer in *The Tablet* has been holding that the Bible may contain unacknowledged quotations for the historical truth of which inspiration may not be claimed. A few have gone so far as to maintain—

The purpose of God when He teaches man through revelation is not to instruct him or correct his errors as to the things of this world, it is to enlighten him morally and spiritually. In all else He leaves him to his natural resources. In the Inspired Books, therefore, in so far as they convey moral and religious truth, there can be no error. In all else the inspired writer is liable to mistakes like any other man.

The author justly condemns this view as being opposed to the teaching of the recent Encyclical of Leo XIII. which contains the following :—

Those who maintain that an error is possible in any genuine passage of the Sacred Writings, pervert the Catholic notion of inspiration, and make God the author of such error.

But notwithstanding the stern character of the Pope's general teaching in this Encyclical—


Biblical students [writes the author], while professing the most entire submission to his teachings have never been bolder in their speculations . . . than since the Encyclical was issued. Thus, to confine ourselves to a few examples, the freedom of interpretation generally admitted already with regard to the first chapter of Genesis is now claimed and practically assumed in dealing with the contents of the following chapters. The deluge . . . is reduced to the proportion of a local inundation . . . the plagues of Egypt are cut down by some to the size of ordinary events . . . the miracle of Joshua to a poetic description of a natural phenomenon . . . The Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, almost universally rejected by the highest Biblical authorities . . . is being gradually questioned amongst Catholic scholars.

Plainly biblical criticism is in a transition period, and it is incumbent on the rank and file of ecclesiastics to watch its course and to await guidance.

There is just one question which is now being often asked, and which will, probably, occur to the readers of this volume; viz., how can a student during his course, or even during his lifetime, acquire the amount of knowledge which we all say he should possess? In his chapter on Apologetics the author confesses that even that one branch of ecclesiastical study covers more than a single mind can master. His answer to this difficulty is highly suggestive:—

The difficulty is real [he writes]; it is, in fact, insuperable as regards individuals. No individual man can cover the whole field or be held as a complete representative of Christian Apologetics. But what is beyond the grasp of one may be compassed by several. Corresponding to each science connected with revelation let there be a special apologist. The possession of such men to fight her battles is unquestionably one of the greatest permanent needs of the Church. To multiply their numbers, and spread them through the length and breadth of this great country, is one of the objects of all higher education.

There are two classes of scholars, namely, investigators and expounders. The former class is small and select, and must confine their labours to a limited area. Every priest who has received a good education may be an efficient popular expounder of Catholic doctrine, even to the extent of defending the Catholic position against all comers. He may not be able to discuss current errors critically, but if the investigator has done his work, and given to the public the benefit of his researches, the priest who has received even a moderate scientific training in the subjects of his profession will know where to turn for practical assistance. Everybody knows what a power it is to be conversant with the latest conclusions arrived at by the learned, though one may not be able to verify them for himself. The real difficulty, then, is not so much the number of subjects which a student has to study as the location of the best solution of new or even of some old difficulties. Hence the necessity of centres of learning, fully equipped and fully manned with



manifesto published in the *Union* by the former Ultramontane deputy, Keller, an Alsatian, in which the present war was represented as a crusade, and every shot fired at a German as an *œuvre sainte*. We imagine that the Silesian journal in question will hardly succeed in obtaining credence when it casts doubt upon our respect for the Catholic Church. It will not desire to identify the cause of Catholicism with that of men who have been guilty of such a wicked abuse of sacred things and of genuine faith.¹

In other places he freely attributes the war to the Jesuits and to the Empress Eugenie, 'the bigoted Spaniard Montijo,' who tried to foment a coalition of Catholic powers against Germany.

One of the most remarkable features of the narrative of Dr. Busch is the inveterate hatred, jealousy, and contempt it reveals on the part of the Chancellor towards the petty princes and kings of Germany. This we are not sorry to see made public, and we think that it will in the long run enlist powerful influences in opposition to the policy of Bismarck. He speaks with concentrated scorn of 'their Highnesses,' swaggering about everywhere, displaying their gew-gaw decorations which not one of them has earned on the field; and again he speaks of them as 'a prying mob,' a pack of 'loafers,' who are almost as bad as spies, eating and drinking the best that can be found, always on the scent for news, and incapable of keeping anything secret. He was particularly severe on the Duke of Coburg, the 'Coburger,' as he invariably calls him, and never missed an opportunity of using insulting language whenever the Duke's name was mentioned.

On November 8th, 1870, Bismarck again referred in conversation to the Roman question :—

Hatzfeldt asked : 'Has your excellency seen that the Italians have broken into the Quirinal?'

'Yes, and I am curious to know what the Pope will now do. Leave the country? But where can he go? He has already requested us to ask the Italians whether he would be allowed to leave and with fitting dignity. We did so, and they replied that the utmost respect would be paid to his position, and that their

¹ Vol. i., p. 249.

attitude would be governed by that determination in case he desired to depart.'

'They would not like to see him go,' added Hatzfeldt; 'it is in their interest that he should remain in Rome.'

The Chief: 'Yes, certainly. But perhaps he may be obliged to leave. But where could he go? Not to France, because Garibaldi is there. He would not like to go to Austria. To Spain? I suggested to him Bavaria.'

The minister then reflected for a moment, after which he continued:

'There remains nothing for him but Belgium or North Germany. As a matter of fact, he has already asked whether we could grant him asylum. I have no objection to it—Cologne or Fulda. It would be passing strange, but after all not so very inexplicable, and it would be very useful to us to be recognised by Catholics as what we really are; that is to say, the sole power now existing that is capable of protecting the head of their Church. Stofflet and Charette, together with their Zouaves, could then go about their business. We should have the Poles on our side. The opposition of the Ultramontanes would cease in Belgium and Bavaria. Mallinkrodt would come over to the Government side. But the King will not consent. He is terribly afraid. He thinks all Prussia would be perverted, and he himself would be obliged to become a Catholic. I told him, however, that if the Pope begged for asylum he could not refuse it. He would have to grant it as ruler over ten million Catholic subjects who would desire to see the head of their Church protected. . . . And, after all, even if a few people in Germany became Catholic again (I should certainly not do so) it would not matter as long as they remained believing Christians. . . . If only the Pope remain true to me, I shall know how to bring His Majesty round.

It is perfectly evident that Bismarck was swayed in his policy against the Church by the exigencies of his own crafty and selfish designs. When it suited his purposes he could come down from his high horse and even march to Canossa with perfect humility. The absolute lack of anything like high principle when his personal schemes were being worked out, is one of the features in Bismarck's character which these volumes illustrate most completely. The touch of the Teuton savage, which shows itself from time to time, comes vividly into view during the campaign in France. At Commercy a woman complained to him that her husband,

who had tried to strike a hussar with a spade, had been arrested, and earnestly pleaded for his release.

Bismarck listened to her very amiably, and when she had done he replied in the kindest manner possible:

'Well, my good woman, you can be quite sure that your husband [drawing a line round his neck with his finger] will be presently hanged.'

This incident reminds us of one that is recorded by the late Mr. Washburne, United States Minister in Paris, of the infamous Communist, Raoul Rigault. When Gustave Chauday, the celebrated lawyer and journalist was condemned to be shot¹—

Madame Chauday, a beautiful and accomplished woman, sought an interview with Rigault in order to save the life of her husband. She took with her her little child, hoping to touch the callous heart of the monster. What was his response to the trembling woman bathed in tears? Taking the little child by the hand and patting him on the shoulder, he said; 'Ah! my child, you will see us very soon shoot your father.' That night he knocked at the door of Chauday's cell. It was the knell of death.

It must be admitted in the case of Bismarck, however, that when he indulged in the piece of barbarity mentioned above, he had only recently heard of the havoc the French sharp-shooters had been playing on some German regiments. This palliates, but does not justify, his inhuman severity.

We find here and there in the second and third volumes very interesting conversations on the Vatican Council, on Court intrigues in Prussia and England, on the relations with France after the peace. There are most caustic details of the quarrel between the Chancellor and the Crown Prince—an opposition which was very acute and very prolonged. It is astonishing to see Bismarck, when Prince Frederic became Emperor, anxious to serve under a man he had thwarted and insulted for upwards of ten years, and whose wife he had persecuted and libelled through his myrmidons on the platform and in the press. But there was no meanness too great for this giant, giant though he undoubtedly

¹ *Recollections of a Minister to France, 1869-1877.* By E. B. Washburne, LL.D., vol. ii., p. 197.

was. Of the 'Kulturkampf' we get some inner glimpses that make us decidedly wish for more.

There is one thing we notice with pleasure—and with gratitude—that Professor Max Müller of Oxford used his great influence with his countrymen against the persecution of the Catholics—a fact which has obtained for him—and, indeed, for all professors—the honour of some disparaging compliments from the Chancellor. It seems quite clear that the 'Kulturkampf' was entirely, as far as Bismarck was concerned, a political campaign. He would just as readily have persecuted the Protestants or the Jews if it suited his ambition. He once said, truly enough, that there is an immense lot of rubbish in all that one hears and reads about toleration. The early Protestants, he said, were notoriously intolerant. The Huguenots, in particular, were shocking tyrants. He referred to the course taken by Calvin against Servetus, and added, 'Luther was just the same.' The Freethinkers, too, he said, had just as little to boast of. 'They persecute believers, not indeed with the stake, since that is impossible, but with insult and mockery in the press.' He forgot to add, that whilst it was the business of an enlightened statesman to check outbursts of fanaticism from whatever quarter they might proceed, he himself was at that very moment maturing a project by which he could turn to account the vile passions he condemned; and that, if there is such a thing as the intolerance of philosophers and the intolerance of religious organizations, there is also the intolerance of ambitious statesmen, which has probably done more harm to the world than all the other forms of intolerance put together.

It almost inspires pity in the end to see the old servant so unceremoniously thrust aside by his young master. The officials at Court and in the Government offices were anxiously waiting to see, as the Chancellor expressed it, which way the 'cat would jump.' Politicians were afraid to visit him lest it might be thought they were sympathizers. Only the Ultramontanes—the once hated Ultramontanes—Windthorst, Schorlemer, and Hune, go sometimes. They fear no one, and have a lingering regard for the old lion they have tamed. His

movements are watched by the minions of the young Emperor. Spies are everywhere at his heels. He still wishes to cling to office, notwithstanding the genuflections he has to make to William II. But it is no use. The young Emperor wants to rule, and not to be ruled. The old Chancellor is thwarted, and thinking that he cannot be done without, he tenders his resignation. To his astonishment his resignation is accepted, and he is relegated, 'weary and old with service,' to private life. Then is witnessed the stampede of flatterers and minions who thronged around him in the days of his power and pride. Count Herbert gives a farewell dinner to the officials of the Foreign Office. Four of them—Holstein, Lindau, Kayser, and Raschdau—declined the invitation. Keudell keeps out of the way. Paul Hatzfeldt '*apostatizes*' in London. Even Bötticher, whom he had lifted into prominence, turns against him. There is no element of a complete downfall wanting; and Bismarck, like Wolsey, gets leisure to meditate during his remaining years on

'The vain pomp and glory of this world.'

J. F. HOGAN.

Notes and Queries.

THEOLOGY

REVALIDATION OF A CLANDESTINE MARRIAGE

REV. DEAR SIR,—A man and woman belonging to this parish some years ago, went before a Registrar to contract marriage. Afterwards they left for England, where they remained for nearly two years. They have now returned to Ireland. Was the marriage validated by their living together in England?

CLANDESTINUS.

What raises a doubt in our correspondent's mind is that the decree *Tametsi*, though binding on Catholics in Ireland, has not been promulgated in England. These persons, therefore, may be supposed to have contracted validly, though clandestinely, during their residence in England. The solution of the question, however, presents no difficulty.

1. If either of the parties were a baptized non-Catholic—as their having recourse to the Registry office might seem to suggest—their marriage before the Registrar would not be affected by the law of clandestinity, and, therefore, in the absence of any other diriment impediment, the marriage would be valid, though unlawful.

2. If both parties were Catholics, their marriage before the Registrar was, of course, not only unlawful, but invalid as well. Was it validated during their residence in England? Possibly, it will be found that, coming to a better mind, they renewed their consent before a priest in England, in the usual form. If, however, they be found not to have done so, then the question proposed arises, did they validate their marriage by simply living together as man and wife in England. We must again make a distinction—(a) If they recognised or feared the invalidity of their previous marriage owing to clandestinity, and went through the form of renewing their consent, before witnesses or privately,

they would thus validate their marriage. Even by the fact of living together as man and wife they would also validly contract. For, knowing the invalidity of their previous marriage, they must, in the absence of proof to the contrary, be presumed to have given, explicitly or otherwise, a new consent. This new and independent consent will effect a valid marriage. (b) If, on the other hand, the parties were unaware of the invalidity of their marriage, or being aware of it were content to live in concubinage, their marriage was not validated by their living together in England. Their matrimonial consent in that case would be, at best, a mere continuation or renewal of the invalid consent given in Ireland. This seems to be the teaching adopted by the Sacred Congregation of the Inquisition, when it declared, 31st August, 1887, certain persons who had clandestinely and invalidly contracted in France to be still free—*ad matrimonium contrahendum*—provided '*matrimonium clandestinum initum non fuisse ab iisdem, scientibus illius nullitatem, ratificatum in loco ubi Tridentum non viget.*'

THE PERSONAL OBLIGATION OF OFFERING THE MASS 'PRO POPULO'—OMISSION OF THE MASS 'PRO POPULO'

REV. DEAR SIR,—A parish priest is bound to say Mass *pro populo* on Sundays and holidays. He is bound also to say this Mass himself, if possible, and not to entrust the duty to another. I shall thank you to say whether the second obligation like the first is a grave obligation.

2. If a parish priest omits through necessity to celebrate *pro populo aut per se aut per alium*, is it certain that he is bound to supply the Mass omitted? I may add that I have no doubt on my mind on the matter. Something that I read in Ballerini suggested the present question to me.—Faithfully yours.

C. C.

The obligation of parish priests and others to celebrate *pro populo* is fourfold. First, there is the *real* or *substantial* obligation to apply the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass for the people on certain specified occasions; and, secondly, there are three subsidiary obligations; a *personal* obligation, by which the parish priest is bound to celebrate this Mass in

person, not by deputy; a *local* obligation, requiring that the Mass should be celebrated in the parochial church; a *temporal* obligation, in virtue of which the Mass must be celebrated on the days assigned.

The substantial obligation of having the Mass offered for the people is a grave obligation. The omission of even one Mass is a mortal sin. This is the teaching of all theologians.

Are the three subsidiary obligations also grave, so that to defer the Sunday's Mass, for instance, to some day during the ensuing week would be a mortal sin? On this question we do not find the same unanimity among theologians. The frequent violation of any of these minor obligations is, indeed, generally admitted to be a mortal sin. Berardi further asserts, but not without apparent hesitation, that individual violations of the personal or temporal obligations would be mortally sinful. He expresses his opinion as follows:—

Transgressiones etiam aliarum circumstantiarum (*i. e.*, of the obligations that we have named subsidiary), si esset frequentes, grave peccatum constituerent. Pro casu autem raro, Lehmkühl¹ stat proculpae levitate. Ex mente tamen S. C. C. si parochus non applicaret personaliter (et a fortiori si die festo de praecepto applicationem prorsus omitteret atque in diem ferialem transferret), a peccato gravi excusari non posse videretur.

To us it would seem that the opinion of Lehmkühl is sufficiently probable. Therefore, in answer to our correspondent's first question we say that the personal and other subsidiary obligations above mentioned bind *sub grave*, so that *frequent* violations of any one of them, without a justifying cause, would be a mortal sin; occasional *rare* violations, without a justifying cause, are venially sinful.

Our correspondent further inquires whether there is any ground for believing that a parish priest, who has neglected or omitted to say one of his obligatory Masses *pro populo*, is not afterwards strictly obliged to supply that Mass. We reply that there is not a shadow of probability attaching to

¹ Vol. ii., n. 196.

² Berardi, *De Parochi*, n. 101.

the very liberal opinion mentioned by our correspondent. The question proposed may, possibly, have arisen from the following passage in Ballerini-Palmieri:—

‘*Questio fit an parochus vel episcopus infirmus teneatur supplere (missam pro populo) per alium.*’¹

St. Alph. lib. 6, n. 327, dicit, se hanc questionem penes neminem discussam aut etiam indicatam vidisse; consultuisse de ipsa plures doctos, quorum alii negarunt, parochum ad id teneri, alii affirmarunt. Ipse censet affirmandum, sed sincere fateor, rationes allatas non esse demonstrativas. . . .

But whatever difficulty there may have been about the matter formerly, there is absolutely none now. Practically speaking, the obligation to supply such a Mass is unconditionally affirmed by all theologians. If any further evidence be needed, it will be found in the following reply of the S. C. C., given 14th December, 1872:—

An parochus morbi causa legitime impeditus, ne Missam celebret, teneatur, post recuperatam sanitatem tot Missas applicare pro populo, quot durante morbo omisit, sive in casu quo nec per se nec per alium poterat celebrare sine gravi incommodo, sive in casu quo poterat per alium sed ex aliquo vano timore vel negligentia non curavit vel non obtinuit, ut alius pro se celebraret?

Resp.—Parochum, utcumque legitime impeditum, ne Missam celebret, teneri eam die festo per alium celebrari et applicari facere pro populo in ecclesia parochiali; quod si ita factum non fuerit, quam primum poterit, Missam pro populo applicare debere.²

NEW PROPER LESSONS OF THE BREVIARY

REV. DEAR SIR,—The Divine Office is being constantly modified by the addition of Proper Lessons and prayers. Often priests do not even hear for a considerable time of the changes introduced. I wish to have your opinion as to the obligation to procure and use these leaflets on which such Lessons, &c., are usually printed.

J. B.

1. The use of these new prayers and lessons to which reference is made is, of course, lawful on the part of those to whom the modified offices are granted, provided that the

¹ Vol. iv., n. 341, second edition.

² Collect. S. C. Prop. Fil., n. 207.

leaflets are printed with the requisite authority. Even though a priest makes no special effort to keep himself abreast with such changes, by taking in some periodical ecclesiastical literature, and though there be no diocesan machinery, through the conferences or otherwise, for promulgating the decrees of the Congregation of Rites, if he only reads his *Ordo*, he can scarcely remain long ignorant of the changes in the Breviary.

2. While priests are recommended to procure these leaflets, as they so easily can, there does not seem to be a strict obligation to do so. *Lectiones ex integro vel ex parte reformatae inseri quidem debent in novis breviariis, sed non obligant eos qui juxta breviarium quod habent officium recitant.*¹ This, at all events, seems to be reasonably inferred from an instruction issued by the Sacred Congregation of Rites, 14th December, 1883, in reference to certain changes that had been then made:—

A S.R.C. prodierunt in lucem nonnullae Breviarii Romani et Proprii Sanctorum Summorum Pontificum Lectiones historicae ex integro vel ex parte reformatae. Ne ulli aequivicationi hac in re pateat aditus, opportunum censetur declarare, hujus modi modificationes ab eadem S.C. approbatas atque editas fuisse ad hoc tantummodo, ut in novis Breviarii et Proprii praedicti editionibus, rite perficiendis, inseri debeant; minime vero, ut ad eas assumendas ii obligentur, qui Horas Canonicas recitant juxta editiones jam existentes.

D. MANNIX.

LITURGY

PRAYER FOR THE BLESSED THADDAEUS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Kindly inform us is there a ‘proper’ prayer for the Blessed Thaddaeus. The I. E. RECORD, vol. xvii., page 859, says not, but the *Ordo* says *yes*. If the latter is correct please give the prayer. Is it ‘Domine Deus Omnipotens’?

CLOYNENSIS.

There is no proper prayer for Blessed Thaddaeus: this is clearly implied in the original rescript published in the I. E. RECORD, to which our correspondent refers. From

¹ *Genicot*, vol. ii., n. 58, v.1.

this rescript it is evident that the prayer for Blessed Thaddæus is the *Da quæsumus*, the prayer of the Mass *Statuit*, and, in the Breviary, the first in order of the prayers for a bishop-confessor.

We cannot find, however, that the *Ordo* says that the prayer of Blessed Thaddæus is proper. On the contrary, we are convinced that it says no such thing; and consequently, that it is our correspondent's interpretation of the *Ordo*, rather than the *Ordo* itself, that is at fault. To convince him of this it is only necessary to call his attention to the context in which *Oratio propria* is mentioned. But, perhaps, it is better to print here the whole directions given in the *Ordo* for the Feast of Blessed Thaddæus:—

Oct. 24. In DD. Corcag. Cloynen. et Rossen. In 2 Vesp. com. seq. et Ss. Chrysanthi et Dariae, Mm.

Oct. 25. In DD. Corcag. Cloynen. et Rossen. B. Thaddæi, Ep. et C. *dupl.* Ll. 1 N. *Incip. lib. 2 Machabæor. occ. Dom. præc.*; Ll. 2 N. *propr.*; Ll. 3 N. *hom. in Evang. Cum persequentur ut in Festo S. Athanasii, May 2; 9 l. (è duab. fit una) et com. Ss. Mm. in L. et M. Or. propr. Evang. ut. ad Matut. In 2 Vesp. com. S. Evaristi, P. M. tant.*

Now, anyone accustomed to the 'style' of the *Ordo* should at once see that *Or. propr.* refers not to Blessed Thaddæus, but to the martyrs who are commemorated on his feast day. If the prayer of Blessed Thaddæus were proper, the compiler of the *Ordo* according to his custom, would have made mention of this fact in the directions for Vespers rather than in the directions for Mass. But, it may be asked, is it not unusual to point out in the *Ordo* that the prayer used for a commemoration is proper? We believe it is, but there would seem to be a special reason for calling attention to it in the present case. The first prayer in the common of martyrs begins with precisely the same words as the proper prayer of SS. Chrysanthus and Daria, so that at first sight it would appear that the prayer from the common might be substituted for the proper prayers. To warn priests against this the compiler of the *Ordo* inserted, after notice of the commemoration of our Holy Martyrs, the direction *Or. propr.*

D. O'LOAN.

DOCUMENTS

**THE VENERABLE SERVANT OF GOD, BROTHER BERNARDINI
A CALENZANA, O.S.F.,**

BEATIFICATIONIS ET CANONIZATIONIS VEN. SERVI DEI FR. BERNARDINI
A CALENZANA SACERDOTIS PROFESSI ORDINIS MINORUM S. FRANCISI
SUPER DUBIO

*An constet de virtutibus Theologicalibus Fide, Spe, et Caritate in
Deum ac Proximum, nec non de Cardinalibus Prudentia,
Iustitia, Fortitudine ac Temperantia earumque adnexis in
gradu heroico in casu et ad effectum de quo agitur ?*

Virtus, quo ab oculis hominum et conspectu remotior, eo luce
purior nitentior.

Anno mxcxi, vi idus apriles Calenzanae in Cyrnaea insula
ortus est Bernardinus : parentes divites magis, an pii iure ambigis.
Integritas morum illi a teneris socia. Haec mentem eius
animumque sanctissimis temperavit legibus, eumque ad tumultum
usque est prosequuta.

Obsequio parentes et magistros sibi adiunxit, nihilque quod
ab eorum optatis aut nutu transversum unguem abesset, molitus
est. Animi demissione inter aequales praestitit : modestia et
obedientia omnibus in exemplum.

Pietatis studio ita efferebatur, ut nihil supra. Sacra de altari
libabat frequens. Christum in sacramento augusto delitescens
quotidie intervisebat, oculos in eum cupide intendebat, adloque-
batur adstantem.

Nihil illi in amore nisi caelestia, nihil mente libentius agitare
nisi solitudinem. Utque nulla notatam labe caelo tutius inferret
virginitatem, inter sodales franciscas, qui ' Reformati ' dice-
bantur, frustra reluctantem patre, immigravit. Annum agebat xv.
Brevi, ea in Bernardini virtutibus facta est accessio ut omnium
iudicio ad metam pervenisse visus sit. Assidua illi cum Deo
consuetudo, perpetuum orandi studium, summa humilitas,
poenitentia singularis. Recolendis vero Christi cruciatibus ita
addictus ut lacrimis temperare non posset, extases raptusque
experitur. Contubernales et socios uti fratres amore prosequutus
est. Omnibus gratificari, omnes obsequio et comitate demereri,
nullum singulis iuvandi locum dimittere, omnibus praesto esse.

Alumnos qui virtutis stadium ineunt, primisque sanctioris vitae imbuuntur praeceptis instituit praeses et magister : illis exemplo praeivit, illos singulas in horas ope et consilio adfuit. Ut illorum mores ad Francisci Patris disciplinam fingeret nullam officii sui partem passus est desiderari.

Bernardini caritas intra coenobii fines non se continuit. In communem enim utilitatem magnopere fuit intentus, neve uno dumtaxat munere implicitus teneretur, nihil potius duxit quam ut necessitates cum corporis tum animi sublevaret. Incredibile est quot, eo auctore, odia posita, iurgiorum semina extincta, dissidiorum causae abscissae.

In medio tamen laborum cursu nunquam a se oculos dimovit ; quare si quid otii ab animorum cultura vacaret, naviter ad caelestia conferebat, heic pietatis studio incalescebat : heic animum reficiebat ; heic recens et integer ad conserendam educendamque evangelii messem sese referebat. Paucis, adeo Bernardini secunda fama percrebuit, ut sancti nomen illi fuerit factum.

Extremo conflictatus morbo, cum exitum sibi imminere persentiret, tantam cepit animo voluptatem, ut beatas caeli delicias praegustare visus sit. Eius funus non modo oppidani, sed et frequentes e viciniis turmae moerore et virtutum eius praedicatione prosequuti sunt : utque communi omnium pietati fieret satis illius cadaver triduo inhumatum fuit asservandum. Vitam sanctissime actam cum immortalitate commutavit anno MDCLIII, praeclarisque quae reliquit virtutum speciminibus defunctus licet, adhuc loquitur.

Mirum igitur non est si cum morte haud perierit Venerabilis Bernardini memoria. Quin imo ob eius sanctitatis famam longe lateque diffusam, de eiusdem Beatificatione et Canonizatione in Sacrorum Rituum Congregatione causa coeperit agitari. Praemissis autem quae in huiusmodi causis Decreta et Pontificum Maximorum Constitutiones servari iubent, devotum est ad discutiendas Venerabilis Servi Dei virtutes in Congregatione Anteparaeclatoria habita decimonono calendas septembres anno MDCCCLXXXIII in aedibus Cardinalis Thomae Mariae Martinelli tunc causae relatoris. Huic Congregationi altera successit quae Praeparatoria dicitur, quaeque ad Apostolicum Palatium Vaticanum advocata fuit nono calendas augusti anno MDCCCXCIV. Tandem in generali conventu ibidem penes Sanctissimum Dominum Nostrum LEONEM PAPAM XIII indicto, anno

superiore, decimosexto calendas decembres Rmus Cardinalis Isidorus Verga Episcopus Albanensis, Causae Relator dubium ad discutiendum proposuit: 'An constet de Virtutibus Theologalibus Fide, Spe et Caritate erga Deum ac Proximum, nec non de Cardinalibus Prudentia, Iustitia, Temperantia et Fortitudine earumque adnexis Ven. Servi Dei Bernardini a Calenzana, in gradu heroico, in casu et ad effectum de quo agitur?' Emi 'ardinales, ceterique Patres Consultores suffragia singuli tulerunt, Beatissimus vero Pontifex decretoriam sententiam suam aperire distulit, divini luminis praesidium a Patre luminum impensius deprecaturus.

Hodierna autem die Dominica quarta post Epiphaniam sacro devotissime peracto, Rmos Cardinales acciri iussit Camillum Mazzella Episcopum Praenestinum S. R. C. Praefectum, et Isidorum Verga Episcopum Albanensem Causae Relatorem, nec non R. P. Io. Baptistam Lugari Fidei Promotorem, meque inscriptum Secretarium iisque adstantibus solemniter pronunciavit: 'Constare de virtutibus Theologalibus Fide, Spe et Caritate erga Deum ac Proximum, nec non de Cardinalibus Prudentia, Iustitia, Temperantia et Fortitudine earumque adnexis Ven. Serv. Dei Bernardini a Calenzana in gradu heroico, in casu et ad effectum de quo agitur.'

Hoc decretum in vulgus edi, et in acta S. R. C. referri mandavit tertio calendas februarii anno MDCCCXCVIII.

CAMILLUS CARD. MAZZELLA, *S. R. C. Praefectus.*

DIOMEDES PANICI, *S. R. C., Secretarius.*

L. ✠ S.

LETTER TO THE BISHOPS OF SPAIN FROM THE SACRED CONGREGATION OF STUDIES

EPISTOLA EMINENTISSIMI CARDINALIS PRAELECTI S. CONGREGATIONIS
STUDIORUM AD PRAESULES HISPANOS, IN QUORUM DIOECESIBUS
ERECTA NOVITER SUNT PONTIFICIA INSTITUTA

EMINENTISSIME AC REVERENDISSIME DOMINE,

Quum iam favente Deo, haud levibus superatis difficultatibus et nullis omissis curis et studiis, per hanc Sacram Studiorum Congregationem decem iam sint erecta Pontificia Instituta, iuxta diversas Hispaniae regiones, mei muneris est, antequam novi scholaris anni sub statutorum regimine, instaurentur cursus, nonnulla ex Summi Pontificis mandato, Amplitudini Tuae com-

municare, ut clarius Sacrae Congregationis mens innotescat, et nobilissimi plenius attingantur fines, quos eadem Sanctitas Sua Sibi proposuit in ipsis erigendis Institutis.

I. Mox adveniente mense octobri ad normam Instructionis sub die 30 Iunii 1896 ab hac Sacra Studiorum Congregatione datae, antiqua cessat studiorum ratio penes Instituta, Auctoritate Pontificia erecta, ac in suum transeunt plenum vigorem Statuta ab eadem Sacra Congregatione pro singulis Institutis approbata una cum recenti studiorum ratione in eisdem Statutis praescripta.

Firma Summi Pontificis voluntas est ut pro Theologia 'Dogmatico-scholastica' 'Summa Divi Thomae' ceu textus adhibeatur: pro Theologia vero 'Dogmatico-positiva' illi praeferri debeant magnae notae auctores, qui Bellarmini more quaestiones ampla ac profunda ratione pertractent.

Hinc vetantur omnino compendia vel summulae theologicae, prouti Instituta decet more universitario erecta.

Plena item et 'ampla commendatur Sacrae Scripturae expositio,' ita ut Professores super recentioribus melioris notae auctoribus (ex gr. Patrizi, Cornely, et Vigouroux) in duas partes studium Sacrae Scripturae dividant: 1. SS. Bibliorum amplectatur Criticam Hermeneuticam et Exegesim; 2. Introductionem ad universam Scripturam ac de nonnullis S. Scripturae libris commentaria.

Pro *Iuris Canonici* facultate compendia item vetantur: sed ius canonicum in ipsis fontibus ample est exponendum, hoc est in *Decretalium* libris et subsequentibus Pontificum Constitutionibus vel Conciliorum Decretis, quin praetermittantur praecipuae iuris civilis quaestiones, alumni pro opportunitate exponendae: hinc valde commendandum ut alumni secundi et tertii anni, quum ipsis tempus non desit, imo satis suppetat, praeter duas per diem praelectiones textus canonici alterna bis saltem in hebdomada habeatur lectio de iure romano ac patrio, et de historia et de philosophia iuris.

Quod 'Philosophiam Scholasticam' respicit, melioris notae auctores exponendi sunt, qui scholasticorum systemata et doctrinas D. Thomae proprius sequantur ac plene philosophicas quaestiones exponant. Hinc saltem semel in hebdomada a Professoribus lectio fiat super 'Summa Philosophica' vel super 'Quaestionibus Disputatis Angelici Doctoris.' Solida est etiam alumni comparanda institutio in affinibus disciplinis Philosophiae rationalis, cui potiores partes, ut clericos decet, dari debent.

II. Prae oculis interim habeant Institutorum Moderatores et Magistri, praescriptam studiorum rationem ita cum privilegio conferendi gradus intime connecti, ut nisi fideliter serveter et amussim in executionem deducatur, una cum omnibus quae in Statutis praescribuntur, privilegium ipsum, ut patet, suspensum censeatur, gradusque collati prorsus nulli sint habendi.

III. Dispositiones, quas hucusque Sacra Congregatio concessit clericis, qui penes Instituta studia non compleverint, novo adveniente scholari anno cessabunt omnino, ita ut biennii lex pluries ab hac Studiorum Congregatione decreta et a Summo Pontifice semper confirmata, nedum pro Hispania, sed pro Catholicis omnibus Universitatibus per orbem erectis, strictim servanda sit, rarissimis et extraordinariis, exceptis casibus, in quibus a Sacrae Congregatione tantum dabitur dispensatio.

Verum hac prima erectionis periodo transitoria, hoc est a mense octobri huius labentis anni 1897 usque ad totum mensem septembris 1898, ne alumni eorumque familiis damnum afferatur, facultas fit Magnis Cancellariis eos ad examina pro licentia admittendi alumnos, qui S. Theologiae cursus in omnibus Hispaniae Seminariis rite expleverint: S. Theologiae inquam tantummodo, non vero Philosophiae vel Iuris Canonici; in duabus enim istis disciplinis haud constat fuisse alumnos iuxta antiquam studiorum rationem sufficienter instructos, prouti iure suspicari fas est in S. Theologia, cuius studio solidos septem annos eadem Studiorum ratio in Seminariis adhuc vigena praescribit.

IV. Pro gradibus in novem Pontificiis Institutis rite collatis, reciproca et mutua admittenda est validitas et recognitio, ita ut gradus in uno adepti, ab aliis validi habendi sint Institutis.

Quin immo firma voluntas Summi Pontificis est, a qua nullo modo recedendum esse mandavit, ut gradus quos heic Romae vel alibi penes Catholicas Universitates vel Pontificia Instituta clerici hispani adepti fuerint, omnino validi in Hispania censendi sint, quin nova ad effectus canonicos egeant revalidatione vel confirmatione, nec ad eorum validitatem novae sint expensae vel taxae exigendae.

Huiusmodi gradus revalidandi abusum, quem in nonnullis Seminariis, vulgo dictis Centralibus, inventum fuisse refertur, Sanctitas Sua omnino reprobatur et damnatur, pro alumni praesertim qui in spem Ecclesiae heic Romae succrescunt penes Hispanicum Collegium, cui in ipsis initiis mortale vulnus infer-

retur ab iis, quorum potissimum curis, studiis et expensis Collegium ipsum, iuvenibus ingenio, diligentia et pietate praestantibus florescere in dies sub ipsius S. Pontificis auspiciis, vehementer Urbs tota laetatur.

V. Mens huius Sacrae Congregationis est, ut nova Pontificia Instituta non opus tantum censenda sint Archidioecesium, in quibus erecta sunt, sed potius totius Provinciae ecclesiasticae et Dioecesium Suffraganearum commune negotium et opus, in commodum nempe clericorum, quibus penes singulas diversas et inter se dissitas regiones centrum praesto est ad altiora studia excolenda. Hinc Sanctitas Sua Archiepiscopos et Episcopos enixe commendandos per Sacram hanc Congregationem voluit, ut in conventibus, qui pro negotiis dioecesanis exsolvendis quotannis habentur, negotium non praetermittatur praestantissimum studiorum: et ardens Pontificis votum est, ut, collatis, inter se consiliis, Antistites curas omnes impendere satagant ad promovendum, opportunis provisionibus, Institutorum decus et incrementum.

Faxit Deus, et Immaculata Verbi Mater, nec non Patroni omnes, quibus Instituta dicata sunt, validis precibus hoc impetrent ab ipso Sapientiae ac Veritatis Fonte, ut nempe quos consociata Archiepiscoporum actione haec Sacra Congregatio subivit et adhuc subitura est labores, felix coronet exitus, iactaque semina uberibus ac solidis cumulentur fructibus.

Hac firma nixus fiducia et spe peculiaris aestimationis meae sensus ex corde Amplitudini Tuae pandere pergratum habeo, cui omnia fausta et felicia adprecor a Domino.

Datum Romae die 15 Septembris 1897.

L. ✠ S.

F. CARD. SATOLLI, *Praefectus*.
IOSEPHUS MAGNUS, *Secretarius*.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

COMPENDIUM THEOLOGIAE MORALIS AD MENTEM PATRIS
ANTONII BALLERINI, S.J. Opera et studio. Rev.
D. A. Donovan, O. Cist. 8 Vols. S. Ludovici apud
B. Herder, 17, South Broadway.

THE compiler of these three volumes has undertaken a useful work, and executed it with judgment.

Even those who must demur to some of his peculiar opinions will readily admit Ballerini's eminence as a theologian, and the important influence he exercised from his Professor's chair and in his writings on the science of moral theology. Perhaps no man ever exercised a greater influence within his age. The large posthumous work edited by Palmieri, and known as Ballerini-Palmieri, is, in the opinion of some good judges, the best book on moral theology that has been published in recent times. But whether it be entitled to such classification or not, it is, at any rate, a most exhaustive treatment of the whole moral course, and it is among all other 'moral theologies' that we know singularly remarkable for its brilliancy of style, its bold and independent reasoning, its vast erudition, and its researches in the limited literature of moral theology. There is nothing worth knowing in moral theology which the inquirer will not find somewhere in its pages. But however great the work may be in itself, and however valuable to Professors of moral theology, for ordinary students, and for missionary priests, the work is much too elaborate, too complex, too overladen with redundant discussions and quotations.

Father Donovan is anxious to give, then, what so many desire, the large book without its difficulties, and its bewilderments. He has undertaken to condense the seven large volumes into three moderate ones, but in a peculiar way. He not only gives you Ballerini's teaching, but he gives it in Ballerini's own words. The sentences of the Compendium are taken bodily from the *opus magnum* of Ballerini-Palmieri. Priests have thus within a reasonable space the essence of Ballerini's teaching in Ballerini's own language.

The value of such a compendium will depend altogether on

the judgment and discrimination with which the work of condensation, the picking and choosing, has been effected. On the whole, we congratulate Father Donovan on having done his work well, and having put within the reach of students and priests a reliable and practical book, unlogged by barren polemics.

Works compiled as this one is, necessarily suffer from disfigurement: there is a disjointed, patchwork appearance about them, a want of continuity in thought and style. It could not be otherwise. Sometimes the first sentence in a paragraph is taken from one page, while the second sentence in the same paragraph has to be culled from a point several pages further on of the *opus majus*. The compendium before us is no exception to this rule. For a while the reader is sorely offended by the broken, disproportioned character of its style.

Beyond the work of selection and combination, the compiler has added nothing of his own except a few *notulae* at the end of each volume. Some of these notes are useful, some of them seem to us small, almost petty: *v.g.*, the following (b) Tr. X., Sec. iii., *de Ordine* n. 30:—‘Haec verba Patris Palmieri stribliginem Hibernicam sapiunt. Clerici jam tonsurati sunt nec a quopiam dimissorias pro tonsura ‘indigent.’ Even if this were true it is a small point. But it is not true. All clerici are not *tonsurati*, as the author himself points out in explaining the censure attached to *percussio clerici*. Again take another of these *notulae* at the end of vol. i. (a) n. 89. ‘De Peccatis. Exceptio notabilis est opus cui titulus *Cursus vitae spiritualis*—A Treatise of Spiritual Life—nuper a me anglice versum quod magnae pietati accuratissimam Theologiae scientiam conjunget.’ We do not know whether we have any right to object to this method of self-advertisement; but we think that if instead of petty comments of this kind the compiler had added a few notes on American and English Law, where they underrun the moral questions for instance in the justice treatise, he would have added to the merit of an already useful book, and given himself an additional title to the gratitude of missionary priests, in whose interests he has undertaken, and successfully accomplished a work of such difficulty, and at the same time real worth, as the *Compendium* before us.

THE STRUCTURE OF LIFE. By Mrs. W. A. Burke, author of *The Value of Life*, with a Preface by the Rev. William Barry, D.D. London and Leamington : Art and Book Company.

A good book is a great treasure, and when one appears at the present day in the midst of so many bad and indifferent companions it deserves to be cordially welcomed. The author of this work, in one of her best written and most interesting chapters, truly remarks that 'the reading of certain books will be found to constitute epochs in life, and from them we may often date our call to higher things.' We should not be at all surprised to find that the *Structure of Life* came under the category of such books. For a great number of people in the world we think it will prove one of the most useful and helpful volumes that has appeared in recent times. Dr. Barry, in the beautiful preface which he has written for it, does not exaggerate the need that exists for some such awakening of the conscience and for some such indication of the path along which duty leads and happiness is to be found.

'The author, I take it [he writes], is addressing her sisters even where she speaks at large. May it not be said that there never was a time when good women had more opportunities of living up to their aspirations than to-day? What, then, are they reading, and in what frame of mind? How many of them are intent on helping others to a sound, well-balanced, happy life, upon seeing that the children now growing up about them have a chance of attaining to the good things of Christianity and civilization? It is a sad thought, but surely undeniable, that women must answer for the evils of fashion, finance, luxury, show, and frivolous pleasure-seeking in a degree never before known, unless when the Roman decadence was gliding down into the abyss. Nor is it the unbelieving who are the chief sinners, as they are not the worst peril to an unexampled age. The women who profess to believe while they drift with a tide of self-indulgence into the dark ocean of the future—they should be judged as the supreme social evil; it is their doing that men fall below humanity, and other, less guilty women, are lost. Every one of these devoted to her own five senses, to vain and criminal self-seeking, is a Jocasta that tempts husband, son, brother, with the poisonous words, 'Best it is to live at random.' Hazard, which is rebellion against law and casting away of self-control, is their god, and their character is only stiff-necked passion. To such as

these Guidance, Self-Knowledge, Self-Sacrifice, the ideals of heroism or of holiness, are words without a meaning. They live at the mercy of outward things. It is the modern slavery into which thousands are falling on every side. No book would be more in season, therefore, than a volume which proved, as this does, with abundance of citation, in a sympathetic yet firm speech, at once persuasively and with an eye to practice, that every life is a sacred trust, independent of chance, subject to law, and that if it turns out a failure, the reason will be that we have made a false god in our own image and likeness, and have worshipped him to our undoing.'

The subjects chiefly dealt with in this second volume of Mrs. Burke, are—'Antecedents, Parents, and Home Life; Our Daily Surroundings; Our Growth, Physical, Mental, and Moral; The Preparation of Character; The Importance of Every-Day Life; Trials, Illness, Pain, and Sorrow; Reading, Opportunities, Discouragements, &c.' Each subject is treated very methodically, and the foremost moralists of the present day and of all times, particularly those of France and England, are made to bear out the contention or illustrate the meaning of the author. We commend the work to the favourable attention of the clergy, who are the best judges of the class of readers it should benefit, and we sincerely hope that it will have the wide circulation it deserves.

J. F. H.

Cuimne Columcille, OR, THE GARTAN FESTIVAL, being a Record of the Celebration held at Gartan, on the 9th June, 1897, the Thirteenth Centennial of St. Columba. Edited by Rev. E. Maguire, D.D. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.

THE Gartan Festival, of which this book is a record, was the most notable of the many celebrations held in June, 1897, on the occasion of the thirteenth centennial of St. Columba. The memory of this truly national saint is a common heritage of the whole Gaelic race, both Irish and Scotch, but it is not wonderful that it is specially dear to the people of Tirconnell, to whom he is not merely a fellow-countryman, but a kinsman. We can easily understand then the enthusiasm with which the people seconded the efforts of the Bishop and clergy of Raphoe, to pay on this anniversary due honour to the saint in the place where

he was born. That this feeling was not confined to those on the spot was proved by the numerous letters received from absent sympathisers, most of them connected by blood or birth with Donegal. Most noteworthy among these were the messages sent from Madrid by Don Carlos O'Donnell, Duke of Tetuan; from Vienna by Count Ferdinand Patrick O'Donnell—two noblemen whose names declare their ancestry—and from Rome by Archbishop Keane, former Rector of the Washington Catholic University.

The book before us presents a graphic picture of the events of the day, which to an eye-witness must have been singularly impressive. The High Mass sung on a temporary altar on the mountain side, the solemn *Te Deum*, the sermon preached in the sweet accents of the Gaelic tongue, the devotion of the multitudes of worshippers, whose forefathers have lived in this land in unbroken succession from the time of St. Columba till now—all combined to produce a scene not easy to be paralleled. The celebration gained additional significance from the presence of the successor of St. Patrick, his Eminence Cardinal Logue, who travelled specially from Armagh to be present at the solemn functions.

A unique feature of this celebration was the place of honour given throughout to the Irish language. The sermon was preached in Irish, an Irish address was presented to the Cardinal, to which his Eminence replied in the same tongue. There were Irish speeches, Irish songs, an Irish ode, Irish letters, and best of all, as we are told in this book, the prayers of most of the people during the religious functions, and their ordinary conversation afterwards were spoken in Irish. There is no doubt that the Gartan Festival has done much to re-awaken the esteem of the people of Donegal for their own language, and the good example thus set has already borne fruit in remote parts of Ireland. For this service its organizers, and especially the Bishop of Raphoe, who guided them, deserve the lasting gratitude of all true Irishmen.

A stranger from London who was present expressed afterwards in very emphatic words his admiration of the 'high standard of literary excellence and of native eloquence attained by all the speakers and writers of poems and odes in the Latin, Gaelic, and English tongues who took part in the proceedings;' and anyone who reads the sermon, odes, speeches, and

reality and interest which few other works produce. The earlier and later centuries, though not so fully treated, occasion a somewhat similar, and, from a historical standpoint, satisfactory impression.

We should not think, however, that the work can be said to possess the characteristics of a good guide-book. The descriptions are too general. Murray's handy volume, or Donovan's fine work on the same subject, with its minute account of each portion of Rome's great churches and basilicas, and its full details regarding the institutions and objects of interest around them, would be far more useful in the wondering pilgrim's circumstances. M. de Gourneries' volumes can be read with literary interest even by such as have no intention of visiting the Eternal City ; they will form a compendious and interesting introduction for those who wish to begin the study of Ecclesiastical History in an inviting way : and one about to go to Rome will catch from these pages a fair amount of that imaginative sense of the City's past which will make his visit something more than a mere inspection of curiosities and buildings.

The faults of the work arise, in the first place, from the magnitude of the subject. In treating of the later centuries particularly, the author, wishing to tell all about the period, is occasionally forced to give an almost bald, and, at times, bewildering, catalogue of names and buildings.

Moreover, there are errors in statement of fact, some of which ought not to have been made even in the author's circumstances, and others that he scarcely could have avoided in the then existing state of research, but which have been since rendered obvious, and therefore inexcusable, even in a translation that aspires to be thought useful. To one or two such errors we wish to call attention.

For example, in vol. ii., page 214, it is stated—'During Pius IV.'s reign Palestrina was a member of the Papal choir, but he had to leave when he married. He then retired to a cottage among the vines of Mount Caelius, where alone, forgotten by the world,' &c.

It was not during the reign of Pius IV. that Palestrina was a member of the Papal choir, but that of Julius III., separated from Pius by two Pontificates. Pius did not ascend the throne till 1559, while Palestrina was married in 1547 ; it was by Paul IV. that the musician was dismissed, and with a good pension ; and

moreover, he did not live 'forgotten by the world,' for in the October following he was appointed choir-master of St. John Latern.

In connection with the same matter, the old, and now discredited theory of Bains regarding the circumstances that led to the composition and production of the 'Missa Papae Marcelli,' is given down in simple good faith, and might usefully be modified in the light of newer information. Two leading Dublin Catholic dailies gave the same false account, with much learning, on a very late occasion. The true version, with which it would be needless to burden valuable space, may be seen in the I. E. RECORD, December, 1894.

The style of the translation, though good, occasionally betrays by a certain restraint in the flow of its sentences, an undue influence of the foreign original, even on its English dress.

P. S.

MANTAL OF RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION. Compiled to correspond with the requirements of the Diocesan Programme of Waterford and Lismore. Waterford: N. Harvey & Co. 1898.

WE have read this work with great interest. Indeed, we say unreservedly that, although it formed part of our duties for a rather considerable time to make ourselves acquainted with similar works, this is by a long way the most satisfactory book of its kind that has come under our notice. It does not extend to quite a hundred pages, yet it contains a marvellous amount of useful, well-arranged, thoroughly practical, and singularly varied information. In the varied character of its subject-matter we know no work of a like kind to be at all compared with it. Although condensation appears to be carried to almost its extreme limit, yet there is not the slightest consequent sacrifice of clearness. The style is agreeable, and is simplicity itself; it is impossible not to be struck with the mastery everywhere displayed of the resources and niceties of language. To the clergy, teachers of schools, and children of the more advanced classes, the work cannot be too highly recommended. Based on the Catechism of the Diocese of Waterford and Lismore, and intended mainly as a supplement thereto, it will, we are satisfied, be found equally serviceable as a supplement to any Catechism. In dioceses where a system of religious examination and inspection has been

established it should be particularly useful. That it supplies a distinct want, and supplies it admirably, will, we believe, be the unhesitating opinion of all those engaged in the supremely important work of religious teaching who take the trouble to procure and read it. Its price is sixpence, and we believe that where a dozen copies are ordered they can be had for fourpence halfpenny each.

M. F. H.

SERMONS FROM THE FLEMISH. Sixth Series. Supplement to the Sunday Sermons. Two to Three New Sermons every Sunday, with a List of Subjects. 2 Vols. Durham: Michael Kearney.

At certain intervals of time, with unfailing regularity, the restless sea of religious literature casts up at our feet a new volume of sermons. Too often these take the form of translations from a language as uncongenial to our own as the manners and customs of the people who speak it are foreign to ours. And very often too the demands of such volumes on our purses are ludicrously in excess of their intrinsic claims to our favour—a painful detail which, of course, we realize only too late.

In fairness, however, it must be said that the excellent series of 'Sermons from the Flemish,' to which the above two volumes form the most recent addition, is no such ephemeral product. To the clergy of these countries it has long been known with a knowledge of approbation; it may be seen occupying a place of honour in the vast majority of their libraries; and, if success be any token of merit, it must needs deserve a continuance of their patronage. Already, more than once, it has met with a favourable reception in these pages, and the perusal of this, its latest offshoot, certainly does not justify us in striking a discordant note. At a uniform price of five shillings net per volume these sermons cannot, indeed, be exactly styled cheap; but from our examination of them we honestly believe that the missionary priest will find few sermons extant of equal merit at anything like the same cost.

We have seen a remark frequently made with regard to many recently-published lives of saints which seems to bear with infinitely more weight on the modern sermon-book. If it be sadly true that most of our contemporary biography takes the form of translations from the French, surely our pulpit literature is still more deplorably and needlessly 'far-fetched.' If we are

to have such things as sermons in print at all, need we seek, in the pulpits of a foreign land and an age already past, a better knowledge of what suits our people, or more capability to produce it, than exists amongst that noble army of eloquent and holy preachers who are keeping the sacred fire burning bright and clear as of yore on the altars of our country, in the hearts of her people.

J. W. B.

HISTORIOGRAPHIA ECCLESIASTICA QUAM SERIAM SOLIDAMQUE OPERAM NAVANTIBUS ACCOMMODAVIT. Guil. Stang, S. Theologiae Doctor, Ejusque in Coll. Americano Lovanii Professor. Neo Eboraci: Benziger Fratres. 1897.

DR. STANG, who is already well known for his useful work on pastoral theology, deserves the best thanks of all students of ecclesiastical history for compiling this manual of historiography. It is a handy octavo volume of two hundred and sixty-seven pages, got up in an attractive style, and admirably arranged for convenience of reference. There are three brief chapters, entitled 'De Fontibus Historiae Ecclesiasticae,' 'De Arte Critica,' and 'De Historiographiae Ecclesiasticae Fontibus et Subsidiis,' and then comes the body of the work—the list of *Historiographi Ecclesiastici*, arranged chronologically under their respective centuries. Dr. Stang gives more than a mere catalogue of names and works; in the case of the more important authors he gives pretty extended notices of their lives and labours, and critical estimates of their works. The list appears to be as complete as need be for the student of general Church History, containing the names and something about the lives and works of about five hundred and fifty writers. By way of a final chapter Dr. Stang prints the Pontifical Letter on Historical Studies issued by the present Holy Father in 1883—a letter which it would be well for every ecclesiastical student to read and study with care. Then there is a very full alphabetical index. We should be pleased to see Dr. Stang's little work in the hands of every student.

P. J. T.



SECONDARY EDUCATION IN IRELAND

CRITICISMS AND SUGGESTIONS

IT is now just twenty years since the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland was brought into existence, by Act of Parliament. The income placed at its disposal, in the first instance, was £32,500 a year, derived from a capital sum of £1,000,000, charged on the fund known as the Irish Church Surplus. Owing to a reduction in the rate of interest allowed, this income has been reduced, since the year 1897, to £27,500. But, on the other hand, the revenue of the Board has been increased, since 1891, by an annual grant, representing Ireland's share of the Local Taxation Duties. This grant varies from year to year, but shows a tendency to increase rather than to diminish. During the last three years, it has amounted, on the average, to somewhat more than £50,000 a year. We may, therefore, estimate the annual income of the Intermediate Education Board, as lying between seventy-five thousand and eighty thousand pounds.

That this endowment has been, on the whole, prudently and judiciously administered by the Board—hemmed in as they are by the strict limits of the Act under which they are constituted—few, I think, will be found to deny. It will be also generally admitted that the endowment has done much to promote secondary education in Ireland, and has improved in many respects, the teaching of the schools. But it has


long been felt that there are some radical defects in the system under which the endowment is distributed ; and an opinion generally prevails that the time has come for a careful consideration of this system, with a view to its reform.

The Board itself seems to share in this opinion. In the spring of the present year, they brought the subject under the notice of the Lord Lieutenant, and asked for the appointment of a Commission to inquire and report upon it. The result has been that the Lord Lieutenant, by a warrant dated May 30, has appointed the Board itself as a Commission, to 'inquire into and report upon the system of Intermediate Education in Ireland, as established by the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, 1878, and into its practical working ; also as to whether any reforms or alterations of the present system are desirable, and if so, whether further legislation is necessary for carrying them into effect.'

Thus a unique opportunity is afforded of dealing effectively with a problem of immense interest to the whole community. This problem may be very simply stated. It is nothing less than to devise a scheme for administering an endowment of £80,000 a year, in such a manner as shall best promote a sound and comprehensive system of secondary education in Ireland.

Though the problem is, no doubt, complex and delicate in itself, it is nevertheless free from all difficulties of an extrinsic character, such as usually surround educational questions in this country. The endowment is already provided ; the purpose to which it is to be applied is already defined ; the Government have practically undertaken to invest the Board with the necessary powers for carrying into effect whatever reforms may be agreed upon ; and the Board, acting as a Commission, has already sought the counsel and suggestions of the heads of schools, and other persons interested in education.

In these circumstances, it seems to me that the deliberations of the Commission will be greatly assisted by public discussion of the questions at issue. First, because public



discussion will help to bring into prominence those reforms of the Intermediate system which are most urgently needed, and most generally called for. And secondly, because no scheme of reform can eventually be successful, unless it meets the wants, and is supported by the general opinion, of the country.

As a small contribution towards such a discussion, I venture to submit the following pages to the judgment of those who are interested in the subject. If the tone of my remarks should appear somewhat dogmatic, I can say, with all candour, that I have no disposition to dogmatize in a matter on which, I am conscious, there are so many others who have a far better right than I can claim, to speak with authority. But I thought it well to express my views in a distinct and categorical form, so that those who might choose to discuss them, would have something definite and tangible to deal with, and, if need be, to controvert.

The observations and suggestions I have to offer, with respect to the system carried out by the Intermediate Education Board; may be conveniently grouped under three heads :—

- I. Criticisms on the practical working of the system ;
- II. Suggestions as to a general policy of reform ;
- III. Considerations on the mode of procedure; that is to say, on the manner in which the scheme of reform suggested may best be introduced.

PART I.

PRACTICAL WORKING OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM

The system, considered in its practical influence on education, has a favourable side, and an unfavourable side. I will briefly point out what appear to me the chief features of each.

A.—THE FAVOURABLE SIDE

- I. It is perfectly impartial in its administration; and it is universally acknowledged to be impartial.
- II. It has set up an independent and authoritative

standard, by which the educational work done by secondary schools is tested, so far as that work can be tested by written examinations.

III. It has given a great impulse to secondary education in Ireland: it has stimulated the zeal and energy both of teachers and pupils: it has promoted habits of steady persevering application to a definite task; and it has practically compelled the introduction of the best Text-Books into the schools.

IV. By means of its Exhibitions, it has enabled many clever boys of poor families to obtain a better education than they could otherwise have obtained, and thus to advance themselves in life.

V. By paying large Results Fees on all candidates who simply pass the examination, it encourages the heads of schools to devote special attention to pupils of moderate abilities. I have heard, from many quarters, that the beneficial action of this rule is largely frustrated by the character of the examination papers set to the pupils. It is alleged that the papers are too difficult and too puzzling to be fairly within the reach of the general run of Pass candidates. If this be so, it is deserving of the careful consideration of the Commission. I would observe, however, that the fault complained of is not inherent in the system, but is only an accident of administration, which can be easily corrected. The policy of giving Results Fees on mere Pass pupils, is undoubtedly calculated to secure careful attention to Pass pupils: and I place it accordingly to the credit of the system.

B.—THE UNFAVOURABLE SIDE

I. The system does not appeal to the higher instincts of the pupils, but only to their desire of gain. They are practically called upon to work earnestly and diligently at their tasks, in order that they may win large money prizes. The influence of this principle, emanating from high authority, pervading the whole country, and acting on the minds of all

pupils throughout the entire of their school course, I look upon as a real evil.

It is all very well, as an incident of school life, to offer for competition a moderate number of Exhibitions, Prizes, and Medals. Such rewards, under suitable conditions, furnish a useful and healthy stimulus to the pupils; and they form a part of the school system in most countries. But it is a very different thing, to flood the country with money prizes of large amount, and to make these prizes the mainspring of all youthful effort. This is what is done under the existing Intermediate system, and I think it has a lowering influence on the moral tone of the schools. And then, when the calculations come at the end of the year, and the newspapers ring with accounts of what this pupil and that pupil 'earned' at the examinations, it is impossible not to feel that the educational ideal of the country has suffered something like degradation.

II. The system presents to the country a false standard of education. It suggests that the aim and object of all education, is to pass examinations; and these, be it observed, only written examinations. If this end be attained, everything else follows: Results Fees, Exhibitions, Medals, honour and glory for the school and the scholars. The permanent maintenance of this ideal, in a palpable form, before the eyes of the whole country, cannot fail, in the long run, to have an injurious effect on the cause of sound education.

III. Moreover, this false ideal leads, in practice, to some startling realities. What can be tested by a written examination, is attended to. What cannot be so tested, is neglected; the saying runs 'that it doesn't pay.' Thus, for example, reading and elocution suffer; the correct pronunciation of foreign languages is held of no account. I have been informed that in some large schools which send up their pupils in French, no attempt whatever is made to teach French pronunciation. It is even said that pupils are encouraged to pronounce French as if it were English. This practice helps to impress the correct spelling on the ear; and spelling can be tested by a written examination.

iv. Again, in such subjects as Physics and Chemistry, a practical acquaintance with the work of a laboratory, as distinguished from mere book work, is of great educational importance and value. But, as a rule, it is only book work that can be tested by a written examination; therefore practical work 'doesn't pay,' and it is neglected.

v. The demoralizing principle represented by the phrase, 'It doesn't pay,' permeates the whole intermediate education of the country. I have indicated how it determines the *way* in which a thing is taught. But it also determines the *subjects* that are taught. In the choice of subjects, the ruling question is not, What subjects are best suited to the age, capacity, and future career of the pupils? but rather, What subjects will pay best? that is, what subjects will bring in the richest harvest of Result Fees, Exhibitions, and Medals. I do not mean to say that the heads of schools formally put this question to themselves, in its naked simplicity. But the heads of schools do not wish to fall behind, in the race for prizes: and I do think that the whole school course is practically guided and controlled by the dominating influence of this one idea.

vi. If, from any cause, a particular subject is found generally 'not to pay,' that subject, however important it may be from an educational point of view, is crushed out of the system of secondary education, over the whole of Ireland. This may easily happen without the Intermediate Education Board intending any such result, or even becoming aware of what is going on.

In a memorial addressed to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, last June, the Council of the Royal Dublin Society called attention to the way in which the teaching of science, in the intermediate schools, has been 'practically exterminated' by the operation of the present system. From this paper, it appears that the total number of boys that presented themselves for the examinations of the Intermediate Education Board, in the years 1887 and 1888, and the numbers that presented themselves in the

subjects of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry, were as follows :—

	Total number.	Nat. Philosophy.	Chemistry.
1887	4,613	2,611	1,376
1888	4,551	2,565	1,357

But, after the lapse of ten years, it is found that while the total number of boys presented for examination had considerably increased, the number presented in these two subjects had dwindled down almost to insignificance. The figures are :—

	Total number.	Nat. Philosophy.	Chemistry.
1896	6,503	618	359
1897	6,661	596	312

It would seem, therefore, that something has occurred, in the working of the system, during the last ten years, which has practically killed the teaching of these two important subjects, in the intermediate schools of Ireland. The teaching of Natural Philosophy has fallen from 56 per cent of the total number of boys presented for examination, to somewhere about 9·2 per cent, and the teaching of Chemistry has fallen from 30 per cent to 4·6 per cent. This result I regard as a serious blot on the working of the present system.

VII. I cannot but think that the influence of the present system on the methods and efficiency of the teaching in the schools must, in the long run, be injurious. When the teachers find, year after year, that the one obvious and conclusive test by which their work is judged, is the success of their pupils at the examinations, it is almost inevitable that they will direct their chief efforts to that object, and gradually lose sight of the higher aims and ends of education. They will be inclined to study the ways of examiners, rather than the special aptitudes and characteristics of their pupils; they will have little stimulus to develop their own individual powers and resources; and their teaching will tend to settle down into a dull monotonous grind. The human mind needs freedom for its healthy development

But there is no freedom for the teachers in the secondary schools of Ireland. They are bound fast in the fetters of a rigid system, which hampers every movement, and which must, in the end, enfeeble, if not paralyse their powers.

If this estimate of the harm done by the system of examinations carried out by the Intermediate Education Board, should appear to any of my readers overdrawn, I would ask them to read the following appreciation of the system, which has just appeared in an English scientific journal. The writer is engaged in reviewing a text book on Algebra, written with a view to assist teachers and pupils who are working for the Intermediate Examinations. His remarks are interesting, at least in this respect, that they will help us 'to see ourselves as others see us.' Speaking of the treatise in hand, he says:—

The book is avowedly written to help teachers to obtain 'results'; that is, to exploit their unhappy pupils for the purpose of scoring in examinations, and so getting grants, or scholarships, or some other kind of profit. A method is recommended because it will impress an examiner more favourably, and earn a greater number of marks; the student's attention is directed to this or that, not because it is important in itself, but because the candidate is very likely to be asked a question about it; and an enormous amount of misplaced ingenuity is wasted upon the solution of ridiculous and fantastic problems that ought never to have been set.

It would not be fair to lay the whole blame for all this upon [the author]. Like the poor Irish schoolboys, he is the victim of a most iniquitous system: that payment by 'results' which warps and corrodes every branch of primary and intermediate education in Ireland. That the plan was originally adopted with the best intentions, may be admitted; but it is a disgraceful scandal that it should be continued in Ireland, when it has been (reluctantly enough, it is true) abandoned in Great Britain. The evils of it have been exposed again and again; it has been denounced unanimously by all true teachers who have seen how it works; it puts a premium upon wrong methods, it encourages quackery and cruelty, it destroys sympathy between master and pupils; and the 'results' which it produces are a delusion and a sham. It is heartbreaking to think of whole generations of clever, docile, Irish lads, condemned to the soul-destroying slavery which this rotten system perpetuates.¹

¹*Nature*, Thursday, Nov. 10, 1898, p. 26.

VIII. The Programme of the Intermediate Education Board is so framed as to favour what is called a Grammar School education, leading up to a university career. Hence such a course is found 'to pay' best, and it is followed practically by all the schools. A course suitable for boys intended for a commercial or industrial career—such a course, for example, as is given in the German *Realschulen*, and in what is called the Modern Side in many English schools—would not 'pay' under the present system ; and therefore no such course is given.

Now, while it is true that the Grammar-School course is well suited for the professional, the literary, and the leisured classes, a Commercial or Scientific course would be more suitable to the majority of boys receiving secondary education in Ireland, and would meet an urgent want that at present exists in the country. Hence it would seem that the splendid endowment of £80,000 a year, administered by the Intermediate Education Board, is largely applied in forcing on the whole of Ireland a particular kind of education, which is suited only to a comparatively small class ; while the kind of education suited to the great majority of the pupils, is so discouraged as to be crushed out of existence.

A noteworthy example of the mischief done, in this way, is furnished by the case of the Christian Brothers' Schools. Previous to the establishment of the Intermediate Education Board, the Christian Brothers had begun, with no small degree of success, to give the elements of a commercial and industrial education in some of the larger towns of Ireland. This course was admirably suited to the position in life of the boys with whom they had to deal, and was greatly appreciated by the general public. With reasonable encouragement from the Intermediate Education Board, it might have been developed into an admirable form of secondary education, much needed in the country. But see what has happened. The Christian Brothers quickly found that nothing but a Grammar-School education would 'pay' under the present system ; so they changed their hand, very much against their own judgment and natural inclination, to meet the requirements of the Board ; and they are now

giving what is practically a Grammar-School education in all their Intermediate Schools.

ix. An incidental evil of the present system, is that by paying, under the name of Results Fees, a fixed sum of money for every subject in which a pupil passes, it exhibits the pupils in the light of *earning money for the schools*. A pupil that passes may 'earn,' according to his subjects and his Grade, £40, £30, £20; a pupil that does not pass, 'earns' nothing. In these circumstances, it is not unnatural that the parents of the pupils who pass, should think themselves entitled to a share of the money which their children have 'earned.' Hence they often come to the head-master, as I am informed, and claim a reduction of the pension, on this ground. And it is difficult for the head-master to resist such a claim. He knows that there are other schools, in keen competition with his own, which would make the concession without a moment's hesitation. Thus the endowment intended to promote the noble work of education, becomes the subject of undignified haggling between the teachers and the parents.

This is the natural outcome of a system which is sordid and venal in its practical working, as it is sordid and venal in its very conception. A market is opened for educational products, and a scale of prices is fixed for each article. Greek fetches £4 16s. per pupil passed, in the Senior Grade, £3 12s. in the Middle Grade, and £2 8s. in the Junior Grade; Chemistry fetches 40s. in the Senior Grade, 30s. in the Middle Grade, and 20s. in the Junior Grade; and so for the rest. When education is thus treated as a commercial commodity, by the highest authority, under the sanction and direction of the State, no wonder if it is treated in the same spirit by those who work under the system. Accordingly, we hear how head-masters bid openly or secretly for the pupils most capable of gaining Examinations and Results Fees; how the pupils soon discover their market value, and dispose of their services to the highest bidder; and how the parents then come and claim a share of the Results Fees which, as they truly say, have been 'earned' by their

children. I submit that this ignoble traffic is unworthy of a country that once shone as a bright beacon of learning to the nations of Western Europe.

PART II.

GENERAL SCHEME OF REFORM

It will be seen, at once, that the criticisms I have submitted, on the present working of the Intermediate system, cannot be met by any petty modifications of the existing Rules and Regulations. They assail the very foundation and essence of the system; and if they be valid, they call for a thorough and radical reform. I will proceed, then, to set forth the main heads of the reform I would suggest; observing only that it would not be desirable, in my opinion, to carry out such a reform by a sudden revolution of the system, but rather by a gradual process of growth and development. How a process of this kind may best be introduced, is a question which I reserve for the Third Part of this paper.

I. First, I would suggest that the Annual Examinations which form the basis of awarding Results Fees, Exhibitions, Book Prizes, and Medals, should be abolished.

II. Next, the whole system of Results Fees, Exhibitions, Book Prizes, and Medals, as at present awarded on the basis of the Annual Examinations, would of course also disappear.

III. A definite number of Exhibitions, of suitable amount, should be offered for competition each year, in each of the Grades. These Exhibitions should not be treated as money prizes, to be spent by the pupils according to their fancy; but should be treated rather as *giving a right to free education*. Hence they should be awarded subject to the condition that the successful candidates shall continue their studies in a school approved by the Board. For the purpose of these Exhibitions, it would be necessary to hold a special examination each year; and, in connection with this

examination, it would be open to the Board, if they thought fit, to offer a limited number of gold and silver medals, for special excellence in particular subjects.

Now I think that the endowment administered by the Board should, in the main, be directed in the form of School Grants based on inspection, combined with a limited examination of the pupils by classes in the schools. The object to be aimed at is to distribute the endowment amongst the intermediate schools in the country according to the quality and quantity of the educational work done. Now it is generally agreed by the highest authorities, that the educational work of a school should be tested by such a system of inspection as I recommended. It is not to be tested by any system of written examinations only. Moreover, it is always to be remembered that examinations are conducted exclusively in the interest of the school, to test the educational work that really has been done, and to encourage better educational work.

The inspection should be connected with a little more, such as physical education, and other secular studies, but at the same time, it should be efficient. I would suggest that it should be carried out on the following points:—(1) the school should be inspected to see the recreation available to the scholars, and the employment of the holidays and the summer holidays; (2) the methods and efficiency of the teaching; (3) the number of pupils and the classes in the school; (4) the miscellaneous things such as the school furniture and instruments, books, apparatus, &c. &c.

As regards the examination, which I propose should be conducted with the schoolmaster, it would not be to determine the value of the pupils, but rather to test the efficiency of the teaching. Hence, I would suggest that it should be of the pupils, but only a few of them should be selected at random, and the examination should be conducted entirely in the hands of the teacher, the object being to make the teacher responsible as the principal of the school success. In certain

subjects, such as foreign languages, natural philosophy, chemistry, drawing, it would be desirable to associate expert examiners with the inspectors, for this part of their work.

v. In addition to the ordinary School Grants, there should be, I think, Special Grants for particular subjects, which are in danger of being neglected unless specially encouraged, or which involve special expenditure on fittings and appliances. For example:—(1) There should be a Special Grant for natural philosophy and chemistry, wherever a physical or chemical laboratory is established. This grant should be based on the report of the inspector or special expert, which should give particulars not only as to the equipment of the laboratory, but also as to the method of teaching followed; and it should also state how far the pupils are called upon to take part in the practical work of the laboratory. (2) There might with advantage be a Special Grant for English reading and elocution, a subject much neglected in most schools. (3) A Special Grant might also be given for vocal and instrumental music.

vi. Under the reformed system, I submit that equal encouragement should be given to every kind of secondary education suitable to the youth of Ireland; whether it be mainly classical, or mainly commercial, or mainly scientific. This principle is far-reaching, and, if effectively carried out, would cure what seems to me a great evil in the working of the Intermediate system. At present, the programme of the Board is so framed that the schools are practically compelled to give an education which, in the main, follows the lines of a Grammar-School course; whereas a commercial or scientific course would be better suited to the position in life of the majority of the pupils, and to the urgent needs of the country. What I advocate is, that the immense funds at the disposal of the Board, shall not be applied to the endowment of one particular kind of secondary education only, to the prejudice of other kinds, but that all forms of secondary education, suitable to the boys and girls of Ireland, shall have an equal claim to recognition.

VII. I would suggest that the Board should hold examinations, each year, open to all candidates who, having completed their school course, desire to obtain independent evidence, of an official character, as to their proficiency. These examinations would not be competitive, and they should be conducted both orally and in writing. In the subjects of natural philosophy, chemistry, and other natural sciences, they should include practical work in the laboratory. In connection with these examinations, the Board should issue Diplomas to the successful candidates, setting forth the subjects in which they have passed, and indicating their proficiency by a system of conventional words, such as, *sufficient, good, excellent*.

These Diplomas might be of three kinds, according to the particular group of subjects presented by the candidate: One for a Grammar-School Course, in which the classical languages and mathematics would constitute a prominent feature; One for a Commercial Course, in which, commercial geography, commercial arithmetic, good penmanship, as well as the writing and speaking fluently of at least one foreign language, would form a necessary part; and One for an Industrial Course, in which natural sciences, foreign languages, freehand and geometrical drawing, would occupy an important place.

Such Diplomas would be valuable to the pupils, as a passport to higher educational institutions, or to a career in life. They would correspond, in some measure, to the Diplomas given in Germany, on the occasion of the Leaving Examination (*Abiturienten Examen*), in the *Gymnasien*, and the *Realschulen* respectively; the importance and value of which are well known to all educational authorities.¹

It may be useful, before closing this branch of my

¹ For an account of the *Abiturienten Examen*, see Mr. Matthew Arnold's *Higher Schools and Universities in Germany*, chapter iv., also the *Memorandum of M. E. Sadler*, presented to the Royal Commission on Secondary Education, published by them in their Report, vol. v., p. 27.

subject, to sum up briefly the leading features of the scheme of reform that I propose.

First, *School Grants*, based on inspection of the schools combined with a limited examination of the pupils; the object of the examination being mainly to test the quality and efficiency of the teaching.

Second, A definite number of *Exhibitions*, offered annually to competition, with a view to enable promising boys to obtain free education.

Third, *Special Grants* for special subjects, such as Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, English Elocution, Vocal and Instrumental Music.

Fourth, *Equal Encouragement* for all kinds of secondary education suitable to the boys and girls of Ireland.

Fifth, *Diplomas* at the end of the School Course, to testify that the bearers have received a sound intermediate education, and to specify the subjects in which they have passed, and the degree of proficiency they have attained.

PART III.

MODE OF PROCEDURE

I now proceed to consider in what manner the scheme of reform I have submitted, may best be carried out, under existing circumstances. In the first place, it is evident that a new Act of Parliament would be necessary for the purpose. But such an Act is plainly contemplated in the warrant under which the present Commission has been appointed; and it will probably be required in any scheme of reform that may eventually be adopted. The Act should, in my opinion, give power to introduce all the changes I have suggested; but it should leave to the Board full discretion as to the time and mode of introducing these changes.

In the exercise of this discretion, the following considerations should, I think, be kept in view by the Board:—

(1) That nothing should be done, that would tend to shake public confidence in the perfect impartiality with which the endowment is administered;

(2) That the reforms should be so introduced as not to produce any sudden wrench in the educational system of the country, and that ample time should be allowed for the schools to accommodate themselves to the changes made;

(3) It would be only fair that the schools which have hitherto worked with zeal and success under the existing system, should not suffer any serious financial loss by the changes introduced, provided they are ready to work with a like diligence and energy under the reformed system.

These considerations seem to me to lead to the conclusion that the reforms recommended, however desirable they may be thought in themselves, ought not to be introduced all at once, but gradually and tentatively. And this remark applies with especial force to the substitution of inspection for examination, as the basis of School Grants. It remains, therefore, to consider what are the reforms with which it is best to begin,—which will meet the most urgent needs of the present moment, and lead most smoothly to the development of the new system.

At the outset, we are met by the fundamental question: Is it desirable to abolish at once the Annual Examinations, which are the backbone of the present system, and which furnish the basis on which all money grants are paid to schools, and all prizes awarded to students? A great deal can be said on both sides of this question. But on the whole, I think it would be wise to retain, for some years, the present system of Examinations and Results Fees, and to introduce side by side with it, a system of Inspection, which, as times go on, may be extended and developed. By proceeding in this way, it will be possible to test the new principle, on a small scale, without abandoning the old; and to pass gradually from the one to the other, without any serious risk of forfeiting the public confidence which the existing system has so long enjoyed.

If this view be adopted, then I would propose that the following changes should be immediately introduced, as a first step towards the more thorough and complete reform recommended in the Second Part of this paper.

I. In the first place, I would recommend that the Result Fees should be reduced in a certain definite proportion, all round, say by about one-third. At present, the whole money grant received by a school, is paid on the result of a written examination only. Such an examination is a very imperfect test of sound and efficient teaching; and therefore I propose that a part of the available endowment should be reserved, to be awarded on the result of an inspection of the schools. The Board will thus be able to encourage many features of a good education which at present receive no recognition, and are therefore in danger of being neglected.

II. The written examinations should be supplemented by a system of inspection, to be conducted on the lines indicated above in Part II.¹ The detailed report of the inspectors should conclude with a classification of each school, according to some scheme of conventional terms fixed by the Board: such as, *Inferior*, *Sufficient*, *Good*, *Very Good*, *Excellent*. On this report, I would propose that a grant should be made to each school, in the form of a percentage, added to the amount awarded on the written examinations. For example:—

Mark obtained	Inferior.	Sufficient.	Good.	Very Good.	Excellent.
Percentage to be added	0	20%	30%	40%	50%

Thus, if a school were awarded £300 on the written examinations, and got the mark, *Very Good*, from the Inspectors, it would receive $£300 + 120 = £420$; if it got only, *Sufficient*, it would receive $£300 + 90 = £390$; and if it were marked by the Inspectors, *Inferior*, it would receive simply £300. I would recommend that no school should be subjected to inspection without its own consent. Schools not consenting would receive the Results Fees awarded on the written examinations; but, of course, they would not receive the increment which I propose should be awarded in the Inspector's report.

¹ See pp. 492, 493, *supra*.

III. In connection with the inspection, I would propose to set up a system of examination in the reading and pronunciation of foreign languages, for all schools claiming Results Fees in foreign languages. For this purpose, it would probably be necessary to associate with the Inspectors one or two expert examiners. The examination should be of the simplest kind; nothing more than reading a couple of sentences in any book presented by the school, with perhaps a little conversation for Senior Grade pupils. As the object is only to ascertain the methods of teaching followed in the school, it would not be necessary to examine all the pupils, but only a few of each class, taken at random. A report should then be drawn up with respect to each foreign language, in each school, and a mark awarded, as in the case of inspection.

On this report, I would make grants to each school claiming Results Fees in foreign languages, calculated in the following way:—First, I would ascertain the amount of the Results Fees awarded to a school, in each foreign language, on the written examination; and I would add to this amount a certain percentage according to the mark obtained for reading and pronunciation. For example:—

Mark obtained.	Inferior.	Sufficient.	Good	Very Good	Excellent.
Percentage to be added.	0	20%	30%	40%	50%

Thus, if a school were awarded £30 on the written examination in French, and got the mark, *Excellent*, for reading and pronunciation, it would receive $£30 + 15 = £45$; if it got the mark, *Good*, it would receive $£30 + 9 = £39$; and if got the mark *Inferior*, it would receive only £30. As in the case of inspection, I would suggest that no school should be required to submit to this examination, without its own consent. But schools not consenting should, I think, receive no Results Fees in respect of foreign languages.

IV. I think that the system of Special Grants recommended in Part II.,¹ might be at once introduced with advantage. Special Grants, for example, might be allotted to all schools provided with physical and chemical

¹ See p. 493, *supra*.

laboratories. These grants should be made on the report of expert examiners, who should report not only on the nature and amount of the apparatus provided, but also on the methods followed ; stating, in particular, to what extent the apparatus is used for illustrating the instruction given, and how far the pupils take part in practical work. All these considerations should be carefully weighed in determining the amount of the grant.

Again, a Special Grant might be given for English elocution. Each school, for example, might be allowed, on the occasion of the annual inspection, to give a series of recitations, or to hold a debate, or to perform a play ; and on the report of the Inspector, a suitable grant might be made, which would help to protect this important branch of education from complete extinction. In like manner, each school might be at liberty, on the occasion of the annual inspection, to give a vocal and instrumental concert ; and a Special Grant might be given, if the report of the Inspector showed that vocal and instrumental music were carefully and successfully taught.

v. As I consider that the present system of distributing, broadcast over the country, large money rewards, under the name of Exhibitions, to the boys and girls of intermediate schools, offers an unhealthy stimulus to the pupils, and exercises a lowering influence on the moral tone of school life, I should naturally desire to see that system modified with the least possible delay. The following are the changes I would recommend :—

1. That the number and value of these so-called Exhibitions should be reduced. The money thus saved would go, of course, to the endowment of education ; whereas it now goes to the endowment of the pupils.
2. That each successful candidate should get his Exhibition on condition of continuing his studies in a school approved by the Board ; and that the money value of the Exhibition should not be paid until the Board is satisfied that this condition has been fulfilled.

3. That a *definite* number of Exhibitions be offered each year, in each Grade. Under the present rule, the number of Exhibitions rises and falls with the number of pupils that pass the examinations. Now I think it desirable that the number of Pass students should be greatly increased, in the manner provided for in the next section; whereas I think it desirable that the number of Exhibitions should not be increased but diminished.
4. That all candidates for Exhibitions should send in their names beforehand, and should be examined by means of papers set specially for themselves. The advantage of this suggestion is, that it would reduce the present huge competition of some 10,000 pupils to a simple competition of candidates for Exhibitions.
5. Candidates failing to gain an Exhibition, might be allowed a Pass in each subject, as at present, on 25 per cent of the marks assigned to the subject.

VI. All pupils, not candidates for Exhibitions, should be subject only to a qualifying examination, for a Pass; and this examination should be of such a character as to be fairly within the reach of pupils of moderate ability. The effect of this proposal, if adopted, would be, I think, to increase considerably the number of pupils brought under the operation of the endowment. It is generally said that, owing to the difficult character of the papers set, a large proportion of the pupils in each school are unable to face the examinations. The consequence is that they can earn no Results Fees, and are therefore liable to be comparatively neglected by the masters. Under my proposal, the bulk of the pupils, in each school, could be prepared for the examinations, and could earn Results Fees. The masters then would have a direct stimulus to pay due attention to the weak and the strong alike.

VII. I think that steps ought to be taken, at once, to

give more encouragement to the subjects of a commercial and a scientific education. The present programme of the Board, as I have already observed, greatly favours a Grammar-School course, and discourages, in a corresponding degree the teaching of commercial and scientific subjects. Now a Grammar-School course is chiefly suited to the professional and literary classes, which furnish only a small minority of the pupils in the intermediate schools; whereas a sound commercial and scientific education would be far more valuable to the great majority of the pupils, and would better meet the actual needs of the country.

Something will be gained, no doubt, in the direction of commercial education, by the Grants recommended above for the pronunciation and reading of foreign languages. And something will be gained towards the improvement of science teaching, by the Special Grants recommended for chemical and physical laboratories. But more than this is needed. As long as the teaching of classics and literary subjects, is found 'to pay' better than the teaching of scientific and commercial subjects, so long will the former be taught, and the latter neglected. As the Council of the Royal Dublin Society well says, in its memorial to the Lord Lieutenant, the schools cannot 'be expected to take up science and teach it properly, until the results-earning power, and the prize-earning power, of a science subject, are equal to those of a literary subject.'¹

This observation goes to the root of the question, and points to the real remedy of the existing evil. The marks allotted to the various subjects of the programme, must be so adjusted that the zeal of the masters, the diligence and capacity of the pupils, shall be equally well remunerated whether they be expended on a course that prepares for a university, or on a course that prepares for commercial and industrial pursuits. If this be done, the teachers will no longer be compelled, as they are at present, to follow one another, like sheep, in the narrow track of a Grammar-School course, but will be free to choose such a course of

¹ Page 4.

for women. The Countess of Warwick convinced that this is true, even in England, is starting a college to give women the necessary instruction. The nuns at Portumna and Gort anticipated Professor Long, and are putting in practice for some years principles now advocated by him. Strong active girls were idling their time at home, waiting for the chance of a free passage to America or Australia. The nuns asked themselves could nothing be done to keep the girls in Ireland, and not only keep them but give them remunerative work to do. The answer was the founding of their technical schools.

The work of the two convents, or rather that portion of their work with which I purpose to deal, is supplementary one of the other. At Portumna the nuns are devoting themselves to improving the methods of butter-making, including under this head, the breeding, rearing, and feeding of cattle for butter producing; they also train cooks, laundresses and plain dressmakers. They are fitting up a poultry yard, that they may give practical instruction in poultry raising. After a while it is expected they will go in for floriculture, horticulture, and bee culture, all three opening up a wide field for woman's work. At Gort the people of the neighbourhood are taught the arts of weaving, lace-making, hosiery, embroidery, and other industries, for which Irish girls are showing such an aptitude. Portumna has only recently started in its career of usefulness. Gort has already reached an assured position as an industrial centre capable of turning out high class work.

Both Portumna and Gort Technical Schools began their work by aid of grants from the Local authorities under the Technical Instruction Acts, of 1889 and 1891. While many stood listlessly by, and let slip an opportunity of profiting by a free grant from Imperial funds, the nuns in Portumna and Gort took advantage of a chance too seldom given, and when given, with an all too niggardly hand, and secured for themselves an annual grant, half from the Government and half from the local rates, for the purpose of technical instruction. It must be generally known, though it would seem as if it were not from the little use that is made of the

knowledge, that any local authority in Ireland may make a grant from the local rate of a sum not exceeding one penny in the pound to be applied to technical instruction. Moreover the Science and Art Department, South Kensington, is empowered by law to supplement the sum thus given from the local rates by a sum equal in amount, provided certain conditions imposed by the department are fulfilled. In the hope that the example of the Sisters of Mercy of Portumna and Gort may be more widely followed throughout the country, before I come to describe their work, I shall give a short *résumé* of the present state of the law by which they were enabled to start their schools.

Grants in aid of technical instruction in Ireland are regulated by the Technical Instruction Acts of 1889 and 1891; by the Local Government Ireland Act, 1898; and by current minutes of the Science and Art Department. The chief provisions of the Acts, are :—

1. A local authority may make a grant for the purpose of technical instruction to a technical school, provided :

- (a) That the pupils attending the school be not at the same time receiving instruction in an elementary school in obligatory or standard subjects prescribed by the education department.
- (b) That the local authority be represented proportionately to its grant on the governing body of the school.
- (c) That the school be not conducted for private profit.
- (d) That the amount raised by a local authority in any one year for the purpose of the Act, does not exceed one penny in the pound.
- (e) That the managers of the school to which the grant is made render annually verified and audited accounts to the local authority.

2. A 'local authority' in the Acts of 1889 and 1891, meant in Ireland the Urban or Rural Sanitary Authority under the Public Health Act. According to the Local Government Ireland Act, 1898, it means a County Council, an Urban or District Council. By the same Act the local rate from which the grant is to be made is the poor rate. The charge shall be a county or a district one as the County Council districts.

3. Technical instruction according to the Acts means 'instruction in the principles of science and art applicable to industries, and in the application of science and art to specific industries and employments.'

Any priest, therefore, who thinks there is an opening in his neighbourhood for teaching industries, provided he is able to move the local Guardians, or in future, the Rural District Council, Urban Council or County Council, to use their powers, may obtain a considerable sum to help on his project. The procedure is simple enough. When the nuns at Portumna decided to ask the local Guardians for a grant in aid they first chose three of a list of one hundred and twenty subjects sanctioned by the Science and Art Department, as coming under the head of technical and manual instruction. To secure the grant from the Science and Art Department, three, at least, of the subjects sanctioned by it must be taught, though the teaching need not be confined to these three, but may extend to any number. The nuns made application to the Board of Guardians for a grant in aid for the teaching of these three, and some other subjects of which they submitted a list. The aid asked was one half-penny in the pound on the rateable value of the Portumna Union, and amounted to about £70 per annum. After some opposition the grant was made. This was confirmed by a minute of the Science and Art Department. The nuns were then in a position to commence work at once, with an assured income of £140 a year, the Guardians' grant of £70 being supplemented by an equal sum from South Kensington. The great difficulty in the way of starting a technical school is the want of suitable buildings. No provision is made under the Technical Instruction Acts for this purpose, so the nuns had to provide, at their own expense, all necessary buildings and appliances.

A visit to Portumna will show how the nuns are carrying out their project. To the rear of the pretty convent, with a frontage towards the Shannon, which can be seen from the doorstep, stands the new technical school. The school was specially designed by the eminent architect Mr. W. H. Byrne, and cost the nuns £2,000. It was thought that this money, or portion of it, would be given by the Government. But the Board of Works, though themselves willing, could not get the necessary consent of the Treasury for a grant for building. It is to be hoped that the

Department of Agriculture, when that long-expected and very desirable Board comes into existence, will recoup the nuns for an outlay primarily intended to improve methods of production in Ireland—one of the principal functions of an Agricultural Board. The building is of plain masonry, with but little detail, yet in keeping with the convent. The dairy portion is constructed on the most improved modern principles: The dairy itself is well lighted and ventilated, with fittings all of the very best description, including a separator. The byre is a model of cleanliness, and the cattle are better housed than many human beings in less favoured parts of the country. The dairy teacher holds a certificate from the Munster Dairy School, and is a gold medallist in butter-making. A certificated laundress presides over the well-equipped laundry, up to date in every detail—boilers, sinks, rubber wringers, &c. By a new patent the furnace that heats the drying room opens into the ironing room, and thus serves a double purpose. A special feature of the Portumna technical school, which I believe makes it unique among schools of its kind in the United Kingdom, is that the nuns have made arrangements for boarding twenty pupils entirely free of charge during their course of instruction, which lasts twelve months. The pupils' dormitories are well lighted and airy; each girl has a cubicle to herself. The work rooms, refectory, recreation room, bath rooms, lavatory, are quite as good as one could get in any boarding school. To make their school thoroughly practical the nuns are getting up a poultry yard, and hope to form a co-operative egg and poultry society.

Everyone acquainted with the conditions of butter-making, and egg and poultry raising in Ireland, will see at a glance what a great boon the good sisters are conferring on the district about Portumna. It is generally admitted that Irish butter as made in the houses of small farmers, is not fit, as someone once said in a speech in the House of Commons, for adulterating butterine. While every other country has been making rapid strides in new and improved methods of butter producing, Ireland has stood still. The small farmer of to-day makes his butter as his forefathers

did a century ago, and that was badly. No attention is paid to the feeding of the cows; they are let out on bad pastures; they are winter-fed almost exclusively on turnips, with the natural result that the butter is badly flavoured. Milking is carried on under the most unfavourable conditions; the churning is barbarous. Ordinary dwelling houses, and in many cases sleeping rooms, are used as dairies, so that the milk is vitiated, and the butter is bad. To crown all these defects, the butter is over-salted, and sent to market in a dirty and slovenly state.

The Portumna dairy school will do much to remedy this state of things. Its pupils are the daughters of farmers, as a rule, and will take to their homes the lessons they get at school. Lectures are given them on the best pastures for butter producing, and on winter feeding. They are taught, both in theory and practice, the most improved methods of milking, creaming, churning, and packing. When those girls go home, and make butter as they are now making it at the technical school, we may well hope to see their fathers' butter getting a higher price in the English market than the very best Danish butter. As the nuns are getting the top market price for their butter at present, this is not an over sanguine hope.

At present there is a poultry yard attached to the technical school, and an egg and poultry society on co-operative principles is in contemplation. The great advantages of such a society are manifest. Irish eggs and Irish poultry are, like Irish butter, in disrepute. Proper breeds of hens are not kept; the right feeding stuffs are not used; hens are not made to breed at the proper season. The eggs are brought to the market dirty, stale, and packed in a very slovenly way. The egg and poultry society will remedy all this. In the first place, everyone that keeps hens may become a member of the society. The society will sell them young birds of the best breeds at cost price; or it will supply them with sittings of best eggs. The manager will teach the people whatever is necessary for keeping poultry with the greatest possible profit.

I have not dwelt on the cookery, laundry, and dress-

making classes which form part of the school curriculum; their advantages are self-evident.

The people of east Galway have reason to be grateful to the Sisters of Mercy for putting such advantages in the way of the young girls of the Portumna district. The nuns themselves may well be proud of their work. They have not spared money, and are sparing no labour in their efforts to improve the condition of their neighbourhood. It is a pity that such work should be left so much to private enterprise, that the Government should not give it greater encouragement. It is still more to be regretted that those who are always finding fault with the Government for not giving us poor overtaxed people subsidies from Imperial funds, should not take advantage of the grants that are made. It would be much better to lay hold of the remedies for national depression that are at hand than to be ever striving after the visionary and impracticable. The nuns at Portumna are working while other people are talking. If Ireland is ever to be made prosperous it will be by efforts such as theirs.

The industrial work of the nuns at Gort may be looked on as supplemental to that done at Portumna. While in Portumna the ultimate aim is to improve methods of agricultural production so as to ensure good saleable butter, poultry, and eggs, and in addition to make women good housewives, the aim at Gort is to provide work for the girls of the district either at the convent as a centre or at their own houses. Here as in Portumna the local authority and the Science and Art Department contribute towards the support of the technical school. The total amount received from both sources is about £180 a-year. And certainly even to a casual observer the money is not misspent. The convent grounds remind one of 'the garden beautiful,' with their well-laid-out flower-beds reaching down to the edge of the Gort river. The low murmur of the flowing waters, and the scent of sweet smelling flowers, and the blaze of colour and the pleasant shade of the spreading walnut trees, would lead one to think the place was given up to quiet contemplation or sweet do-nothingness. There is little indication

on the outside of the hives of industry within. Enter Sister Philomena's department and you will see fifty-five girls, all young and active, plying needle and tambour, and all manner of intricate implements that turn unsightly raw material into things of beauty which Gort Convent supplies to all who wish to have them.

Let me say here that the nuns are labouring under one great disadvantage. They have not sufficient buildings. The Government won't help them, and private help is slow to come. Like the Portumna nuns they have hopes that the Agricultural and Industries Bill promised next session will enable them to get a building grant. They have abundantly proved, by working their industries on a sound commercial basis, while, at the same time doing the greatest possible good for the surrounding poor, that they deserve any Government support that may be legally given.

The work done at the present moment at Gort includes woollen and linen-weaving, lace-making, Clones crotchet, embroidery, hosiery, ribbon work, children's clothes of all varieties, ecclesiastical vestment-making, and plain needlework of every description.

Gort lace has reached a very high stage of perfection. The nuns do their best to encourage the artistic inclinations of the girls, providing them with first-class teachers of drawing and designing. As a result, the work is original and pleasing to the eye. Both kinds of Limerick lace, tambour and run, are made. Tambour lace, as the initiate know, is a somewhat close pattern worked on net with a tambour needle. Run lace is done with an ordinary needle also on net, but with a looser stitch.

What struck me as far the most beautiful lace made at Gort is a kind called Clones crotchet. It is extremely pretty, of two varieties—flat and raised. It stands any amount of rough usage, and retains its beauty to the end. In Paris, where it is much worn, it is looked on as the characteristically Irish lace, and is called 'point d'Irlande.'

All kinds of children's clothes are made, from the simplest to the most elaborate. I also saw some excellent homespun socks, and cycling and shooting stockings.

The embroidery is of the most artistic description. I saw some exquisite work for curtains and mantel borders, being done on a base of Gort coloured linen, from designs after the old Spanish by Lady Gregory. The embroidery on chasubles is exquisite in design and perfect in technique. Albs, cinctures, corporals, purifiers, and all kinds of linen ecclesiastical work are made of Gort linen, and could not be excelled for fineness and texture and durability.

The chief Gort industries are woollen and linen weaving. All kinds of woollen goods are made, though the nuns are very much handicapped at present for want of a suitable house for their looms. The most striking of the woollen goods are the Colleen Bawn and Claddagh cloaks, which are completely finished off in the school. Here the wool is spun, woven, subjected to the raising gig, cropped, dyed, and made into those charming cloaks which are commanding a large sale in fashionable circles. The Colleen Bawn cloaks are red, with hoods, and are extremely pretty; the Claddagh are red or navy blue, with the old Irish cape gathered in the centre by a rose of ribbons. The weaving of coloured linens, which command a ready sale, is a speciality. Last summer linen dresses were very much worn, and the looms were kept going from morning till night trying to finish orders.

I have insisted on the excellence of the work done at Gort to show what energetic effort can do among people, who, five or six years ago never saw a linen or a woollen loom, or a piece of real lace. The dexterity of the children is simply marvellous, and the aptitude they have for the most delicate and tasteful work is shown at a glance. Girls are able to make lace after five or six weeks' teaching who were previously totally unskilled. The advantage of the Gort industries to the surrounding district cannot be too highly estimated. The girls trained in Gort can teach their mothers and sisters, and thus highly remunerative work may be done in the cottages of the people—work for those odd times and for those idle hours that always exist with an agricultural community.

What I have said of the work of the nuns at Portumna

and Gort may stimulate others to imitate them. They are certainly proving that the condition of the people, and that mainly through the women, may be raised ; but, of course, if the result is to be widespread, a general effort must be made throughout the country. If priests would take up the matter, and put the Technical Instruction Acts into force in their several districts, much good would be done. Hitherto women did nothing at home except the roughest household drudgery. Now the opportunity is given them of work at once pleasing and profitable. It has the further advantage of keeping girls at home in Ireland, and stopping the drain of emigration which is sapping this country, and taking all the strong healthy Irish girls to America and Australia in the hope of earning a livelihood denied them at home.

J. O'DONOVAN, C.C.

A CURRENT CONTROVERSY IN MORAL SCIENCE

IT is not without misgiving that we open up for the readers of the I. E. RECORD a current problem in moral science that recalls great names and involves great issues, concerning, as it does, the meaning of human life and action, and the ground and purport of the moral law. Indeed, were it not for the issues it involves, had current controversy not centred round it, we should be extremely slow to touch on it at all. But thither the battle that was so long fought on surface issues has gradually receded, and it would be very imprudent at such a crisis to yield one tittle of our philosophy even as an amenity to soul and heart. For we grant that the theory we are about to expound has been a refuge to many religious minds from the critical and atheistical philosophies of the day ; and if we attack it now, we do so under the firm conviction that it is vital to no Theistic principle, and flows from none, and is connected with none. Nay, more ; we are

convinced that whilst the theory in question serves, and has served, as an *argumentum ad hominem* against a school of moralists that is happily fast becoming extinct (that, namely, of Hume), it undermines what we must regard as the root and basis of the Philosophy of Law.

The theory before us is as old as the *Analogy*, but during the course of controversy in recent years it has come to the front in a new form. Readers in current ethical literature might scarcely recognise in the starved abstractions given by Seth and the Neo-Hegelians in England and America the semblance even of that heart-filling defence of the moral law, given in the *Analogy* and in the heated literature of the Oxford movement, enriched as it was with the warmth and glow of Wordsworth's pen. It will be our business to show that the modern problem is only the old one in a new form.

To understand this controversy aright we must go back more than a hundred years—to the year 1736—an epoch-making year in morals, the year that Butler published his *Analogy*. It was the most unexpected of all the contributions to the heated controversies of that interesting era. But it was very well timed, for the mind of England was nervously active and sensitive to a degree. There were high interests in the balance then. Hobbes and Mandeville had set England aflame. Woolaston and Collins were worrying theology almost to death, and Deism was spreading everywhere. 'I have lived,' says Warburton, speaking of that period, 'to see the fatal crisis when religion has lost its hold on the mind of the people.' The time was ripe, therefore, for the appearance of a work like the *Analogy of Religion*. Its effect was electrical. It was a new method, and no one could handle it but Butler himself. Butler's genius was of a peculiar type. Expansive and bold beyond all measure, he drew his illustrations and collected instances from the most unconnected and distant sources. Sweeping, however, as his conceptions were, they were correct to a degree. His mind was critical rather than constructive. He was essentially a logician, equipped, that is, not with old-world, academic forms, but with all the weapons of the logic of controversy. He was a master of subtle standpoints and

refined analysis. He effected the most delicate transitions, was never inconsistent in protracted argument, and could take his bearings, quite at his ease, in its most complicated stages. He excelled in that most delicate of arguments—retort. He took common ground with the most varied schools, and engaged them with their own weapons.

Here, we think, is the secret and source of all that is best and also of all that is most fatal in Butler. To close with an adversary he took up common ground with him, but he seems to have been sometimes indifferent to the fact that if once he proceeded to positive construction, what had been selected to serve as a polemic hypothesis became now the basis of a positive system. Could anything be more dangerous to the science concerned, or the truths at stake? That the system was undertaken in the interest of truth matters but little. Doctrine and religion have suffered more from controversy started in their sole defence than from the open attacks of infidelity. It was in defence of theology that Berkeley undermined its essential principle. It was in defence of a dogmatic creed that Kant became responsible for a century of scepticism. It was in answer to a charge of the slavery of doctrine that Hooker unsettled the theological loca, and now we contend that it was in the interest of morals and moral beliefs that Butler and Schopenhauer, Coleridge and Seth, and a number of Anglican and Catholic divines have been cutting unconsciously at the very foundations of the Science of Ethics.

What was the work to which Butler addressed himself in those portions of the *Analogy*, *Essays*, and *Sermons* that treat of virtue and the moral law? When at the end of the fifteenth century the philosophy of Hobbes made everybody sceptical about all that was out of the reach of sense, it was natural to expect that those three elements, that are known at present as the ideal factors in the moral world, moral law, namely, duty and right, should be viewed askance by the philosophy of the day. The method of Hobbes was 'introspection.' On close analysis he thought he discovered that duty and law had really no place amongst the springs of

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action working on the will ; that the will was moved in one way only, by the cold and complicated mechanics of pleasure. He claimed, moreover, that the ideas of duty and moral law were nothing more than a nervous development, a highly sensitive parasitic growth, on a delicately constructed nature. He naturally concluded that there was no such thing as duty at all or moral law, as distinct from pleasure—that they were only a fallacy, a false interpretation of other ideas, a working hypothesis, or a superstition. This was the theory rife in England in Butler's time. And as with the populace the idea of God is limited to that of a moral governor, it augured ill for the future of Theism that what had long been regarded as the voice of God speaking within their heart and mind, was put now on no higher level than the voices of the night, heard by imaginative or frightened children. This theory Butler set himself to refute. He worked by retort. He made his own of his opponents' weapons, ratified their method, and conceded their suppositions. As Hobbes had disregarded the moral law and the reality of duty, because on reflection he found none working consciously within him, so Butler claimed for it reality and title and legal worth, because on reflection the eyes of his soul were filled with the light and splendour of a court ruling within his heart and mind, from whose presence he could no more escape than he could disregard his own existence : whose adjudications he could not gainsay ; whose peremptory voice and mien bore witness at once to its character and mission as the priest of the Most High.

Here, then, within his heart and mind, as a fact and a truth more intimately perceived, more cogently felt than the phenomena of nature, was the voice of a lawgiver impressing the inward depths of his soul with the ineradicable conviction of the truth of his claim, and himself shrinking by the force of nature with all that he was, into dutiful acknowledgment of the justice of his enactments. Here, then, were the three *ideal* elements which Hobbes had removed psychologically revealed—first, a law and a lawgiver, an eternal, all-pervading force, demanding and exercising supremacy of power over

every other part of man, the highest claimant in his complex nature ; as inalienable and original in its constitution as it was independent and peremptory in its acts. Second, the element of right, given and guaranteed with the law itself. Third, the element of duty impressed deeply on the lines of his heart, holy and imperishable, and definite and palpable, as plainly discernible to sense and thought as was the colour of the sea or of the heavens. 'This moral discernment,' he writes, speaking of what he discovered within himself, 'implies in the notion of it a rule of action and a rule of a very particular kind, *for it carries with it authority and right of direction*, authority in such a sense that we cannot depart from it without being self-condemned.' And again, in his Sermons :—

It has been proved that *man is by nature a law to himself*, without the particular distinct consideration of the sanction of that law, the rewards and punishments which we feel, and those which from the light of reason we have ground to believe are annexed to it. Therefore, your obligation to obey this law is its being a very law of your nature. That your conscience approves of and attests to such a course of action is itself alone an obligation. Conscience does not only offer itself to show us the way we should walk in, but it *likewise carries its own authority with it*, that it is our rational guide, the guide arranged by the Author of nature.

This theory, so beautifully set forth by Butler, that conscience is itself a lawgiver to our minds, a part *and original principle of our nature*, protesting by its ineradicable strength, and by the persistency of its assumptions, that its function is to rule with sanction from on high, we shall now put into another form as given in the current controversy of the day ; for, as we have already said, it is because discussion is closing round it that we attempt to expand it or touch on it at all. We have said that many who meet the problem in contemporary literature, might be quite at a loss to see anything in common between the abstractions of current Ethics and the concrete expression of the very same problem given in the *Analogy*. But if the reader will have patience to read it now in its abstract form, we hope to render the connection plain, and shall return at once to more

tangible conceptions. It is claimed for Kant that until his time the essential element in the moral world was quite unknown; that until the discovery of the moral imperative (which is nothing more than *law* or *command*) there was no such thing as Ethics at all. The imperative or command within the mind, *given* by the mind, given therefore *by* man to his own reason, was thought by Kant to re-establish an indisputable ground for the Science of Morals, that his critical method had so subtly undermined. We do not intend to explain this fact, but we wish the reader to bear it in mind. It is important for the problem we are now expounding. Suffice it to say that to Kant's reason the world had gradually dissolved from view, had melted into a hollow dream, an absurd vision, fantastic and contradictory, shapeless and substanceless. But as soon as he grasped the conception of law, of moral command, given and felt within the mind itself, as soon as he felt the impression of duty marked on his soul under pressure of the law, at once the old world reappeared in its strength and substance, as figures start from metalized plates at the touch of our breath. It was the same conception that made Wordsworth exclaim that 'the ancient heavens were fresh and strong, through the idea of duty, stern daughter of the voice of God.'¹

For Kant, therefore, it was in the moral imperative psychologically revealed, that the mysteries (if so I might style the antinomies) of the world were severally solved. At once the vital question arose:—Are the problems of Metaphysics to be solved ultimately on ethical lines, or do the ethical phenomena of the human mind, as seen by Kant, need to be grounded on admitted principles of Metaphysics? What guarantee had Kant himself that these phenomena had any

¹ In passages of great beauty, Kant pictures the solemnity and force of these enactments in language that recalls the eloquence of Newman. Whether Newman studied the Critiques in detail, we cannot say. Their style and matter were foreign to his tastes, and he seems not to have taken to the German philosophers. But he certainly was acquainted with the main conceptions of *The Critique of Practical Reason*, if not directly from Kant's own work, at least through Coleridge. Speaking of the Tractarian movement in the *British Critic*, 1839, Cardinal Newman reckons him (Coleridge) one of its predecessors, 'as providing a philosophic basis for it, as instilling a higher philosophy into inquiring minds than they had hitherto been accustomed to accept.'

validity beyond himself? What proof had he that the phenomena of 'law' that seemed to issue naturally from mind was anything more than an unhealthy growth on a highly-strung and tender nature? So Evolutionists thought it afterwards. But granted it was innate there, could he ground all morals on nothing deeper than the simple fact that within his mind a voice was heard, and a command given, that its author contrived to hide his face, and claimed supremacy without guarantee or proof of his right? At once Fichte declared against Kant. He received the law, but only when grounded on a higher principle. Schopenhauer declared in favour of Kant—the ethical world needed no grounding; and in modern times Caldwell and Seth and a number of others are contending masterfully for the same principle. 'The method of Ethics,' says Seth, in the peculiar language of the Neo-Hegelians, 'is that of Philosophy, not of Science,' which simply means that in Ethics we encounter the final meaning of things, and that therefore a scientific method is inadequate to it, that is, the reduction of primary Ethical facts to higher principles. And Caldwell writes, 'the very underived and ultimate character that moral obligation seems to have in Kant infuses a reality and a meaning into life which causes sceptical and agnostic prejudices to dry up and wither away.' This, now, is the current problem in Ethics. Let us follow it up.

We have just adduced two different statements of a single problem, the one concrete, the other abstract. One setting out with colour and force the thrilling of a soul in the presence of its Maker; the other severing with cold precision from a knot of phenomena two permanent factors in our mental life, imperative or law, and the idea of duty; but both maintaining that there in the soul, psychologically revealed, as permanent and empirical fact, are a moral nature and moral law, duty and right, and enforced sanction; and that on that fact, and on that alone, the science of Ethics may build as on a rock, with as much certainty as chemistry or physics, or any other empiric science. And here let me say that the one great element in human life that carried away the mind and heart of many of the Oxford men of '33, was

the very phenomenon we have just described—the ethical element in the human soul. For many amongst them it was a living solace for heart and mind, bewildered, as they confess they were, with the mysteries of life, its entanglement and waste, and the killing darkness that lay everywhere upon it. Thither some, on their own confession, were glad to retire from the hopeless confusion of an insoluble world, that had become for them one vast antinomy. And they sometimes thought that in resting there they were resting on the bosom of God Himself, in Whose law and will the conflict of elements was more than harmonized. And this is why, as we said, we write with misgiving in spite of the issues that press us to the task.

From what we have said, the reader will probably have made up his mind that a problem, such as we have indicated suggests most naturally a dissertation on the Philosophy of Law. We think, however, that as the present paper is only critical, we ought rather deal with what law is not, than lay down positively what it is. Now, broadly speaking, there are two very widely divergent views on the nature and essence of the moral law. One is empirical, the other rational. One is given in jurisprudence, the other is assigned in metaphysics. Contemporary jurists see nothing whatever, and claim it is not their business to see, anything in law but legislation. The positive and successful enactment of a law is at once the measure and principle of its claims and the exponent of its right. Its enactment is its authority. Its strength is its right and its guarantee. Thus Holland¹ writes: 'Leaving, therefore, on one side the rules which are set by God,² we come to those that are set by a definite human authority; and in this sense a law is a general rule of external human action, enforced by a sovereign political authority.' But metaphysicians see more in law. They claim the right to question the title and pretensions of a law, and reserve submission to its ordinance until it assign a deeper ground in token of its claim than the look and

¹ Jurisprudence.

² The sphere, that is, which Thomasius would have no jurist enter—'ne falcem hic imitamus in campum venerandæ Theologiæ.'


voice even of sovereignty. It may well be asked how far such inquiry may rationally extend. That the right exists there can be no question. We do not think we are at all rebellious for refusing submission to any voice however strong, however thrilling, or to any person however holy, or to any court however solemn, if it cannot establish its right to rule and duty in others towards its enactments. And here we have entered the heart of our discussion. If the existence of God, or the existence of law, or the existence of a tribunal are based solely on the hearing of a voice, thrilling and deep, if the authority of a tribunal set up in man, and its right to rule are accepted because of the sanctity of its look and the spontaneous outgoing of our soul to its decrees, and the melting of heart that follows its reproaches, in what are we better than contemporary jurists? Our moral nature may be a part, an innate an inalienable element in our constitution; it may work on my heart electrical effects, but without a passport and with claims uncertified, how can I know that it has more authority than the town-fool, dressed in monarch's robe, with crowbar and carbine in his two hands, and 'the acknowledged strongest' written on his breast? If the fact that it enacts, and judges, and reproaches, be the primary token of the rights of conscience, if the fact that I shrink from and am dissolved at its voice, be duty itself or the proof of its presence, will it not be true on such supposition that the only rule of right is might, and of duty the want of it? There is more in law than legislation, and if we might announce a principle that ought to be made the final expression of any just theory on law or right, we should assign this—'legislation itself, no less than conduct, can be made the subject of moral criticism.' It is not final, though it runs up finally into higher ground.

And here we are confronted with a popular objection that was first used in reference to the evolutionary theory, and which on account of its rhythmic form has come to be regarded almost as an axiom. It assumes, as a rule, some form like this—'the first principles of ethics must themselves be ethical.' We willingly concede the truth of this

principle, but only in the very definite sense in which it is opposed to the 'evolution' theory; and in that connection we interpret it thus—'only ethical factors can be built up finally into ethical products.' That certainly is self-evident truth, and in that sense alone we accept it here. But the phrase is used in a different sense, and has been applied to the problem now before us, by no less an authority than Mr. Balfour. Mr. Balfour uses it in support of his theory, that the science of ethics is perfectly independent, and could not, if it would, cast anchor in any other. He contends that it is impossible to bring back ethics into metaphysical ground, for 'propositions expressing obligation can only be grounded on other propositions of the same kind.' If, therefore, a science of ethics is to exist at all, it must take its start in an ethical arena, given and granted as a fact in nature. It is the same contention as Seth's and Caldwell's. We should be slow, indeed, to criticize unfavourably an able work, undertaken in defence of natural law, and real morals. But the principle before us has become so common that in analyzing it we can scarcely be said to have any particular work in view. We have assigned a sense in which this principle may be accepted as true; we cannot admit it in Mr. Balfour's sense. The factors that make up an ethical product must themselves be ethical; but why should the principles that prove and establish an ethical truth be ethical themselves? Nothing but movements, physical and real, can make up motion physical and real, but is not the existence of motion sometimes established merely by the use of mathematical formulae? 'If a proposition,' writes Mr. Balfour, 'announcing obligation require proof at all, one term in the proof must always be a proposition announcing obligation, which itself requires no proof.' We answer, that the term 'obligation' forms part of a proposition, does not of itself make the proposition ethical, as the term 'virtue' would not make it ethical. 'Virtue is a quality,' is not an ethical but a metaphysical truth. We are not now discussing how ethics is grounded; we are only criticizing an abstract principle, and we only contend that in a particular sense

that abstract principle is not self-evident as it is claimed to be.

Let us pass on now to a further point. The theory before us regards the 'imperative,' or moral law as issued within the mind itself. An act of command is experienced there. On the lawgiver's name the ethicists of this school are not agreed. Some call it 'conscience,' others 'reason,' others 'will,' others the Deity; but all agree that the lawgiver is a part of human nature. Experience, they contend, expressly reveals that it is 'I' that rule or a part of me. That, certainly, is Butler's theory; it is also Kant's, and it is Martineau's. 'It has been proved,' writes Butler, 'that man is by nature a law to himself.' At once we recur to the very same principle given in Kant, that the human mind is a law to itself; or, as it is put by Green, 'it is essential to the very idea of obligation, that it be laid immediately by a man on himself.' For if the legislator is a part of me, a part, that is, of my mental constitution, is not the human mind a law to itself? Butler can scarcely have realized to the full the meaning and drift of that conclusion, strictly as his theory bound him to it. It is a startling consequence, the more seriously so, that it is logically deduced. Let us take it for granted that the moral law is issued from the mind—we do not say 'is interpreted there,' but 'is issued there, and enacted there.' Let us admit that a voice is ruling there; that it is one of the functions of conscience to command, that it is endowed with authority like any monarch, and that therefore its authority as an ethical faculty is something more than its validity as perceptive. If we grant all this we immediately encounter Kant's conclusion, that man is made up of two separate worlds, the one ruling, the other ruled. As lawgiver he belongs to that hidden domain, called 'noumenal' by Kant, whose character and substance shall never be known. As subject to law, as creature of duty, he is only phenomenon, a form of sense, a phantom of the imagination or substanceless shadow. 'The same thing,' Kant argues, 'cannot issue a law and receive the same.' The full meaning of that principle is not on the surface, its adequate exposition would require a lengthy and



close analysis of the act of reflection ; but we should have no difficulty in admitting its truth. If we do not admit it we are jeopardizing sacred doctrines ; it is the stronghold of our attack on the Neo-Hegelians. Grant, therefore, we repeat, that the same thing cannot *issue* and *receive* one law, and grant to Butler that it is the very same mind that issues a law and is subjected to it, are we not involved in an evident paradox ? Kant stumbled on it and was stunned for the moment. But he discovered there was just one means of escape, and we contend that is the only one. He made of the mind two worlds in one ; the one noumenal, the other phenomenal : the one sovereign, the other subject. 'There is not,' says, Kant, 'the smallest contradiction in saying that a thing as phenomenon is subject to certain laws on which the very same thing as a being in itself is independent. We need not say that we could never harbour such a conclusion. It is opposed to the very first principles of our philosophy. If this is so, neither can we admit the premises that yield it. This is but one of the many strange, and startling conclusions, that logically arise from the theory before us ; so many are they that it can scarcely be called an expedient at all. It checked a particular line of attack : that line has changed : to maintain the theory would be worse than useless.

The reader will notice that we have refrained altogether from the ordinary criticisms of Butler's theories, Schopenhauer's, and Kant's, given in our schools. We have insisted rather on a remarkable connection between those theories that seems to have escaped the notice of ethicists. The psychological theory, as Butler's doctrine is usually styled, has been hotly maintained by some of our divines. We believe its difficulties have not been weighed ; we believe it would never have been so popular were it not so successful and manageable an expedient in the battle of faith against agnosticism. But expediency is not a test of truth. We are not now where we were a century ago, or fifty years ago, and if we are not to suffer hopelessly in the fray, we must be quite prepared to reject old weapons, and forego old methods.

We wish it to be remembered that it was no part of

our purpose to construct a theory, or open up novel lines of inquiry. We have done nothing more than indicate a school, and label it 'dangerous.' It is easy for a troubled or sceptical mind to be carried away with the glowing rhapsodies this theory has inspired, and to rest assured in the hearing of a voice, and with the sanctity of submission, as a fact in his nature present to the very eyes of his soul, long before tradition and moral discipline, and the researches of science have improved the reason; and in that intimacy and long precedence he may very easily accept a pledge of their right to outlive and even to overrule the efforts, and weaknesses, and failures, and suspicions, of every positive subsequent inquiry; but if we look calmly and with dispassionate eyes upon the nature and heart and constitution of man, instead of the presence and voice of a ruler, his solemn court, and majestic mien, we think we shall discover nothing there, but the cold unsympathetic light of reason (and that is conscience), looking out upon an objective order, and a law issued from far away, and borne into the heart like all other truths, by processes of inference and traditional faith, and along with reason a number of passions of varied colour, rising and falling responsive to its reports.

M. CRONIN, D.D.

THE NEW LEGISLATION OF THE INDEX;

SECOND PERIOD : COUNCIL OF TRENT TO BENEDICT XIV.

THE Constitution of the Council of Trent gave a new life to the Index. It lasted from the pontificate of Paul IV. to that of Benedict XIV., a period of nearly two hundred years. Two reasons induce us to mark the pontificate of Benedict XIV., as an epoch in the history of the Index : first, because he made a very considerable change in the internal organization of the Congregation of the Index ; second, because that change has been permanent, and is part of the present constitution. The changes made in the Index during this period affected merely the list of proscribed books of Paul IV., and the Congregation of the Index.

The first change effected in this period was the Institution of the third and last department of the Index—the Congregation of the Index. Some controversy seems to have existed about its origin. Cardinal de Luca, Vanespen, and Spondanus assert that it was instituted by Sixtus V. Benedict XIV., however, and St. Alphonsus attribute its origin to Pius V. It is probable that Pius V. increased the Commission appointed by the Council of Trent for the examination of dangerous literature, and gave it the name of the Congregation of the Index. Gregory XIII., Sixtus IV., and Clement VIII, developed it, and enlarged its scope. Clement VIII. increased the list of proscribed books published by Pius IV., and annexed a few remarks to rules 4 and 9 of the Council of Trent. Alexander VII. made a slight change in the order of inscribing books on the list of Paul IV. Benedict XIV. laid the Congregation of the Index on a firm and lasting foundation by his bull *Sollicita et Provida*, published in the year 1753. Since this bull has been allowed to stand by Leo XIII., it will be necessary to explain its substance, in order that the entire present legislation on the Index may be fully understood. Moreover, as we will not have occasion to speak hereafter of the

Congregation of the Index, we embrace this opportunity of explaining its internal organization and working, and showing what extreme care is taken lest any book may be unjustly condemned.

It is not necessary for us to weave the eulogies of Benedict XIV., or show how well his training fitted him to make this great reform. Those who are competent to judge, assert that he was one of the greatest, if not the very greatest canonist, that Italy has ever produced. Although his pontificate extended only over a period of about eighteen years, yet by his foresight and his tact he seems to have spanned many centuries. The many laws he made for some of the most important departments of the Church's legislation, and which still subsist with all their youthful force, are sufficient testimony of this. As the ancient Romans built not for themselves alone, but for succeeding generations, so Benedict XIV. did not legislate for the requirements of his own day alone, but also for those of future ages. From his youth he had been bred to ecclesiastical business. He had been first trained in the University of Bologna. There his statue stands on the main entrance stairs with that of St. Thomas Aquinas, beside the hall where Mezzofanti taught—illustrious members of this once famous school—striking and rebuking contrasts to Carducci, and the degenerate and godless crowd that now frequent those halls. When he came to Rome his abilities soon asserted themselves. He himself tells us in the opening paragraphs of his bull *Solicita et Provida*, that while still a private priest in Rome he had been made consultor for two different congregations—the Congregation of the Holy Office, and the Congregation of the Index, and that in that capacity he had examined several books. Subsequently, when he had been co-opted into the College of Cardinals he was raised to the position of Inquisitor-General; and when elected Pope, he brought to the papal throne a great love of business, and an intense interest in the working of the Congregations. He had, therefore, all the knowledge and experience required to effect a great change in the Index. How successful was his effort, the present bull of Leo XIII.

testifies; for whilst all other legislation has been levelled down and cleared away by the *Officiorum ac Munerum*, the *Solicita et Provida* has been allowed to stand—a solitary monument.

Benedict XIV. divided the officials of the Congregation of the Index into various grades or orders. In the first rank come the cardinals. They are all men eminent in some department of sacred learning; some of them illustrious for their knowledge of theology, others for their knowledge of canon and civil law; some of them remarkable for their skill in the management of ecclesiastical affairs, others conspicuous for their prudence and probity. Next come the prefect, the master of the sacred palace, and the secretary, who is always a Dominican and elected *pro tempore* by the Pontiff himself. Next come the 'consultores,' selected from regular and secular clergy; and last come the 'relatores.' If a 'relator' 'gives two or three satisfactory proofs of his ability in his remarks of books submitted to his criticism, a petition is presented to the Pontiff to have him enrolled amongst the "consultores."'

The members of the congregation meet in two different assemblies. The consultores meet by themselves, and theirs is called the 'Congregatio Præparatoria.' This preparatory meeting is held at least once a month, and oftener if there be need. 'The Magister Sacri Palatri' always presides; the meeting is generally held at the Dominican Convent, 'Sopra Minerva.' Their decision is submitted to the higher Congregation of Cardinals. The decision of the cardinals is submitted to the Pontiff by the secretary for approval.

The following is the manner of procedure:—The person who wishes to have the book in question examined or proscribed (Delator) presents it to the secretary, together with his reasons for doing so. The secretary then takes counsel with two consultores as to whether the matter deserves consideration or not. If affirmative, the book is given to a relator for revision and criticism. When his investigation is ended, he reads his report before the Preparatory Council of consultores. If they deem the book worthy of censure,

the matter is sent on to the Congregation of Cardinals ; and if they too be of opinion that the work deserves condemnation, their decision is submitted to the Pontiff for approbation.

Special care, however, is taken lest any injustice be done a Catholic author. The decision of one relator does not suffice to have the matter brought even before the Preparatory Council. If the first relator be of opinion that it deserves proscription, it is given to another, and not till two relators coincide in their decisions is the matter brought before the Preparatory Council. Still more, even when a final adverse decision is given, an absolute prohibition is not pronounced, but one having annexed to it the clause, 'donec corrigatur,' or 'donec expurgetur.' Meanwhile, the author is requested to make the desired change. If the author fails to comply, the decree of proscription is published.

The strictest secrecy is enjoined on all the officials of the Congregation in reference to the business transacted therein. The secretary, however, has power to make known to the author or his deputy the decisions arrived at—always, however, concealing the names of the relators or consultores concerned, in order that he take measures to comply with the wishes of the congregation.

The following four rules, Benedict XIV. laid down for the guidance of the relators and consultores :—

1. They are to bear in mind that their duty is not to strive by every means, fair and foul, to discover errors and flaws in the book submitted to them, but to give a faithful account of its contents to the congregation after a careful and unprejudiced examination of it.

2. Care must be taken that the book be given to a relator skilled in the science of which the book treats. If, however, anyone should discover that from the peculiar nature of the book he is unable to pass a just criticism on it, let him bear in mind that he is not free from sin if he does not make this known at once to the Congregation. Such conduct instead of lowering his estimation in the eyes of the Congregation will tend greatly to augment it.

3. In passing judgment on certain opinions advanced in books, the greatest possible care must be taken. Different countries, different religious congregations, different schools of thought must needs have various prejudices. Now, all party

strife must be laid aside. The standards to be kept before the mind are:—the dogmas of the Church, the common teaching of Catholics, the decrees of the general councils, the constitutions of the Roman Pontiffs, and the tradition of the fathers. Any opinion that does not come in conflict with any of those must be allowed to pass.

4. They must also bear in mind that a right and proper judgment cannot be passed on the true sense of an author unless the whole book be read. The different parts of the book must be carefully collated, the opinions and design of the author carefully examined. Nor is judgment to be passed on any proposition quite independent of the context in which it is found, for it frequently happens that the different parts of a book mutually lend light to one another, and that an author expresses himself more clearly in one place than in another.

Benedict XIV. then directs his attention to a certain complaint made against the mode of procedure in the Congregation, and gives orders with regard to a twofold class of dangerous books. Sometimes authors have complained that their books have been condemned without their having had an opportunity of appearing before the Congregation and defending them. Benedict XIV. asserts and shows that such complaints are quite unreasonable. For why should authors appear before the Council? Is it to defend their persons and their reputation against the imputation of crime? It cannot be so, for no charge is imputed to their persons, and if their character or reputation be tarnished by the condemnation of their book, it occurs indirectly and unintentionally. Is it to defend before the Congregation the opinions advanced in the book? Such a proceeding could not be tolerated for a moment. A private individual to appear before the Congregation to instruct its members on what is right and wrong! No; the book itself is the individual that must stand before the tribunal; the opinions as therein expressed are the charges to be brought forward; as it will be read by the public without a commentator, so it must stand or fall by its own merits without a defender.

He grants, however, one slight indulgence. It had previously been customary for a length of time to take special precautions lest the work of any Catholic author should be

If he honours and defends those with whom he lives, undoubtedly he would have honoured those of former days if they had been his contemporaries ; but if he despises his contemporaries, you may rest assured that he would also have despised the men of former days if he had lived with them.

To all defenders of Catholic truth, the Pontiff proposes the example of the prince of the schools—the Angelic Doctor. In writing his wonderful books, which are far beyond all praise, St. Thomas necessarily came in contact with doctrines of philosophers and theologians, which were contrary to the express teaching of the Church. Yet, to his honour, be it said, that he never despised an adversary, never vilified or traduced an opponent, but treated all with whom he came in conflict humanely and with courtesy. If he happened to find anything rigorous, ambiguous, or obscure in their writings, he interpreted it with lenity and benignity, he softened and explained it away. If, however, Catholic truth demanded the refutation of any opinion or system, he went just as far to meet it as Catholic truth permitted him ; and he expressed his own opinion with such modesty, that he deserves our praise and admiration as much in the manner in which he introduced his opinion as in the way in which he afterwards proved it. Let all, then, who boast to follow the teaching of such an illustrious doctor, strive also to imitate his manner. The manners of the saints are proposed to us by the Church for our example. Though St. Thomas is a saint, we are not bound to accept everything that he teaches. But though we may hold opinions contrary to his we must not adopt a manner contrary to his. Let, therefore, the consultores direct their especial attention to this class of writings. Let them zealously endeavour as far as ever their power extends to restrain and coerce them ; for it is of the highest interest to the public peace, to the edification of the faithful, and to charity towards our neighbour, that all hatred, all bitterness, and all scurrility be far removed from everything in connection with the Catholic faith.

THIRD PERIOD OF THE HISTORY OF THE INDEX

The third period of the history of the Index is short, and uneventful. We may really consider it as all along a gradual

slope leading to the present Leonine constitution. During this period no material change was made in the old list of books of Paul IV.; and Benedict XIV. had set the Congregation of the Index on such a firm basis, that it required no further consideration. But it was not so with the rules of the Council of Trent: with the advance of years, they sadly required emendation. The progress of the age far outstripped their limits. Science had made gigantic strides since the days of the Council of Trent, and literature, which is always the voice of the age, had extended with it far beyond the boundaries conceived by those who drew up the rules. They had become antiquated, and entirely unsuited to the class of literature that now poured from the press day after day. Indeed, from the very beginning they had not been able to be put in force in Protestant countries. With the lapse of time, some of them had become quite useless, others excessively severe, and some even quite impossible to be observed. Pius IX. perceived this, and endeavoured to render them more efficient. In 1848 he published an encyclical, in which he in great part mitigated the tenth rule. That rule had prescribed that the bishop or his vicar should visit every printing-press within their diocese, and see that no proscribed book should be published; that all booksellers should keep a list of the books they had in stock, with the signature of the bishop or his vicar written after the name of each book; and that the penalty for violation of this regulation would be forfeiture of the books themselves, and the payment of a fine imposed according to the discretion of the bishop. This rule had now become quite useless and impracticable. It might have been put in force while the Church and State were espoused, as they were at the time it had been framed—under the Emperors Charles V. and Philip II. But now that the Church and State were divorced, the Church had not the power to coerce obedience. Besides, so wide had the range of literature become that bishops could not have attended to this regulation even had they no other duty attached to their office. One book-stall alone would have exhausted their energies. Piv IX., therefore, mitigated the rule. He

limited the scrutiny of bishops to works on Sacred Scripture, Sacred Theology, Ecclesiastical History, Canon Law, Natural Theology, Ethics, and all other works treating of Religion and Morals.

This innovation, however, did not remedy the general defect; accordingly, shortly before the Vatican Council, the whole matter was laid before a commission of learned and experienced men. All were unanimous that the rules required to be changed. But what was to be the nature of this change, or how was it to be effected? Two opinions prevailed amongst the members of the commission. Some, actuated by veneration for the fathers of the Council of Trent, proposed that the then existing rules should be left intact, and that certain additions and annotations should be made. Others, however, contested that this was full of difficulties; and besides, would prove quite useless. In the first place, they urged the rules had become quite effete, and could never again be made effective; secondly, the proposed additions could never be successfully made, for, notwithstanding all their efforts and their care, the annexed parts would never square with the existing rules; thirdly, various antilogies and contradictions would necessarily arise notwithstanding every precaution; and lastly, it was no derogation, they said, to the fathers of the Council of Trent to abrogate their rules, for as they had been made to meet the requirements of the times, they were never meant to stand, in an age entirely out of touch with them. They, therefore, proposed to draft a completely new set of rules. This opinion prevailed, and it is cited by Leo XIII. in his bull *Officiorum ac Munerum*.

In 1895 Leo XIII. took up the question of reform. He entrusted the matter to the Congregation of the Index. The Congregation, in their turn, elected four of their number to draft two schemes of a new code of rules. Those chosen met frequently, and discussed amongst themselves the relative merits of the two schemes. At length they presented the two schemes to the Congregation. Thereupon four other 'consultores' were chosen by the Congregation to criticize the schemes, and submit their

criticism to the authors. The authors slightly changed the rules according to the recommendation of the critics. The rules were then publicly discussed, examined, and reformed by the entire body of the Congregation, and finally submitted to the Pontiff for approval, and promulgation. The promulgation of these rules in the February of 1897 is the last event in the history of the Index.¹

In narrating the history of the Index, our chief intent has been to lay in order before our readers the principal changes and vicissitudes in the Index. We have not brought into special prominence the various departments of the Index, nor insisted very much on the characteristics of the three periods into which we have divided its history. Yet, the Index has its departments; each department has a special duty to perform; and there exists a very substantial relation between the character of the period and the form the Index assumed during that period. We would, therefore, now invite our readers to accompany us, and stand at the three epochs we have marked, and survey the chief events of the three periods as they pass in rapid review before us.

In the first period we shall perceive no special institution whose duty it would be to supervise and examine each new publication; we shall perceive no set of rules to act as standards in the judgment of books; we shall seek in vain for a detailed list of the books condemned by the Church. The condemnation and proscription of the books of Origen, of Arius, Nestorius and Eutyches; of the books of Photius, Scotus Erigena, Berengarius, and Abelard; of Wicliffe, Huss, and Jerome of Prague, were to be found only in the archives or great libraries, together with the acts of the great councils, and the constitutions of the Roman Pontiffs. Here the learned became aware of the Church's condemnation, and through them that knowledge filtered down to the very lowest grades in the Church. Towards the waning of this period we shall first perceive, however, a gradual change occur—the first germs of rules formulated and published by the two Pontiffs Alexander VI. and Leo X. Hitherto

¹ Cf. Pennach, i., p. 25.

the mind of the Church had been directed to the past—to the bad books that had already seen the light; now it began to look towards the future. Not only the works of the heretic were condemned, but the very foetus of his mind was doomed before it was given birth. And just as the period ends, a second department of the Index begins to take form—a regular list of the books condemned by the Church, drawn up and ultimately published by Paul IV.

In the second period we shall perceive two departments of the Index work with perfect organization and outfit. The Council of Trent had formulated a definite code of rules to be used as standards in the judgment of books, and had revised and reformed the old list of Paul IV. Ere long the third and last department of the Index comes into view; it is modelled, shaped, and brought to perfection by Benedict XIV.

Thus we see three departments of the Index in full working order: the list of proscribed books, the rules of the Index, and the Congregation of the Index—all three mentioned by Leo XIII. in the *Officiorum ac Munerum*. But the Index had always been intended by the Church to be the standard, the rule and *norma* by which the faithful were to know what was good from bad in the published literature of the day. Science, had now spread beyond premeditated bounds, and the literature of the day which was its faithful expression, had expanded with it. The Index did not cover all; the state of knowledge, and the state of the civil powers had changed since its rules had been first formulated; its rules had become antiquated, and had fallen out of joint with the times.

With the Leonine Constitution we shall perceive a perfect renovation. There, we shall see the character of the times studied; the science and literature of the day examined; every mode of writing provided for; every danger averted; we shall perceive a new blood infused into every department. Everything that was old is cast aside; anything that was fresh is still preserved; everything comes forth clear and new, full of youthful life and vigour.

The growth of the Index has, then, been gradual. The

same relation exists between the character of the times and the form the Index then assumed, as there exists between a tape and the cloth that is measured by it: for the times were the *mensura*, the Index the *mensuratum*. The times, modelled the Index; the Index did not model the times. The character of the times is impressed on the form of the Index, as the history of art is inscribed on the decorated walls of one of our grand mediæval cathedrals.

III.

But from a study of what is past and gone, we will now invite our readers to what is living, and what will be of future interest—the Leonine Constitution. We now intend, as we first proposed, to give the general characteristics of the present constitution, the end the Pontiff had in view in framing and publishing it, and to lay down certain general canons, which must be observed in interpreting the present rules.

The chief characteristic of the present rules, is their leniency in comparison with the old rules. No one is to suppose, however, that they are entirely different from the old rules. The Pontiff states, that it was his wish to preserve the groundwork of the old rules, but to tone them down, and mollify them, so that no one who was well disposed could find it severe or difficult to observe them.

He says, that he had two ends in view when he first began the reform of the Index:—to present a set of rules suited to the requirements of the times, and to publish a new list of the books from which the faithful were to abstain. All previous legislation made by his predecessors on the Index, he has abrogated, with the sole exception of the *Sollicita et Provida* of Benedict XIV. We may inquire what were the reasons of the Pontiff to wipe out the long list of decrees, instructions, admonitions, and constitutions passed by the long line of his predecessors, back to the Council of Trent. No doubt, the report of the commission appointed before the Vatican council, to examine the whole organization of the Index, influenced him in this respect. That commission had reported, that annexations could not

be made to the rules of the Council of Trent, without endless contradictions and oppositions of terms arising. If all the laws, decrees, and constitutions passed by previous Pontiffs on the different departments of the Index, had been allowed to stand, what a difficult and tedious task it would have been to interpret the present code of rules? No two laws on the same matter could well contradict one another. To determine, therefore, the meaning and extension of any term in the present rules, we should have to examine the same word in all the previous regulations; we should first have to discover its meaning, then to determine its extensions what was included what was excluded by any decree or by-law of any of the previous Pontiffs. The simplest rule would have presented insurmountable difficulties. The rules could scarcely ever have been made practical as the aforesaid commission remarked. Leo XIII. has obviated all those difficulties. The present set of rules stand by themselves; they must speak for themselves; they are to act as their own interpreter.

Now what do we find in the rules themselves to determine their meaning and extension? We find two things: first, the wording of the rules; second, the end the legislator had in view! His end was to lay the rules of the Index within the reach of everybody. Now, do we find in any place, an opposition between the present rules and the old rules? the present rules must be judged to be more liberal, and more lenient. Is there any rule of the present code that admits of a two-fold meaning? the more lenient is always to be accepted according to the wish of the present legislator.

Will the old rules in any way assist us in our present task? The old rules though abrogated, will assist us to understand the present ones in two ways. Though the rules have been abolished, and their binding-force destroyed, yet the words that occur in them have not been deprived of their native original meaning. If therefore we know the meaning of any term in the old rules, we can divine its general signification in the present rules—always, however, having in mind that it will bear a wider and more liberal interpretation

in the new rules. Not only the wording of the old rules, but sometimes their substance also, will assist us in determining the nature and extension of the present rules. We will illustrate how this can be by a reference. Before the *Apostolicae sedis* of Pius IX. there existed a large number of censures. Indeed, according to the saying of a distinguished Irish prelate, if a person were to raise his foot he could not know but he would lay it on a censure. Hence bishops and priests who had to use the laws on censures were beset on all sides with interminable difficulties and anxieties. Pius IX. remedied this abuse. He annulled all censures not included in the *Apostolicae sedis*. But some of the censures that had previously existed he included therein. We may therefore know the meaning and extension of any of the preserved censures by examining the constitutions by which they had been first inflicted. The present Leonine constitution presents almost a parallel example. Some of the old rules have been annulled; but some of them have been also in part preserved. The meaning, therefore, of some of the present rules may be determined from an examination of the wording of the former ones.

Now, what is the extent of the binding-force of the present rules? Regarding the extent of the binding-force of the old rules, there was reasonable ground for doubt. Indeed, canonists and moralists, we believe, notwithstanding all their efforts, failed to prove to a certainty that the rules bound in many parts of Europe. In fact, Leo XIII. admits as much in his *Officiorum ac Munerum*.¹ 'Plures Regularum' 'Indicis praescriptiones, inquit, quae excidesse opportunitate priestina videbantur, vel decreto ipsa sustulit, vel more usuque alicubi invalescente antiquari benigne simul ac provide sivit.' In the letters addressed by the bishops of Germany, France, and Italy to the Holy See, similar sentiments were expressed, and seem to have met with the approbation of the Holy See, as would appear from the attention that was subsequently paid to their

¹ We would call attention to the word 'plures' used by the Pontiff. Hence not all the rules fell into disuse. St. Alphonsus proves in *loci citato* that the rules bound one and all in the kingdom of Naples, and Dr. M'Donald proved in the I. E. RECORD that at least parts of the rules bound in Ireland.

demands, and from the manner in which they are mentioned by Leo in the present bull. The French bishops stated, that although the rules had suited the requirements of the times at which they were framed, still owing to the advance and change of literature and science they were now no longer apt for their end. Some of them they observed, had become useless, some extremely difficult, and some quite impossible to be observed. The German bishops urged with similar force, that some of the rules had never been able to be brought into force, especially in mixed countries, and that others, owing to the great change in literature could no longer be observed. This state of things, they said, was causing the faithful endless anxieties, and confessors endless doubts. Hence they earnestly requested a complete revision and reform of the rules of the Index. Whatever be our opinion about the old rules, very little doubt can be entertained about the extent of the binding force of the present rules.

In order to determine the extent of any law, we must first examine the extension of its terms; then we must see if there be any place or any class of persons exempted or excused from its observance; and lastly, if any dispensation has been granted by explicit, tacit, legal, or presumed consent. Now the extension of the words of the present legislation are—(a) universal: ‘quibus idem sacrum concilium posthac utatur unice, quibusque Catholici homines toto orbe, religiose pareant.’ (b) There can be no reasonable excuse for non-observance, as he states elsewhere, ‘Praeterea ad ipsas Regulas mentem adjecimus, easque decrevimus, incolumi earum natura, efficere aliquanto molliores, ita plane ut iis obtemperare, dummodo quis ingenio malo non sit, grave arduumque esse non possit;’ and certainly (c) no dispensation by explicit, tacit, legal, or presumed consent has yet been granted to any country. English-speaking countries may, perhaps be inclined to presume on the tolerance granted to them with regard to the observance of the previous rules, but they cannot be excused from the observance of the

² C.F. Pennacchi, pp. 24, 25.

present ones; for the law is general; they can claim no exemption; they can assign no excusing cause; and they can show no dispensation of any kind. A decision, however, of the Congregation of the Index, in the month of May of the present year, may set the minds of all at ease on this point; for it is an authentic interpretation. The following question had been proposed to the Congregation for solution:

Utrum dicta constitutio (scil., 'Officiorum ac Munerum') vim obligatoriam habeat etiam pro regionibus britannici idiomatis quas tacita dispensatione frui quidam arbitrantur?

Res: Affirmative.

Datum Romae en Secretaria ejusdem Sacrae Cong. Indicis die 23 Maii, 1898.

A. CARD. STEINHUBER, *Praef.*
FR. M. A. COGNANI, O. P., *Secret.*

To be continued.

T. HURLEY.

MR. MAHAFFY ON IRISH INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION

IN the November number of *The Nineteenth Century* is an article on Irish Intermediate Education which will excite indignation against the system in readers who are acquainted neither with it nor with the writer of the article, Mr. Mahaffy.

Irish readers who know the Professor would as soon look for sober history in the pages of *Punch*, as expect Mr. Mahaffy, when treating of a matter of even national importance to Ireland, to teach by facts rather than to amuse by caricatures. Mr. Mahaffy is not, it is said, a malignant man. Nobody who knows him accuses him of entertaining on any subject (except, perhaps, one) a conviction so strong that its general acceptance or rejection would cause him pleasure or anger. Even when he accuses Catholic examiners of ignorance, and flings a sneer at 'narrow and bigoted Irish patriots,' who will not join him in making all Irish students West Britons, his insults are not, say his friends, the expression of malice, but a bid for that popularity and association in England which he misses in Trinity.

To many who thought they were acquainted with the Intermediate system and its origin, it will be news to learn that the system was devised by 'the first Lord Cairns and other clever persons,' as a means by which 'a considerable portion of the money obtained by the Disendowment of the Church of Ireland might be transferred to the Roman Catholics without alienating the votes of the English and Scotch Nonconformists.'

We had thought that the disgracefully backward state of Intermediate Education in Ireland generally prior to the Act of 1878 was motive strong enough to determine honest legislators to apply a remedy. We had thought, too, that until the results of the first examinations held under the new system were published in 1879, Mr. Mahaffy and his friends chuckled at the prospect of adding the bulk of the new endowment to the already considerable income of the Protestant schools. Indeed the poor Catholic teachers were looked upon with pity by their Protestant fellow-workers, who were certain that the spoils would mostly fall to themselves. For how could these Papist schools, 'which,' says Mr. Mahaffy, 'were supposed to be languishing and inefficient for want of endowment,' and whose methods of teaching were modelled on the ignorant system that prevailed at Maynooth, cope with the schools of the dominant race and creed which had been for long generations in the enjoyment of ample funds, and where the enlightened and up-to-date methods of Trinity College were in active force? The results of the very first examinations came upon the pampered offshoots of Trinity as an amazing disappointment. Some of the 'languishing' Catholic schools proved that they were certainly not 'inefficient,' and some of the wealthy Protestant schools were shown to be utterly incompetent. The test has been applied in twenty successive years, and Mr. Mahaffy says: 'So far as I know, the Roman Catholics have every reason to be satisfied with the result.' So they have, inasmuch as the result is the outcome of fair and open competition.

Mr. Mahaffy tacitly admits that, as far as rewards for pupils and teachers are concerned, the Protestants got at

least fair play and the Catholics certainly got no favour. But no similar test was or could be applied in selecting the officials who were paid for working the system; and in the absence of a test, how could the absurdity be tolerated of giving Catholics a place among these officials? Here is what vexes the Professor:—

Of the Assistant Commissioners one is Roman Catholic, and one Church of Ireland. Of the Examiners, two Protestants are not to be trusted to examine in Greek and Latin; there must be one Roman Catholic, whether he knows Greek or not.

And again:—

Their [Catholic] examiners preparing papers conjointly with Fellows of Trinity College and other such people, appear to the public on a level with the rest.

Now here is the same arrogant and ignorant assumption of the superiority of the Protestant examiners to which we were accustomed in reference to Protestant schools and scholars, until the test was applied. If the same impartial test which was applied to the scholars in 1879 could be applied to the examiners in 1899, the result might possibly spread similar consternation among Mr. Mahaffy's friends. But until an effective test can be applied, why should not the Professor assume in the meantime, that the Catholic examiners are ignorant, and why should he not have a fling at them as such?

'I believe I stood almost alone,' writes Mr. Mahaffy, 'in proclaiming from the outset that the whole system was vicious, &c.' Now it was *not* very well known in educational circles, at the time when the Intermediate system was being organized, that Mr. Mahaffy was stoutly opposed to it. Some people even thought, and not without reason, that if Mr. Mahaffy had got a gracious message from the Lord Lieutenant, inviting him to accept the position of Assistant Commissioner, with the salary of £1,000 attached thereto, he would have overcome his aversion for the 'vicious system,' and loyally made the sacrifice demanded. Before the Irish people rise in indignation to strangle the 'vicious system,' the country will require some more reliable proofs of its viciousness than those contained in Mr. Mahaffy's article.

Before examining Mr. Mahaffy's accusations against the Intermediate, it may be well to seek in a less tainted source for some genuine information concerning its success or failure.

The most reliable test of the working of the Intermediate system is the progress or decay of Intermediate and Higher Education among the population generally, and in particular among the Catholics, whose secondary schools were absolutely without endowment before 1879. Prior to the Act of 1878 superior instruction was rapidly decaying. The Report issued by the Census Commissioners in 1871, says, 'one hundred and fifty-five Intermediate schools must have become extinct between 1861 and 1871;' and the Report adds that this fact 'argues something worse than mere stagnation in that department of teaching.' The Census Reports are made only at intervals of ten years, and we may fairly assume that the Intermediate schools continued their downward course after 1871, until the Act of 1878 broke their fall, and gave them an impetus in the right direction. Between 1871 and 1891 the number of students receiving superior instruction increased thirty-nine per cent., though there was a decrease of thirteen per cent. in the population.

Within the same twenty years (during thirteen of which the Intermediate system was infusing vigour into the schools) the number of Catholic students receiving superior instruction increased sixty-one per cent., though the Catholic population decreased 14·5 per cent.

The Census Report for 1891, adds: 'The number of pupils and students engaged in the higher studies¹ shows a very satisfactory increase notwithstanding the large diminution in the population.'

The Reports of the Intermediate Board also furnish evidence that the system has roused our Intermediate schools and rescued them from a state of 'something worse than mere stagnation.' It was only in 1885 that the Reports began to state the number of Intermediate schools to the managers of which results fees were paid. In that year the number

¹ As engaged in 'higher studies' or 'superior instruction' the Commissioners reckon all whose education goes farther than a mere 'primary' or exclusively English education, from the pupil who is taught a single foreign language to the student who is preparing for the highest university degree.

was 244. In 1897 it had reached 367. The number of pupils examined under the system in 1885 was 5,181; in 1898 it had risen to 9,073. These figures do not argue either unpopularity or failure.

In Mr. Mahaffy's indictment against the Intermediate system, the first crime with which he charges it is that 'it encourages cramming against sound education.' Indeed the title of his article is 'How to circumvent Cramming in Irish Secondary Education.' 'It encourages cram' is the stock accusation hurled against the system by countless persons—pupils, parents, teachers—who have reasons to be more or less dissatisfied with the results of the system. Though, as Mr. Mahaffy admits, 'the great mass of people who repeat the phrase can give no explanation of it,' still its utterance relieves their feelings. In the reports of the Intermediate Commissioners we find cram defined as a 'hasty and superficial preparation of a subject.' To prevent cram as thus defined the Board takes pretty effective measures. It suppresses altogether, as being no evidence of real preparation, the first 25 per cent. gained by a pupil of the total marks assigned to a subject. Thus if a pupil scores 51 marks in a subject to which 200 marks are assigned, he gets credit for one mark only. Again, every mark gained above 75 per cent. in a subject counts as two. The effect of this rule is to encourage a thorough mastery of the subjects presented for examination.

In the Languages much importance is attached to composition and unseen translations, which cannot certainly be crammed. We find among the Rules a special provision which not only has 'spun' many a young crammer, but has been for many, owing to its extraordinary wording, as great a puzzle as the 'conundrums in Arithmetic' of which Mr. Mahaffy complains. Here it is:—

In the award of marks, in Greek, Latin, French, German, Italian, Spanish, or Celtic, the number of marks gained by a student in any of these subjects, in which he may not have obtained 35 per cent. of the marks assigned to Grammar and Prose Composition taken together, will be reduced by one-half of the number of marks which he has gained above 35 per cent. of the total number of marks assigned to the subject in question.


Mr. Mahaffy's definition of cram is different from that given by the Board, and much more philosophical. He tells us what the vile thing is by giving a very forcible and clear explanation of the difference between the crammer and the teacher: The teacher has for his object the permanent improvement and development of his pupils; competition and rewards are for him only a means. The crammer has for object the rewards attached to successful scoring; the pupil is but the material or means by which he achieves his end. The Intermediate System *compels* the teacher to become a crammer, for it does not allow his higher principles to assert themselves. His liberty is controlled 'not by the rude compulsion of law but by the not less cogent compulsion of bribes—scholarships, exhibitions, result fees—held out to needy and greedy parents, underpaid and ambitious schoolmasters, &c.'

All this is eloquent; but what does it mean? If there was never an Intermediate system there would be in every good school an authority which would prescribe a programme of studies for the different classes; and that authority would need to be watchful and strong to prevent individual teachers from rambling outside the programme, and wasting the pupils' time. It should guard particularly against the faddists and theorists who are always most ready to assert with Mr. Mahaffy that efficient teachers must have liberty to follow their own course, and choose their own books. Unfortunately, only a small percentage of the teachers of any country are Arnolds or Thrings. The majority do their work the better for being directed and controlled by men of more educational experience and sounder views. Assuming that a programme of studies is sound and judicious, who will assert that the most competent teacher is unduly hampered by being obliged to confine his work within its limits? He will, of course, have perfect freedom to apply his own methods of teaching to the mastery of that programme. The more interesting he makes his teaching by references and illustrations that have a real bearing on his subject the better for his class. He may and he should teach his pupils to see around the subject as well as into it and through it;

but is there any reason on earth why, when a year's work comes to be tested by a competent examiner, the pupils of the best teacher should not score the highest marks? How can the prizes and result fees which are offered compel the teacher to become a crammer, or affect the issue at all, except in stimulating other teachers to bring to their work similar methods and similar zeal? Would a Professor's lectures in Trinity be prepared with less care, if his classes had an occasion, once a year, in open competition, to prove their superiority over similar classes in Oxford or Belfast? If his salary was to be measured by the success of his pupils, his teaching might gain in efficiency what it would lose in discursiveness, salt and freedom; and the loss might be a blessing in disguise.

Few will maintain that the eminent scholars who compose the Intermediate Board, and the Assistant Commissioners who aid them, even though they are not all Fellows of Trinity, are not more reliable guides in selecting a judicious programme of studies for the different grades of our Intermediate schools than individual teachers or individual theorists. The guidance of the Board shackles the freedom of the teacher, and, to use Mr. Mahaffy's words, 'ought to do so, so far as it represses random license, and points out the normal course of a proper education.'

The lashing which is so often administered to the 'crammers' even by writers who are Intermediate teachers, and hence, necessarily 'crammers' themselves, would be particularly fine and wholesome if the pictures they drew were not fanciful, or if the system of cram, in the exaggerated form in which they describe it, ever actually came under their notice, or anywhere exists. Teachers and pupils who go down in the intellectual contest are too apt to seek consolation in invective against the successful 'crammers.' If, because of competition, education in Intermediate schools must be, and is in reality, the debasing system of cram which some describe it; if, as a critic who is also a crammer puts it, 'the master who desires his pupils to succeed in the Intermediate competition must cast away from him all scruples, and allow himself to degenerate into



a crammer,' then Irish teachers generally are a more unscrupulous and selfish lot than the country gives them credit for being.

Competition does not necessarily beget cram, whereas absence of competition invariably begets stagnation. The best schools in the old days were those that made competition and emulation between the classes of the school, and between individuals of the class, as sharp and exciting as possible. Why should competition be essentially evil when extended from individuals and classes to schools?

There may be a strong temptation to cram in schools which present pupils for competition only in the preparatory and junior grades; but sense and selfishness combined will prevent cram in schools which aim at leading its pupils up to the middle and senior grades; for every teacher knows that a boy who is crammed in the lower grades becomes what has well been called a 'mental cripple,' and is worthless even as an instrument of success in the higher grades. It may be objected that the success of 'grinders' in preparing students for the civil service and other examinations proves that success is best secured by cramming. The answer is obvious; the 'grinder' would never succeed in preparing students for difficult examinations if these students had not got a previous education. It is education that fashions and tempers the weapon of intellect; grinding gives the sharp edge for immediate use.

In forming an opinion on this matter, it is well to weigh the words of such an experienced and wise educationist as the present Chairman of the Catholic Headmasters' Association, who is also President of University College, Stephen's-green. At the end of 1883, when the new system had been in operation for five years, the Rev. Dr. Delany, then Rector of Tullabeg College, combating the views of some masters who thought that, after all, they would prefer inspection to competition, said that—

Far from thinking that examinations tended to encourage cramming and superficiality, he was led by reason as well as experience to a directly opposite conclusion, and believed that frequent judicious examinations are of the greatest advantage

even to the best teaching ; the contact with extern minds involved in these examinations forcing both teachers and pupils to think round their subjects, and to master them more completely and intelligently.

Mr. Mahaffy's remedy for cram is inspection, not as a substitute for public examination, but as a supplement and check. 'However bad the examiners, however absurd the papers, however loose the supervision, . . . we must not attempt to abolish examinations,' says the Professor, 'but to reform them.'

To inspection, whether as a substitute or as a supplement for public examinations, there are some obvious objections. In the first place, how will inspectors be chosen? By the Lord Lieutenant? or by the Board? or as a result of open competition?

Surely this last mode must be rejected ; for though high scoring at an examination may be a proof of knowledge and scholarship, it certainly is not a proof of character and general competence.

If the appointments are *not* the result of competition, there will begin, in the history of Irish Intermediate Education, a period disgraced by a scramble for position, by jealousy and suspicion, by jobbery and favouritism ; a period which will end by placing us in the old slough of despond from which the present system has raised us.

If the position is to be in the gift of the Viceroy, we all know how numerous and how forcible are the agencies that will at once be put in operation to enlighten His Excellency as to the choice he should make. Political considerations will generally, if not invariably, determine the educational fitness of the inspector.

If the gift lies with the Board, and if the religious complexion of that body remains unaltered, then the religious views which are represented by the members of the Board, will be proportionately mirrored in the inspectors they choose ; and, since the majority of the Board are non-Catholic, Catholic inspectors will be in a minority, simply because they *are* Catholic, or, possibly, under certain contingencies, there may be no Catholic inspector at all.

The inevitable result would be that the entire Catholic population would withdraw from the system, as the entire Protestant population would withdraw from it, if, in the constitution of the Board and of the body of Inspectors, proper allowance was not made for the Protestant religious sentiment. It is a fact too well known to need mention, that, in order to make the machinery of education in Ireland workable at all, every suspicion of religious favouritism must be eliminated from the system. Wherever open competition is not the arbiter of merit, the principle of proportionate religious representation must prevail from top to bottom of our popular educational systems; and where it will not prevail, the systems will cease to be popular, and become the monopoly of a sect. Mr. Mahaffy may denounce this principle with all the indignant eloquence he can command; but if he were a practical man, and not a theorist, he would admit that it must be retained.

Here, then, is one great difficulty which the advocates of inspection must overcome. Mr. Mahaffy very rightly says :—

All the advantages of inspection will be lost if inspectors are appointed to satisfy private interests, or the clamour of creeds, or the demands of a false patriotism. If the main object of appointing inspectors is to obtain state salaries for a certain number of hungry applicants, if competence and independence of character be not secured, there will only be more money wasted, and no real benefit secured by the change. Indeed, it seems almost vital that in the first instance some first-rate English and Scotch inspectors should be appointed who . . . are strangers to the various jealousies which beset all provincial societies.

Again, where are the salaries of the inspectors to be found? If inspection implies oral examination also, the inspectors must be picked scholars, must be specialists; and the services of such men are not secured except by liberal remuneration. When the Intermediate Bill was passing through the House of Commons, it was computed that, at the utmost, only £10,000 of the Endowment would be annually required for administering the Act, and that all the rest would go directly to the schools or to the pupils. At present a sum considerably above £17,000 is spent annually in administration. Are we willing to withdraw from the schools a still larger amount?

Three hundred and sixty-seven schools were awarded results fees in 1897. It is certain that many more competed; for, in Dublin, and probably in other large centres, the pupils of several distinct schools combine and send their names to the Board in the same list, as if they all belonged to one school. The pupils of the Intermediate schools probably number more than twenty thousand, and the contention of the advocates of inspection seems to be that *all* the students should be orally examined, and not merely the moiety of them that are now admitted to written examinations. To inspect all these schools, to examine all these pupils, and to draw up reports, would be a laborious and expensive work.

The more closely the practical difficulties that beset inspection are examined—and only a few have been mentioned here—the more likely is the project to be rejected.

But, I may be told, the system of inspection works well in other countries. That may be true, but has it ever been introduced successfully into a country where there are so many, and such sharp divisions—racial, religious, social, and political, as exist in Ireland? Is there any country in the world, the history of whose secondary schools is at all similar to the history of our Irish schools? The tendency to alter and patch our system, so as to bring it into harmony with the system which prevails in other countries, is replete with mischief.

Many persons who have no faith in inspection as a panacea for the evils of the Intermediate, are strongly of opinion, that, without any radical change, much may be done to improve the system by the agency of the examiners.

As a judicious programme 'points out to the teacher the normal course of a proper education,' so a judicious examination guides him in the manner in which he should teach that programme. We pedagogues, whether Intermediate crammers paid by results, or Fellows of Trinity paid independently of results, frequently entertain about our own methods of teaching opinions which are pitifully erroneous. How many of us fancy that our knowledge and powers of exposition are exceptional, and fancy too that our pupils are making exceptional progress, while all the time

the work done is imperfect and superficial? Apply the test of a fair, judicious examination, and our illusion is painfully dispelled, unless we break out in angry exclamations against the examiner, and put the blame of our failure upon him. Have we not known teachers, even teachers of repute, to exercise after an examination more research and ingenuity in finding material for an indictment against the examiner than they had previously employed in mastering the subject they had to teach?

An examiner may be, and ought to be, a guide for the teacher. It is hardly too much to say that the Intermediate education of the country is what the examiners have made it. They have it in their power to direct the work of teachers and pupils along true or false educational lines, to ignore or even encourage vicious methods of teaching, or to detect and punish them; to lower the standard of the schools, or to keep education on a high and healthy level.

Let us consider the single case of an examiner who has to set a paper on the text-book of a language. We will suppose him to have the qualifications of a really good examiner. Not only is he well acquainted generally with the author's writings, but he has mastered this particular one thoroughly. He has recently gone over the ground again carefully and minutely. His thoughts have rested on every page, until he has penetrated the whole meaning, and seen the working of the author's mind. He sees the order, the elevation, and the beauty of the writer's thoughts; he has discovered the principles which underlie and animate his style and character. He knows the passages in which the author is at his best, and the passages in which he nods. He knows the circumstances in which the writer lived, the conditions under which he wrote; he is familiar with the political, social, and literary life of the time, and sees the fitness of every illustration. Being equipped in this way an examiner is a guide. His questions will deal with the author's thoughts, especially his cardinal thoughts; with beauties of expression that are characteristic, not with exceptional slips; with passages that are the genuine mirror of the writer's style, not with those of exceptional construction or of doubtful authenticity. In

a word, the paper he sets will show the lines upon which the work should have been studied; it will elicit a knowledge or ignorance of the mind of the writer, and of the text, not of the slipshod commentaries of annotators.

But, I may be told, all this is very well in the abstract, and it would be very well in practice if we had ideal examiners; but are our examiners what they ought to be? Instead of setting papers which test the knowledge of the pupils in the essentials of the text-book, do they not frequently pick out what is exceptional, what is eccentric, what is unimportant or absurd; and so, in effect, tell teachers and pupils 'these are the things you should have insisted upon, these are the points you should have mastered'? Who are the examiners? Read over the long list of names from which they are chosen, and say if, along with many distinguished ones, there are not many others, Protestant as well as Catholic, that have no claim whatever to our confidence as educational guides. In the lists you find the young man or woman who has just ceased to be a student, and who is totally without experience; the busy barrister, or solicitor, or clergyman, who has only what Australians would call a 'gentleman's knowledge of his subject,' but for whom a cheque from the Intermediate Office is a desirable thing at the approach of vacation. Is it fair, is it well, to ask the teacher to accept such guidance, or to accept as a just estimate of his year's work the judgment of such examiners?

There is much truth in these objections. But if, in this point and many others, half the talents and energy that are now expended in advocating dangerous experiments with the broad principles of the present system, were employed in preventing the existing system from being abused, there would be no need of revolutionary changes.

Have the head masters made any real effort to protect themselves against the incompetency of examiners? The list of examiners is published every year: is it scrutinized, is it criticized by the head masters? Are the examination papers studied, and their defects mercilessly but truthfully exposed? Now and then, it is true, a solitary voice has been raised against particular papers; but, on the whole,

the masters remained dumb. They have now an organization and a standing committee charged to watch over their interests; a little vigilance and energy on their part will weed out incompetent examiners, and put an end to meaningless and foolish questions.

Mr. Mahaffy finds that 'the existing system of examinations tends unduly to shackle the freedom of both teachers and scholars.'

He proves his statement by instancing ways in which the system 'restricts the liberty of education!' The first way is this: 1. The limits of age imposed by the system induce teachers to retard unduly pupils who are exceptionally precocious, and to urge unduly, or else to neglect altogether, students who are exceptionally backward. By the rules of the Intermediate Board children under thirteen are excluded from the examinations, though Mr. Mahaffy could point to brilliant children of eleven who could successfully compete in Preparatory Grade, and he asks indignantly, 'are these children of genius to be held back in order that they may win scholarships for themselves and results fees for their masters?' We can imagine with what vehemence Mr. Mahaffy would denounce the cruel system that would subject tender children of eleven to the torture of being 'crammed' for public examinations!

Even if Intermediate teachers were the soulless slave-drivers which some critics represent them, and had no higher aim than to exploit their pupils for selfish ends, the teacher would foolishly defeat his own interests who would not advance that child of genius from class to class of the different grades, till he made him a Senior Grade Exhibitioner at the age of thirteen! Such a unique distinction would attract to his school all the young brilliants in the country.

There was never yet invented a system of education in which there was not a tendency to neglect dull pupils. But the pupil must be dull, indeed, and woefully backward for his age, to whom his master cannot even hope to impart that modicum of information in a few subjects which will enable the boy to secure a mere 'pass,' and so win results fees for the teacher. Moreover, in every school there is a master of studies, who, if he has not a conscience, has at least sense

enough to see that it is for the interest of the school that dull boys should not be neglected.

But no system of education can be specially moulded for exceptional geniuses or for exceptional dullards. Dr. Delany may be again quoted :—

A scheme intended to deal with the education of a nation should not be fashioned to the special requirements of individuals, or limited to the production of Arnolds or Mahaffys, or rhetoricians, however brilliant ; but should, whilst unduly fostering none, offer scope and stimulus for the development of the tastes, aptitudes and capacities of boys of all classes, and should at the same time hold out inducements to the masters to exercise their best energies in the producing of this result. . . . He believed that the Intermediate scheme . . . was in the main well adapted to the requirements of the educational problem to be solved in Ireland.

2. Another way in which, according to Mr. Mahaffy, the system 'restricts the liberty of education,' is this :—

Pupils quite fit to go to practical work, or to study in universities, are kept in the Senior Grade by the system which refuses to recognise any other test than the Senior Grade Examinations for the retaining of exhibitions already won.

Mr. Mahaffy's meaning is, that a pupil who has won a Middle Grade Exhibition of £30 must, if he wishes to retain it, present himself for examination the following year in Senior Grade. Mr. Mahaffy would let the Middle Grade Exhibitioner become a tailor, and retain his exhibition as such, if the boy gave promise of using the needle and lap-board with dexterity, or he would let him enter Trinity and pay his tutor with the £30. And if the Intermediate Board do not lend themselves to this they 'restrict the liberty of education'!

On this particular point, it may be mentioned that Mr. Mahaffy is not the only university man who would wish to see a slice of the Intermediate endowment cut off to feed the poor starving universities. As the proposal in its undisguised form would not commend itself to Intermediate teachers, it is modified into a demand to increase the number, if not the value, of the senior grade exhibitions, so that the money thus awarded may help students to meet the expenses of a university education.

A few figures dealing with the proposal may be instructive. In 1898 substantial prizes (£20 and upwards) were awarded in Senior Grade to 44·6 of those who passed; in Middle Grade, to 33·2 per cent.; in Junior Grade, to 10 per cent.; and in Preparatory, to 10 per cent. If the calculation is made with reference not to those who passed, but to those who were examined, the figures would be 30·4 per cent. in Senior Grade; 24·8 in Middle Grade; 5·8 in Junior, and 6·8 in Preparatory. If we include in our calculation *all* the prizes, substantial and minor (except Medals), which were awarded in 98 in the different grades, we find that the amount given in Preparatory Grade would average £2 2s. 6d. for every pupil who passed in that grade. In Junior Grade the average sum would be £2 7s. 4d.; in Middle Grade, £8 1s. 9d.; and in Senior Grade, £14 1s. 1d. These figures show that comparatively liberal encouragement is already given to enter the higher grades. Any increase of rewards in the higher grades, which has not a corresponding increase in the lower grades, would be unfair and out of proportion.

3. The third way in which the system is said by Mr. Mahaffy to 'restrict the liberty of education' is, by 'encouraging a multitude of subjects instead of high answering in a few.'

Mr. Mahaffy would seem not to have read the rules for years. He lays down a plan by which high answering might be encouraged and low answering punished, and apparently does not know that such a plan is in active operation already. His charge would have been a proper one to make at the time when students were free to dabble in every subject on the programme. But at present a student who selects for his studies Classics, Mathematics, English, and French, has exhausted his right to choose, and will not be examined in any other subject. In the lowest grade the programme is still more contracted. No teacher will say the range of subjects is now too great.

Not even Mr. Mahaffy could invent a plan better calculated than that which is actually in force to encourage teachers and pupils to take up a moderate number of subjects and to master these well.

4. Again, Mr. Mahaffy finds that the liberty of education is hampered by the Intermediate system inasmuch as it retains on its programme some useless subjects.

Euclid should go, as being a 'cumbrous and most uninteresting text-book;' and the Board, if wise, will accept Mr. Mahaffy's opinion on this matter rather than the 'rampant old prejudices' of mathematical critics. 'Modern works, less precise perhaps in their logic, but far more interesting and suggestive to the young,' should be adopted.

Arithmetic should give way to Algebra in the higher grades; the Civil Service Commissioners who retain higher Arithmetic in the examinations for their important departments are as benighted, in this particular, as the Intermediate Board.

Italian and Spanish should disappear. Irish should be wiped out ignominiously; for not only is it a 'perfectly useless subject,' but it panders to 'mischievous sentimentalism.'

There can be little doubt [says the Professor] that 90 per cent. of Irish parents and teachers, and (let us hope) all the Commissioners themselves, are of this opinion, and yet the subject is paraded every year to please the outcry of a few enthusiasts, who are at best only sentimental, at worst actively employed in maintaining what separation they can between Ireland and Great Britain.

It will be interesting to see how many additional pupils will be attracted to the study of Irish because of these taunts.

We are at one with Mr. Mahaffy in thinking that the absence of an efficient check upon faulty and absurd methods of teaching modern languages is a serious defect in the Intermediate system. Though it is hard to see why the mere silent perusal of Racine, as well as of Euripides, should not afford *some* intellectual pleasure and profit; still, nobody will maintain that French ought to be studied otherwise than as a living language.

The Intermediate Education Act of 1878 suggests that the Assistant Commissioners should act as inspectors also, and it empowers the Board to appoint 'such other officers as they deem necessary for the purposes of this Act. With-

out new legislation, and without much expense, the Board might send officers to visit the schools, to hear the students read aloud in the different languages ; and from the reports of these officers the Board could gather authentic information as to the methods employed in the teaching of languages. If these methods are found to be faulty to any considerable extent, the Board might then seek powers to punish vicious methods, and to reward good ones. The visits of the officers, even though their reports cannot affect the results of the written examinations, will not fail to exercise a beneficial effect on the teaching of languages.

The critics of the Intermediate have for years kept the evils of the system pretty well before the public, and have displayed remarkable ingenuity in discovering new defects and in magnifying old ones ; but, strange to say, Mr. Mahaffy is the first to detect and expose the most vicious defect and the most dangerous tendency of all. Lurking in the system for the last twenty years is the cloven-footed spirit of disloyalty. Silently but effectively the fiend has been instilling into the minds of the young, instincts and sentiments which are not English, and has been preparing the way for ' long and disastrous years of political strife.' The unsophisticated reader might expect that the Professor would have begun his attack on the system by dragging this monster into the light, and despatching him before his own strength was exhausted in fighting enemies less worthy of his steel. He chose different tactics for a characteristic reason. Let Mr. Mahaffy explain :—

There is a larger and deeper objection [he says] to be brought against the whole system, which should naturally have come in the first place, but has been postponed till now, because many narrow and bigoted Irish patriots will think it anything but an objection, and would, therefore, lay aside this paper at the outset if the objection encountered them there ; and, yet, it exposes the most serious flaw in the whole system.

One would imagine [continues the Professor] that any such system of examination must have been directed not to separate the instincts and sentiments of Irish children from those of other British subjects, but rather to bring them all into harmony.


It is a pity that Mr. Mahaffy's researches in German

Philosophy and in Grecian History did not give him time to study the history and fate of the systems—religious, political, and educational—which aimed at bringing the instincts and sentiments of Irish children into harmony with those of other British subjects.

But where precisely in the system does the evil lurk? Why, to be sure, in a certain rule which exacts from a student, as a condition to his being awarded a prize, that he must have previously studied during seven months in Ireland. Now this stipulation is, in the eyes of the loyal Professor, simply outrageous; and the Board are guilty of conduct as disloyal as it is stupid in not inviting the picked young geniuses of the English, Scotch, and Welsh schools to swoop down on Ireland once a-year, and carry off a share of the Intermediate spoils.

Those readers who naturally look to Mr. Mahaffy for guidance in arriving at a correct opinion concerning the evils of the Intermediate will be puzzled when, having read his article, they try to classify those evils in the order of their magnitude. 'Cram,' he says is 'the objection which is heard everyday in everybody's mouth,' and, accordingly, it gets first place. We then read that '*the most serious flaw* in the whole system' is, that it does not tend to make Irishmen West Britons. Again, '*the great blot* in this and other systems of secondary instruction is the setting of the learned professions as the highest goal before the eyes of the humbler and poorer classes.'

Many persons who will not shed tears over 'the most serious flaw,' and who consider that 'cram' is but a bogey spirit, not so very real and mischievous that it may not be exorcised by the examiners, will join the Professor in deploring what he calls 'the great blot.' The Intermediate system ought to take up pupils who are quitting the Primary schools, and convey to the university those among them who desire it. But to those students who consider the journey to a university degree too long and expensive, the system ought to afford easy opportunities not only of gaining the entrance to the professions (which it does well enough), but also of attaining to Commercial and Civil Service



positions, or of reaching some of the other countless avocations for which a solid secondary education is required. This it does not. To make it do so, it is only necessary that along with the ordinary course, and co-ordinate with it, should be established a Commercial course. A separate Commercial course was tried in 1891 and in 1892, but it was tried in a manner and under conditions that must of necessity have made its success impossible. Perhaps there are no acts of the Board so obviously open to hostile criticism as the bungling which took place about this Commercial course.

The programme of this course should be so framed as to comprise the subjects in which competitors for the more popular minor Civil Service positions are examined ; and it should be a preparation for Second Division Clerkship.

When the Intermediate Act was passing through Parliament in 1878, Lord O'Hagan was able to say that ' since 1871 there were 1,918 places in the Excise and Customs disposed of by public competition. For these places there were 11,371 candidates ; 11 per cent. were Scotch, 46 per cent. English, 43 per cent. Irish ; Scotch competitors won 6 per cent. of the places, English 38 per cent., and Irish 56 per cent. Of every 100 Scotch candidates, 9 passed ; of every 100 English, 14 passed ; of every 100 Irish, 22 passed.' An examination of the lists of the candidates for these posts who succeeded and who failed in recent years, would show that the English and Scotch competitors have more reason to bless the Intermediate system than the Irish competitors have. This Commercial course which is here advocated would be a preparation not for Civil Service only, but for countless business avocations also.

The total number of Intermediate students who presented themselves for examination during the past three years was, 26,661. 83 per cent. of these were examined in the two lower grades ; and, in spite of the comparatively large and numerous rewards offered in the Middle and Senior Grades, only 17 per cent. were examined in these two grades combined. It is not the chance of Exhibitions that will induce the bulk of Irish parents to let their children

complete the Intermediate course, but the fitness of the course to lead the children into permanent positions.

That the present Intermediate system has defects—some inherent, some remediable—few will deny. But, with all its faults, it has one great virtue which covers a multitude of sins : with the exception of a few abuses in superintendence, the system is absolutely impartial. The alternative system of inspection, even if it were workable at all in practice, would give rise to endless suspicions and complaints. If public money is to be given to the schools in proportion to the work they do, the test must be competition. Some remedy should be found for the absurd way in which modern languages are said to be taught in many schools. For this one abuse, the proper check may be an oral test ; but the basis of the system must be examination, competitive and written.

Remove from the system any of its three constituent principles—Public Examinations, Rewards to pupils, Result fees to teachers—and the system will drift into one of partiality or stagnation.

Though the system has not, perhaps, done all that it is capable of doing, it has done all that it was expected to do by its authors. When pleading for its establishment in 1878, Lord O'Hagan said :—

The Bill commends itself to me as an honest effort to supply an unquestionable want in a just and judicious manner. . . . It is absolutely impartial in dispensing with an equal hand the public bounty amongst the subjects of the realm. It will encourage the enterprise of teachers, and . . . supply some means for the increase and improvement of scholastic establishments, *without vexatious meddling in their internal administration*. It will stimulate honourable ambition, and give humble merit, striving against adverse circumstances, opportunity of recognition, and assistance to success.

L. HEALY.

THE SEASONS: A PICTURE OF HUMAN LIFE

REFLECTIONS SUGGESTED BY THE CLOSING OF THE YEAR

NOW that you are gone, Old Year, we cannot but look back to you as a dear lost friend, and sigh to think of the many favours you brought us, and the little gratitude we felt; the many kind admonitions you gave, and the little attention we paid to them. How often have you called on us to contemplate, and shown us, as in a mirror, the shortness of human life, well pictured, indeed, by your own brief existence! How often during your rapid course have you pointed to the funerals of earth's children, hale and vigorous at your birth, but who now sleep the unbroken slumber of the tomb! There was serious warning in your very smiles, for we felt they were but the melancholy forerunners of your after tears and sorrows. A sunbeam had scarcely shone forth in spring till it was followed by a shower; we scarcely knew that summer was, until it was gone; and we were but admiring the rich exuberance of autumn, when winter breathed over the landscape, shook the withered leaves from the trembling branches, blighted the fair tint of the blushing rose, robbed the carnation of its perfume, and scattered to the winds the thin robes of the light anemone. And such, you say, is man's existence, made up of a few years like that which is just flown, beginning with tears, interspersed with joys and sorrows, and ending in the wintry gloom of old age.

In spring he is a child, and from his tears and smiles in that season of youth we think we can read his future career. From his strong self-will, or his gentle and yielding nature, we try to presage his character in the coming years; but how vain, as a rule, are our prognostications! Trifles excite his joy, and trifles call forth his tears, and everything is a source of wonder. In the early April he delights to gather

the star-like primrose and purple violet, which image so well the guileless pleasures of childhood ; but the primrose and the violet, and the snowdrop and the early crocus, are the children of spring, and die with it ; thus man's first happiness like these spring flowers fades and dies.

But spring has ushered in the summer, and the country is fair and rich with green waving crops. Every tree is covered with foliage, and the busy insects hum amid their clustering blossoms ; the little birds, which so lately built their nests and hatched their young, are now teaching their fledglings to fly from branch to branch ; the hills are purple with heath-bells, and the white sheep browse quietly along their slopes ; buoyant youths plunge into the shining river, or bask along its verdant margin ; pleasure boats are on the rippling waters, spreading their tiny sails to allure the coy breezes to their embrace ; everything on mountain, plain, and tremulous sea looks bright and fair and beautiful, for there is sunshine above and verdure below, and melody in the surrounding air.

And man is now in boyhood, with brilliant hopes before him, and with pleasures and temptations around him. That summer landscape, lovely though it be, has thorns beneath its roses, and there are found in it rugged ravines which only the traveller knows. Some even of its brightest flowers are poisonous, and its very pleasures are often sickening. One storm can crush its frail beauties, and destroy the fruits its fair aspect promised. And such are the years of boyhood—all sunshine and flowers to the eye, but pregnant with danger and latent evil. Just at the moment it seems most delightful the storm of some young passion sweeps over it, and blights its flowers, and withers its verdure, and reduces the Elysian prospect to a mere earthly picture. Vice creeps in, and its companion, remorse, and these feed upon man's happiness, leaving him but the outward semblance of pleasure, like those insects that consume the heart of the rose, without, apparently, destroying its exterior loveliness. Childhood's thoughtlessness, which hitherto warded off the shafts of care, has vanished, and dreams of young ambition fill his soul instead. The future appears not half so golden as he

once thought it, and difficulties arise where least expected. Care as yet sits lightly upon him, for the warm blood of boyhood is coursing in his veins, and the sunshine of youth is around him ; still care is beginning to be felt, for summer is now merging into autumn, and boyhood is assuming the cast of manhood.

The fields are still rich, but the flowers are gone, and now are come the fruits. The trees have lost their freshness, and their leaves are seared with tints of yellow. It is a season of toil and labour, and the quick eye and thoughtful brow of the husbandman bespeak anxiety. It is only now we can realize the extent of the havoc which the storms of summer made on the landscape ; but, as we cannot recall the untarnished beauty of the vanished season, nothing remains but to mourn the loss. We can only store up for the winter what remains of the blighted harvest, and make up for the deficiency by our frugality.

And he whom we have traced from childhood to boyhood is now a man. The gay wild flowers that delighted his infancy are now forgotten ; the song that soothed his young days' sorrows is remembered but as a dream of other times ; and the fond associations of his boyhood have vanished. No longer is he engaged in juvenile pursuits, no longer does he listen with admiration to the tales he once loved to hear. He finds coldness where he thought unselfish friendship alone resided ; he sees the speculations of his young mind blasted, and, though the fruit of early virtue and life's experience may yet remain, still he cannot but mourn over the vices that have sadly blighted them. Care now fills his mind and lines his brow, and schemes of ambition possess him. But the winter is coming on, and the face of the landscape again is changed.

The verdant hue of spring has long since faded, and the teeming exuberance of summer is gone ; autumn's mellow richness is no longer visible, but a bleak, desolate aspect pervades the scene. The cheerless sun beams coldly on the very places where so lately he fertilized into existence such varied beauty ; chill breezes scatter the decaying leaves on the ground, and sigh through the naked branches ; frost

glistens over the fields, and forms fantastic fretwork on the window pane ; there is a stillness, a loneliness, a desolation around which freeze up the buoyancy of life ; nor do the comforts of the domestic circle compensate for the change.

And man is now in old age, the winter of life. Homer has said, with much truth and beauty :—*Οιη γαρ φυλλων γενη, τοιηδε και ακδρων.*

Frail as the leaves that quiver on the sprays,
Like them man flourishes, like them decays.

We have seen him in spring, fresh as the flowers he plucked ; we have seen him in summer, gay and blooming as the meadows through which he wandered ; we have seen him in autumn, when the stamp of manhood adorned him, and made him lovelier than the golden harvest around ; and now we look on him in the winter of old age, when the year—emblematic of his life—is drawing to a close. All the witching graces of childhood, all the light-hearted joy of boyhood, and all the bold daring of manhood, are gone. The frost of age is on his locks, and the sunlight of youth, which beamed in his eye, is cold and dim. He has perchance outlived his early companions, and has wandered on through the desert of life far beyond his first associates. He is now laden with years, afflicted with infirmities, and with few, if any, to enter into his views or understand his feelings. The hopes that gilded the future in his boyhood have either been realized or have melted away like a vision ; the early friends have dropped one by one from his side into the grave ; and he is now in the evening of life, like a solitary and blasted oak which marks the site of a once wide-waving forest. There is a sense of utter desolation about him, a loneliness in his heart that nothing can remove, and as he totters along he seems to be knocking with his staff at the door of mother earth, and asking her for a lodging below. This is the period which Ecclesiastes so beautifully pictures in the poetic imagery of the East :—‘ When the keepers of the house shall tremble, and the strong men shall stagger, and the grinders shall be idle in a small number, and they that look through the holes shall be darkened ; and they shall shut the doors

in the street, when the grinder's voice shall be low ; and they shall rise up at the voice of the bird, and all the daughters of music shall grow deaf.'

Shakespeare, too, essays to picture this sad period, when man has lost his vigour, and the decrepitude of age has stolen upon him, when

His big, manly voice,
Turning again towards childish treble, pipes
And whistles in his sound : last scene of all,
That ends this strange eventful history,
Is second childishness, and mere oblivion ;
Sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans everything.¹

Time has all but frozen up the springs of life, and the few drops that trickle from the congealed fountain of the heart barely support his tottering frame. The thoughts of past follies fall colder and heavier on him than the winter's storm ; and the dread of that eternity on whose brink he stands is more piercing than December's sleet and snow.

The year closes as it began, with one exception. At its opening we overlooked its inconveniences, because we expected many blessings from it. We knew that spring would come, and summer, and autumn, and we promised ourselves many a sunny hour for the few dull weeks that followed its birth ; but in winter, when the other seasons are gone, we have no more to expect from it. So it is with man. He bears with the ills of youth in hopes of a rich compensation from the joys of after life. In spring he looks forward to summer ; but the summer is brief, and he finds not there all he wants. He then rests his hopes in the coming autumn ; but autumn, alas ! is too closely allied to winter, and he feels that he has fallen again into second childhood before having tasted sufficiently the joys of the other seasons of life. He may, indeed, look back on the path he has trodden, but he cannot retrace it. He may sigh to see that it lay through gloomy moorlands, where nothing is visible but a black, naked waste, or the unprofit-

¹ *As You Like It.*

able heath of sin, while just below him lay the vale of virtue, whose entrance was merely obstructed by the thorns of every-day trials. If, then, the power were given him to re-touch the picture of life,

How little of the past would stay,
How quickly all would melt away !

But the year is flown, and man, now in second childhood, goes with it. All his high hopes and ambitious projects are at an end; the little jealousies, and narrow-mindedness, and deceptive wisdom of the world no longer avail him, for the hand of death is on him, and the grave-worm calls him brother, and the earth embraces him as her child.

As dies the year, so man dies; and as the old year succeeds the new, so young generations follow in the wake of those that are gone, and fill their places. Each year like that which has just expired, teaches its annual lesson, and sees it despised. But whilst others heedlessly linger amidst the vanities of life, let us not forget that for us the sands are quickly passing through the glass of time, and that they no sooner shall have ceased their motion than we shall be ushered into another world.

✠ J. K. O'DOHERTY.

DOCUMENTS

**APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTION OF HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII.
ON THE LAWS, RIGHTS, AND PRIVILEGES OF THE
SODALITY OF THE HOLY ROSARY.**

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE XIII.
CONSTITUTIO APOSTOLICA DE LEGIBUS IURIBUS AC PRIVILEGIIS
SODALITATIS A SS. ROSARIO.

LEO PP. XIII.

SERVUS SERVORUM DEI AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM

Ubi primum, arcano divinae providentiae consilio, ad supremam Petri Cathedram fuimus evecti. oblato conspectu ingruentium in dies malorum, Apostolici muneris esse duximus expediendae salutis agitare consilia ac studere, quibus maxime modis Ecclesiae tutelae et catholicae fidei incolumitati prospici posset. Inter haec ad magnam Dei Matrem eandemque reparandi humani generis consortem ultro animus convolvavit, ad quam trepidis in rebus confugere catholicis hominibus praecipuum semper ac solemne fuit. Cuius fidei quam tuto sese crediderent, praeclara testantur ab ipsa collata beneficia, inter quae plura constat fuisse impetrata per probatissimam illam precandi formulam titulo *Rosarii* ab eadem invecam et Dominici Patris ministerio promulgatam. Solemnes autem honores eo ritu Virgini habendos summi Pontifices decessores Nostri haud semel decrevere. Quorum Nos etiam aemulati studia, de Rosarii Marialis dignitate ac virtute satis egimus copiose, Encyclicis Litteris pluries datis, vel inde a kalendis Septembribus anni MDCCCLXXXIII., cohortantes fideles, ut, sive publice sive suis in domibus, saluberrimum hoc pietatis officium augustissimae Matri persolverent et Marianis ab eo titulo Sodalitatibus sese aggregarent. Ea vero omnia nuperrime, datis litteris die v Septembris huius anni, veluti in unum collecta, paucis memoravimus; simulque consilium Nostrum patefecimus edendae *Constitutionis* de iuribus, privilegiis, indulgentiis, quibus gaudent qui piae isti Sodalitati dederint nomina. Nunc vero ut rem absolvamus, votis obsecundantes Magistri generalis Ordinis Praedicatorum, Constitutionem ipsam edimus, qua leges de huiusmodi Sodalitate

latas, itemque beneficia recensentes a summis Pontificibus eidem concessa, modum decernimus quo in perpetuum salutifera haec institutio regatur.

I. Sacratissimi Rosarii Sodalitas in eum finem est instituta, ut multos fraterna caritate coniunctos per piissimam illam precandi formulam, unde ipsa consociatio nomen mutuatur, ad beatæ Virginis laudationem et eiusdem patrociniū unanimi oratione impetrandum alliciat. Quapropter, nullo quæsito lucro aut imperata pecunia, cuiusvis conditionis excipit homines, eosque per solam Rosarii Marialis recitationem mutuo devincit. Quo fit, ut pauca singuli ad communem thesaurum conferentes multa inde recipiant. Actu igitur vel habitu dum ex instituto Sodalitii suum quisque pensum recitandi Rosarii persolvit, sodales omnes eiusdem societatis mentis intentione complectitur, qui idem caritatis officium ipsi multiplicatum reddunt.

II. Sodalium Dominicanorum Ordo, qui, vel inde ab sui initio beatæ Virginis cultui maxime addictus, instituendæ ac provehendæ Sodalitatis a sacratissimo Rosario auctor fuit, omnia, quæ ad hoc genus religionis pertinent, veluti hereditario iure sibi vindicat.

Uni igitur Magistro generali ius esto instituendi Sodalitates sacratissimi Rosarii: ipso a Curia absente, subeat Vicarius eius generalis; mortuo vel amoto, Vicarius generalis Ordinis. Quamobrem quævis Sodalitas in posterum instituenda, nullis gaudeat beneficiis, privilegiis, indulgentiis, quibus Romani Pontifices legitimam verique nominis Sodalitatem auxerunt, nisi diploma institutionis a Magistro generali vel a memoratis Vicariis obtineat.

III. Quæ anteacto tempore Sodalitates sacratissimi Rosarii ad hanc usque diem sine Magistri generalis patentibus litteris institutæ sunt, litteras huiusmodi intra anni spatium expediendas curent; interim vero (dummodo hoc uno tantum defectu laborent) sodalitates ipsas, donec eadem litteræ expediantur, tamquam ratas et legitimas, ac privilegiorum, beneficiorum et indulgentiarum omnium participes, auctoritate apostolica benigne declaramus.

IV. Instituendæ Sodalitati in designata aliqua ecclesia Magister generalis deputet per consuetas litteras sacerdotem sui Ordinis: ubi Conventus Sodalium Dominicanorum desint, alium sacerdotem episcopo acceptum. Eidem Magistro generali ne liceat facultates, quibus pollet, in universum et absque limitatione

committere Provincialibus, aliisve aut sui aut alieni Ordinis vel Instituti sacerdotibus.

Facultatem revocamus a fel. rec. Benedicto XIII. Magistris Ordinis concessam,¹ delegandi generatim Provinciales *transmarinos*. Indulgemus tamen, rei utilitate perspecta, ut earumdem provinciarum prioribus, vicariis, praepositis missionalibus potestatem faciant instituendi certum Sodalitatum numerum, quarum accuratam rationem iis reddere teneantur.

V. Sodalitas a sacratissimo Rosario in omnibus ecclesiis publicisque aedulis institui potest, ad quas fidelibus accessus libere pateat, exceptis monialium aliarumque piarum mulierum vitam communiter agentium ecclesiis, prout sacrae romanae Congregationes saepe declararunt.

Quum iam ab Apostolica Sede cautum sit ne in uno eodemque loco plures existant sacratissimi Rosarii Sodalitates, Nos eiusmodi legem iterum inculcamus, et ubique observari iubemus. In praesenti tamen, si quo in loco plures forte existant, rite constitutae, sodalitates; facultas sit Magistro generali Ordinis ea de re pro aequitate iudicandi. Ad magnas vero urbes quod attinet, plures in iis, uti iam ex indulgentia provisum est, haberi possunt titulo Rosarii Sodalitates, ab Ordinariis pro legitima institutione Magistro generali proponendae.²

VI. Quum nulla habeatur sacratissimi Rosarii Sodalitas princeps, cui aliae minores aggregentur, hinc nova quaevis huiusmodi consociatio, per ipsam sui canonicam institutionem particeps fit indulgentiarum omnium ac privilegiorum, quae ab haec Apostolica Sede aliis per orbem sodalitatibus eiusdem nominis concessa sunt. Eadem ecclesiae adhaeret, in qua est instituta. Quamvis enim Sodalitatis privilegia homines spectent, tamen indulgentiae complures, eius sacellum vel altare adeuntibus concessae, uti etiam privilegium altaris, loco adhaerent, ideoque sine speciali Apostolico indulto neque avelli possunt neque transferri. Quoties igitur Sodalitas, quavis de causa, in aliam ecclesiam deduci contigerit, ad id novae litterae a Magistro generali expetantur. Si autem, destructa ecclesia, nova ibidem aut in vicinia aedificetur eodem titulo, ad hanc, quum idem esse censeatur locus, privilegia omnia atque indulgentiae transeunt, nulla requisita novae sodalitatis institutione. Sicubi vero, post institutam canonice in aliqua ecclesia Sodalitatem, Conventus cum ecclesia Praedica-

¹ Constit. *Pretiosus*, die 26 Maii, 1727.

² S. C. Indulg., 20 die Maii 1896.

torum fuerit extractus, ad ecclesiam eius Conventus Sodalitas ipsa, prout de iure, transferatur. Quod si, peculiari aliquo in casu, de hac lege remittendum videatur, facultas esto Magistro generali Ordinis pro sua aequitate et prudentia opportune providendi; integro tamen sui Ordinis iure.

VII. Ad ea, quae supra decreta sunt, quaeque naturam ipsam et constitutionem Sodalitatis attingunt, quaedam accedere poterunt, quae ad bonum societatis regimen conferre videantur. Integrum est enim sodalibus *statuta* sibi condere, sive quibus aliqui ad pecuniaria quaedam christianae pietatis officia, collata, etiam pecunia, si placuerit, saccis assumptis vel secus, excitentur. Ceterum quaevis horum varietas non obest quominus indulgentiae possint acquiri a sodalibus, dummodo ea praestent, quae iis lucrandis ab Apostolica Sede praecepta sunt. Addita tamen huiusmodi statuta episcopo dioecesano probentur, eiusque moderationi maneant obnoxia: quod Constitutione Clementis VIII. *Quaecumque* sancitum est.

VIII. Rectorum electio, qui nempe Sodalitatis membra in piam societatem recipiant, eorum rosariis benedicant, omnibus denique fungantur muneribus praecipuis, ad Magistrum generalem vel eius Vicarium, uti antea, spectet; de consensu tamen Ordinarii loci, pro ecclesiis clero saeculari conceditis.

Quo autem Sodalitati conservandae melius prospiciatur, Magistri generales ei rectorem praeficiant sacerdotem aliquem, in ecclesia, ubi est instituenda Sodalitas, certo munere fungentem vel certo fruentem beneficio, illiusque in hoc sive beneficio sive munere in posterum successores. Si, qualibet ex causa, desint; Episcopus, uti iam est ab hac Apostolica Sede sancitum,¹ facultas esto ad id muneris deputandi parochos *pro tempore*.

IX. Quum haud raro peropportunum, quin etiam necessarium videatur, ut sacerdos alius legitimi rectoris loco nomina inscribat, coronis benedicat aliaque praestet, quae ad ipsius rectoris officium pertinent, Ordinis Magister rectori facultatem tribuat subdelegandi, non generatim quidem, sed in singulis casibus, alium idoneum sacerdotem, qui eius vices gerat, quoties iusta de causa id opportunum iudicaverit.

X. Item, ubi Rosarii Sodalitas eiusque rector institui nequit, Magistro generali facultas esto designandi alios sacerdotes, qui fideles, indulgentias lucrari cupidos, Sodalitati propinquiori aggregent, et Rosariis benedicant.

¹ S. C. Indulg., die 8 Ian, 1861.

XI. Formula benedicendi Rosarii, seu Coronae, usu sacrata, inde a remotis temporibus id Ordine Sodalium Dominicanorum praescripta et in appendice romani Ritualis inserta, retineatur.

XII. Etsi quovis tempore nomina possint legitime inscribi, optandum tamen ut solemnior illa receptio, quae, sive primis cuiusque mensis dominicis, sive in festis maioribus Deiparae solet, apprime servetur.

XIII. Unicum sodalibus impositum onus, citra tamen culpam, est Rosarium unaquaque hebdomada cum quindecim mysteriorum meditatione recitandum.

Ceterum sua Rosario genuina forma servetur, ita ut coronae non aliter quam ex quinque aut decem aut quindecim granorum decadibus coalescant: item ne aliae cuiusvis formae rosarii nomine appellentur; denique ne humanae reparationis mysteriis contemplandis, usu receptis, meditationes aliae sufficiantur, contra ea quae iamdiu ab hac Apostolica Sede decreta sunt, id est, qui ab his consuetis mysteriis meditandis recesserint, eos Rosarii indulgentias nullas lucrari.¹

Sodalitatum rectores sedulo curent ut, si fieri possit, quotidie, vel saltem quam saepissime, maxime in festis beatæ Virginis, ad altare eiusdem Sodalitatis, etiam publice Rosarium recitetur, retenta consuetudine huic Sanctae Sedi probata, ut per gyrum cuiuslibet hebdomadae singula mysteria ita recolantur: *gaudiosa* in secunda et quinta feria; *dolorosa* in tertia et sexta; *gloriosa* tandem in dominica, quarta feria et sabbato.²

XIV. Inter pios Sodalitatis usus merito primum obtinet locum pompa illa solemnis, qua, Deiparae honorandae causa, vicatim proceditur, prima cuiusque mensis dominica, praecipue vero prima Octobris; quem morem, a saeculis institutum, S. Pius V. commendavit, Gregorius XIII. inter *laudabilia instituta et consuetudines* Sodalitatis recensuit, multi denique summi Pontifices indulgentiis locupletarunt.³

Ne autem huiusmodi supplicatio, saltem intra ecclesiam, ubi temporum iniuria extra non liceat, unquam omittatur, privilegium a Benedictio XIII. Ordini Praedicatorum concessum, eam transferendi in aliam dominicam, si forte ipso die festo aliqua causa

¹ S. C. Indulg., die 13 Aug., 1726.

² S. C. Indulg., die 1 Iul., 1829 ad 5.

³ S. Pius V. *Conseverunt*, die 17 Sept., 1569; Gregorius XIII. *Monet Apostolatus*, die 1 Apr., 1573; Paulus V. *Piorum hominum*, die 16 Apr. 1608.

impediatur,¹ ad omnes Sodalitatum sacratissimi Rosarii rectores extendimus.

Ubi autem propter loci angustiam et populi accursum ne per ecclesiam quidem possit ea pompa commode duci, indulgemus, ut, per interiorem ecclesiae ipsius ambitum, sacerdote cum clericis piae supplicationis causa circumeunte, Sodales, qui adstant, indulgentiis omnibus frui possint eidem supplicationi adnexis.

XV. Privilegium Missae votivae sacratissimi Rosarii, Ordini Praedicatorum toties confirmatum,² servari placet, atque ita quidem ut non solum Dominiciani sacerdotes, sed etiam Tertiarii a Poenitentia, quibus Magister generalis potestatem fecerit Missali Ordinis legitime utendi, Missam votivam *Salve Radix Sancta* celebrare possint bis in hebdomada, ad normam decretorum S. Rituum Congregationis.

Ceteris vero sacerdotibus in Sodalium album adscitis, ad altare Sodalitatis tantum Missae votivae celebrandae ius esto, quae in Missali romano pro diversitate temporum legitur, iisdem diebus ac supra et cum iisdem indulgentiis. Harum indulgentiarum sodales etiam e populo participes fiunt, si ei sacro adstiterint, culpisque rite expiatis vel ipsa confessione vel animi dolore cum confitendi proposito, pias ad Deum fuderint preces.

XVI. Magistri generalis cura et studio, absolutus atque accuratus, quamprimum fieri potest, conficiatur index Indulgentiarum omnium, quibus romani Pontifices Sodalitatem sacratissimi Rosarii, ceterosque fideles illud pie recitantes cumularunt, a sacra Congregatione Indulgentiis et SS. Reliquiis praeposita expendendus et Apostolica auctoritate confirmandus.

Quaecumque igitur in hac Apostolica Constitutione decreta, declarata, ac sancita sunt, ab omnibus ad quos pertinet servari volumus ac mandamus, nec ea notari, infringi et in controversiam vocari posse ex quavis, licet privilegiata causa, colore et nomine: sed plenarios et integros effectus suos habere, non obstantibus praemissis et, quatenus opus sit, Nostris et Cancellariae Apostolicae regulis, Urbani VIII aliisque apostolicis, etiam in provincialibus ac generalibus Conciliis editis Constitutionibus, nec non

¹ Constit. *Pretiosus*, die 26 Maii, 1727, § 18.

² Decr. S. C. Rit., die 25 Iun., 1622; Clemens X. *Caelantium munus*, die 16 Febr., 1671; Innocentius XI. *Nuper pro parte*, die 31 Iul. 1679, cap. x., nn. 6 et 7; Pius IX. in Summarium Indulg., die 18 Sept. 1862, cap. viii., n. 1 et 2

quibusvis etiam confirmatione apostolica vel quavis alia firmitate roboratis statutis, consuetudinibus ac praescriptionibus : quibus omnibus ad praemissorum effectum specialiter et expresse derogamus et derogatum esse volumus, ceterisque in contrarium facientibus quibuscumque.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum anno Incarnationi Dominicae millesimo octingentesimo nonagesimo octavo, sextos nonas Octobris, Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo primo.

C. CARD. ALOISI-MASELLA, *Pro. Dat.*

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LIBELLUS FIDEI EXHIBENS DECRETA DOGMATICA ET ALIA DOCUMENTA AD 'TRACTATUM DE FIDE' PERTINENTIA. Auctore, Bernardo Gaudeau, S.J., in Universitate Catholica Parisiensi Dogmatices Professore. Parisiis: P. Lethielleux.

THIS book is guaranteed by its author to be a manual of positive theology on the question of faith. Its object is to give us in full the Church's notion of faith, as expressed in her decrees; while its special aim is to render less difficult the psychology of the act of faith. We are told, in passing, that if all goes well with this volume, it will be the first of a series with the same object and according to the same plan.

The nature of the work calls for diligence and research in an unusual degree. In this respect, however, the author is not found wanting; and were no other qualification required, the success of the book would be certainly secured.

Having said so much in its praise, we feel constrained to state that, to our thinking, its value as a theological treatise ends here. To begin with, it shows great lack of judgment in the selection of documents. Father Gaudeau declares in the preface that he intends to allow himself a wide margin in this respect. We would not narrow this margin unduly. Accordingly, we do not intend to find fault with the wholesale introduction of documents dealing with man's elevation to the supernatural state and with the justification of the sinner, though the appositeness of a great many of the individual decrees and canons may be fairly questioned. But relevance and common sense demand that we should draw the line when we are brought face to face with decrees dealing with the temporal power of the Popes,¹ or with Christian matrimony,² or with scores of other documents which have just as little connection with any prose treatise on faith.

Such shortcomings are more or less accidental in character, and may be easily amended; but there remains a defect which is vital. The aim of the work being what it is, we should expect that the author would take up the different phases of the question of faith, but particularly the different factors presented in

¹ Page 185.

² Page 191.

the psychology of the act of faith, and give us the ecclesiastical documents which naturally fall under those respective headings. But Father Gaudeau takes an entirely different view of the situation. From the first page to the last he is a historian rather than a theologian, setting before us, with the greatest historical accuracy and with the most consistent historical sequence, the different documents, great and small, relevant and irrelevant, from the time of the Apostles until now. Such a mode of procedure can have only one result. As a historical production the book deserves all praise; but we have failed to convince ourselves that it merits the title of a contribution to scientific theological literature.

D. D.

THE DIVINITY OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, FROM PASCAL. A Commentary. By William Bullen Morris, of the Oratory. London: Burns & Oates. Dublin: Gill & Son.

THAT Pascal was a genius few thinking men will be found to deny. But it is by no means so clear that he is a model to be followed in all his ways of reasoning. Many, we suspect, will deny him the right to such homage. He reasons by flashes, and as a result his thoughts sometimes run too quickly to allow him an opportunity of looking around and counting the cost of going forward. From the book before us we might cite more than one instance of the danger attending such brilliancy. For example, Pascal is so anxious to get into immediate personal contact with his Divine Master, that he does not hesitate to give expression to the following sentiment :—

Thus, without the Bible, which has Jesus Christ for its sole object, we know nothing, and see nothing, but obscurity and confusion in the nature of God and in our own nature.¹

Again, that touch of weirdness peculiar to prophecy seems to have had a fascination for him, and we can only admire the marvellous art with which he links together the various prophetic testimonies in favour of Christ's divinity. But, when we remember that our Blessed Lord, even when addressing the Jews, whose minds were especially swayed by prophecy, appealed to the works which He wrought in the very same breath in which He referred them to Moses and the prophets, we fail to see on what ground Pascal comes to the conclusion that after the time

¹ Page 102

of our Lord, miracles, as proofs of Christ's divinity, take second place, and yield the palm to prophecy. It is true that St. Matthew, in his Gospel, appeals chiefly to the prophecies; but, on the one hand, we must not forget that this Evangelist wrote primarily for the lineal descendants of the prophets; while, on the other, St. John, in his writings, seems to ground his faith almost exclusively on the miracles wrought by his Master.

Father Morris freely admits the difficulties attaching to the task he proposes to himself. To abstract various gems of thought from their natural setting, and try to fit them side by side with more regard to logic than to æsthetics, must be an invidious undertaking. Even in the hands of Pascal himself, the gems should have lost by the exchange. With all that, Father Morris has succeeded in writing an exceedingly interesting book, though it may not be always Pascal.

In the first and last chapters, principally, the author, with set purpose, gives us something of his own mind. When he does so both the matter and the manner are such that we are only sorry we have not been treated to a great deal more.

What we admire most in the book is its spirit. Pascal did not know what fear was in so far as it concerned the future of the Catholic faith. He pitied those who erred unwittingly; but for the pseudo-philosophers, who would not see, he had nothing save contempt. His commentator is of a like mind as regards the pseudo-philosophers of the present day, though he is rather slow to make a formal declaration to that effect. He is not one of those—and they are not a few—who are inclined to tremble for the faith because Mr. Herbert Spencer, taking it for granted that a Personal God is an impossibility, launches into rhapsodies on the unknowable; or who grow pale if Mr. Grant Allen proves, to his own entire satisfaction, that wasps found their teeth by operating on the bark of trees with their unaided gums, and thence concludes, with equal intellectual relish, that there is no necessity for a God. Spiritual writers tell us that one of the best weapons we can use against the devil is contempt: why not employ it likewise against his minions? As Father Morris says: 'There are limits to literary and philosophic courtesy.' And, surely, the limits are reached when we have to deal with philosophers of the Kant, and Spencer, and Huxley school? 'The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God.' But to make fools of others is the office of a rogue, and the rogue must take the consequences.

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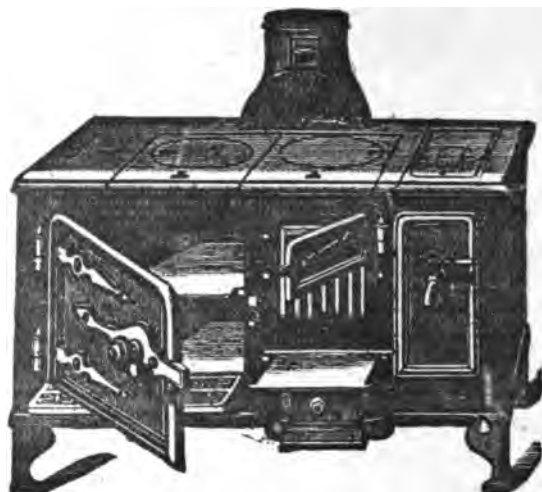
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